ANNALS OF THE WEST:

EMBRACING A CONCISE ACCOUNT OF

PRINCIPAL EVENTS,

WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN THE

WESTERN STATES AND TERRITORIES,

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY TO THE YEAR EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND FIFTY.

COMPILED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

FOR THE PROJECTOR.

FIRST EDITION,

BY JAMES H. PERKINS.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED

BY J. M. PECK.

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PREFACE.

In presenting a second Edition of this work, the projector and proprietor believes the occasion appropriate for an explanation of such circumstances as induced the undertaking.

From his earliest recollection, the study of the history and geography of our country, has afforded pleasures to be derived, in an equal degree, from few other sources. The memories of childhood recall the delightful emotions ever experienced from listening to recitals of thrilling events, and descriptions of distant scenes.

The gratification of similar emotions, or rather a passion for an acquaintance with historical and topographical facts relative to the "*Great West*," but particularly such as might elucidate its beginnings, rise, and progress towards its future destiny, has been a principal employment of the publisher for nearly thirty years, during which time he has traversed most of that extensive region, and visited nearly every memorable spot, for the means of forming an enlightened judgment, and correct ideas of men and events in times past. Nothing, however, of the materials or knowledge thus acquired, was collected with a view to publication, being solely

the natural and incidental results of researches, entered upon and pursued for his private gratification.

A change of circumstances, however, seemed to justify an alteration of purposes; consequently, in 1844, promulgation was commenced by written and oral lectures; as one thought originates another, in 1845 the idea of publishing in book form, first occurred.

The proprietor, then residing in Ohio, submitted his plan to several gentlemen of eminent standing, who at once gave it their cordial approbation. A prospectus was immediately circulated, and patrons by hundreds, obtained throughout that community.

Demonstrations of future popularity, sufficient to ensure a successful issue, having thus been made, an engagement was entered into in the spring of 1846, with the late Rev. JAMES H. PERKINS, of Cincinnati, by which he took charge of the compilation, and prepared the work for the press; and no one acquainted with that deservedly esteemed and lamented gentleman, need be informed, that the trust could not have been committed to better or more able hands.

A volume of 600 pages appeared before the close of that year: but an obligation to publish at the promised time, made it necessary, somewhat, to depart from the projector's plan, and to present the book in a form not deemed the most eligible.

In view of this circumstance, together with a desire to extend and amplify the sketches of Illinois, Missouri,

and other communities more recently developed, the present Edition was resolved upon: which is a revision of the first, enlarged by the Rev. JOHN M. PECK, of Illinois, a gentleman well calculated for this duty, from his long residence in the West and familiarity with the history of those portions less elaborately treated of in the former Edition. Notwithstanding, this edition is still not arranged in strict accordance with the plan originally projected, yet it is believed that for general accuracy and especial fulness of detail, it may be commended to its readers in its present form as worthy of attention.—Although it is not presumed to be wholly free from errors and imperfections, it will be found to contain a faithful narrative of memorable events, deserving the perusal of western people, especially the young, and the descendants of our *Pioneers*, to whom the volume is most respectfully DEDICATED.

JAMES R. ALBACH.

St. Louis, May, 1850.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

1512.	Ponce de Leon discovers Florida.
1516.	Diego Miruelo visits Florida.
1526.	Pamphilo de Narvaez goes to Florida.
1538.	De Soto asks leave to conquer Florida.
1539. May,	De Soto reaches Tampa and Appalachee bays.
1541.	De Soto reaches Mississippi, and crosses it to Washita.
	De Soto reaches Mavilla, on the Alabama.
1542.	De Soto descends Washita to Mississippi.
May 21,	De Soto dies.
	His followers try to reach Mexico by land and fail.
1543. July,	De Soto's followers reach Mexico by water.
1544.	De Biedma presents his account of De Soto's expedition to King of Spain.
1616.	Le Caron explores Upper Canada.
1630.	Charles First grants Carolina to Sir Robert Heath, p. 69.
1634.	First mission founded near Lake Huron.
1641.	French at Falls of St. Mary, Lake Superior.
1660.	First missionary station on Lake Superior.
1664.	Colonel Wood's alledged travels previous to this year.
1665.	Allouez founds first permanent station on Lake Superior.
1668.	Mission at St. Mary's Falls founded.
1670.	Porrot explores Lake Michigan; La Salle in Canada.
1671.	French take formal possession of the north-west.
	Marquette founds St. Ignatius on Strait of Muckinac.
1673. May 13,	Marquette and his companions leave Mackinac to seek the Mississippi.
June 10,	Marquette and his companions cross from Fox river to Wisconsin.
June 17,	Marquette and his companions reach Mississippi.
June 21,	Marquette and his companions meet Illinois Indians.
July,	Marquette and his companions reach Arkansas.
July 17,	Marquette and his companions leave on return to Canada.
September,	Marquette and his companions reach Green Bay.
1675. May 18,	Marquette dies.
	La Salle goes to France to see the King.
1676.	Returns and rebuilds Fort Frontenac.
1677.	La Salle visits France a second time.

1678. July 14, La Salle and Tonti sail for Canada; Sept. 15, arrive at Quebec.
Nov. 18, La Salle and Tonti cross Lake Ontario.

1679. January, La Salle loses his stores.
August 7, The Griffin sails up Lake Erie; 27th, at Mackinac.

1679. Sept. 18, The Griffin sent back to Niagara.
Nov. 1, La Salle at St. Joseph's river, Lake Michigan.
Dec. 3, La Salle crosses to Kankakee.

1680. Jan. 4, La Salle in Peoria Lake; Fort Crevecœur built.
Feb. 28, Hennepin sent to explore the Upper Mississippi.
March, La Salle returns to Canada.
April & May, Hennepin on the Upper Mississippi.
September, Tonti after commencing Fort St. Louis (Rock fort,) forced to leave the Illinois.
Oct. & Nov. La Salle returns to the Illinois.
November, Hennepin returns to Canada and Europe.

1681. June, La Salle and Tonti meet at Mackinac.
August, La Salle a third time goes to the Illinois.
Nov. 3, La Salle at St. Joseph's again.

1682. Jan. 5 or 6, La Salle goes from Chicago westward.
February 6, La Salle on banks of the Mississippi.
Feb. 13. La Salle descends Mississippi.
March 6, La Salle discovers mouths of Mississippi and takes possession.
September, La Salle returns to St. Joseph's of Michigan.

1683. Dec. 13, La Salle reaches France.
1684. July 24, La Salle sails from France for mouth of Mississippi.

Sept. 20, La Salle reaches St. Domingo.
Nov. 25, La Salle sails from St. Domingo for mouth of Mississippi.
Dec. 28, La Salle discovers the main land.
The Iroquois place themselves under England.

1685. January, La Salle in the Gulf of Mexico.
February 4, La Salle sends party on shore to go eastward for mouth of Mississippi.
Feb. 13, La Salle reaches Matagorda Bay.
March 15, La Salle left in Texas, by Beaujeu.
July, Attempts to build a Fort, and is unfortunate, and his men sick and die.
December, La Salle goes to look for Mississippi.

1686. March, La Salle returns to Matagorda Bay.
April, La Salle goes again to seek the Mississippi, and find a route to Canada.
April, Tonti goes down Mississippi to meet La Salle.
August, La Salle returns unsuccessful.

1687. Jan. 12, La Salle leaves for Mississippi the third time.
March 15, La Salle sends men to look for stores.
March 17, La Salle follows and is killed by those men.
May, His murderers quarrel; seven go on toward Mississippi.
July 24, The seven reach the Arkansas.
Sept. 14, The seven reach Fort St. Louis on Illinois river.

1688.	La Hontan's travels to the "Long river."—[Doubtful.]
1693.	Before this time Gravier, the founder of Kaskaskia, was among the Illinois.
	Kaskaskia founded, date unknown.
	Cahokia founded, date unknown.
	Peoria a trading post.
1698. Oct. 17,	D'Iberville leaves France for Mississippi.
	Dr. Coxe sends two vessels to the Mississippi.
1699. Jan. 31,	D'Iberville in Bay of Mobile.
March 2,	D'Iberville enters Mississippi.
	D'Iberville returns to France.
September,	Bienville sounds Mississippi and meets English.
1700. January,	D'Iberville returns from France.
	D'Iberville goes up the Mississippi.
	D'Iberville sends Le Sueur for copper to Upper Mississippi.
	M. St. Dennis explored Red river.
1701.	De la Motte Cadillac founds Detroit.
	D'Iberville founds colony on Mobile river.
	Iroquois again place themselves under England.
1703.	Settlement on Washita.
	St. Dennis in Texas and the Presidio.
1705.	Missouri river explored to Kanzas.
1707.	First grant of land at Detroit.
1708.	D'Artaguette in Louisiana.
1710.	Governor Spotswood of Virginia explores the Alleghanies.
1712.	Louisiana granted to Crozat.
1714.	Fort Rosalie commenced.
1716.	St. Dennis in possession of Texas.
1717.	Crozat resigns Louisiana.
September,	Louisiana trade granted to Company of West.
1718.	Colonists sent to Louisiana, and New Orleans laid out.
	Fort Chartres commenced.
1719.	Company of the West made Company of the Indies.
	La Harpe builds a Fort in Texas.
	Renault leaves France for Illinois.
	Fort Chartres finished.
1720. January,	Law made minister of finance.
April,	Stock of Company of the Indies worth 2050 per cent.
May,	Company of Indies bankrupt.
	Renault arrives in Illinois, and sends out mining parties.
	Mine La Motte discovered.
	Spanish invasion of the Missouries from Santa Fe, defeated and destroyed.
	La Harpe explores Washita and Arkansas rivers.
1722.	Charlevoix visits Illinois.
1726.	Iroquois a third time place themselves under England.
1729. Nov. 28,	French among the Natchez murdered.
1730. Jan. & Feb.,	The Natchez conquered and destroyed.

1731.	Previous to this, Gov. Keith wishes West secured to England.
1732.	Company of Indies resign Louisiana to King.
1735.	Vincennes settled according to some, (see pp. 66-68.)
	Daniel Boone born.
1736. May,	Expedition of French against Chickasaws.
May 20,	D'Artaguette conquered.
May 27,	Bienville fails in assault on Chickasaws and retreats.
1739.	French collect to attack Chickasaws.
1740. March,	Peace between French and Chickasaws.
1742.	John Howard goes down Ohio.
1744.	Treaty of English and Iroquois at Lancaster.
	Vaudreuil fears English influence in West.
	Renault returns to France.
1748.	Chickasaws attack French post on Arkansas.
	Conrad Weiser sent to Ohio.
	Ohio Company formed.
1749.	Grant of land to Loyal Company.
	Celeron sent to bury medals along Ohio.
	English Fort built on Great Miami.
	English traders seized on Maumee.
1750.	Forty vessels at New Orleans.
	Dr. Walker explores Kentucky.
1751.	Christopher Gist explores Ohio and Great Miami.
1752.	French build Forts on French creek.
	French attack English post on Great Miami.
June,	Treaty of Logstown.
	Families settle west of Alleghanies.
1753. May,	Pennsylvania Assembly informed of French movements.
June,	Commissioner sent to warn French.
	Trent sent with arms for friendly Indians.
August,	Colonies authorized to resist French by force.
September,	Treaty of Winchester.
	Treaty with Iroquois ordered by England.
October,	Treaty of Carlisle.
	Ohio Company open line of "Braddock's road."
Nov 15,	Washington leaves Will's creek for Ohio.
Nov. 22,	Washington reaches Monongahela.
Dec. 4,	Washington reaches Venango.
Dec. 11,	Washington reaches French Commander.
1754. Jan. 6,	Washington returns to Will's creek.
	Troops called out by Virginia.
April,	French Fort at Venango finished.
April,	Virginia troops moving westward.
April 17,	Fort at the Forks of Ohio taken by French.
May,	Washington crosses Alleghanies and attacks and kills Jumonville and his party.
June,	New York sends £5000 to Virginia.
July, 1.	Washington at Fort Necessity, which capitulates the third.
October,	Washington retires to Mount Vernon.
	French hold the whole West.

1755. January,	France proposes a compromise.
Feb. 20,	Braddock lands in Virginia.
April,	France and England send fleets to America.
April 20,	Braddock marches westward.
May 20,	Expedition against Nova Scotia leaves Boston.
July 8,	Braddock reaches Monongahela, defeated the 9th, and died the 13th.
1756. January,	Lewis commands an expedition against the Ohio Indians, and fails.
April,	Indians fill the Valley of Virginia.
May,	War declared between France and England.
September,	Armstrong attacks Indians at Kittaning.
	First treaty of Easton.
1757.	Massacre of Fort William Henry.
June 29,	Pitt returns to office.
1758.	Louisburg and Fort Frontenac taken.
July 15,	Post leaves for the Ohio river to conciliate the Indians.
August 24,	Post confers with Indians at Fort Pitt.
Sept. 21,	Grant defeated.
October,	Washington opening a road over the mountains.
Nov. 5,	Washington at Loyalhanna.
Nov. 25,	Washington at Fort Du Quesne, which the French left on the 24th.
	Second treaty of Easton.
	Post's second mission to Ohio Indians.
1759.	Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and Quebec yield to English.
1760. Sept. 8,	The French yield Canada.
	Cherokee War.
	General Monkton treats with the Indians at Fort Pitt for land.
	Settlers go over the mountains.
Sept. 13,	Rogers goes to Detroit; reaches it the 10th November; returns across Ohio to Fort Pitt in December.
1761.	Alexander Henry visits north-west.
	Christian Post goes to settle on the Muskingum.
1762.	Bouquet warns settlers off of Indian lands.
	Post and Heckewelder go to Muskingum.
Nov. 3,	Preliminaries to peace of Paris settled, Louisiana transferred to Spain.
1763. Feb. 10,	Treaty of Paris concluded.
May 9,	Detroit attacked by Pontiac.
June 4,	Mackinac taken by Indians.
June,	Presqu'ile (Erie) taken by Indians.
June to Aug.	Fort Pitt besieged and relieved by Bouquet.
October,	Proclamation to protect Indian lands.
Nov. 3,	M. Laclede arrives in Ste. Genevieve; and Fort Chartres.
1764. Feb. 15,	St. Louis founded.
June to Aug.	Bradstreet makes peace with northern Indians.
November,	Bouquet makes peace with Ohio Indians.
April 21,	French officers ordered to give up Louisiana to Spain.

1765. April,	Sir Wm. Johnson makes treaty at German Flats.
May & June,	George Croghan goes westward.
	Captain Stirling for England takes possession of Illinois.
	Proclamation of Governor Gage.
1766.	Settlers cross mountains.
	Walpole Company proposed.
	Colonel James Smith visits Kentucky.
1767.	Western Indians grow impatient.
	Franklin labors for Walpole Company.
	Finley visits Kentucky.
	Zeisberger founds mission on the Alleghany.
1768. Oct. 24,	Treaty of Fort Stanwix by which the title of the Iroquois to all south of the Ohio is purchased.
	Captain Pitman in Illinois.
1769. March,	Mississippi Company proposed.
May 1,	Boone and others start for Kentucky.
June 7,	Boone and others reach Red river.
Dec. 22,	Boone taken by Indians.
1770. October,	Treaty of Lochaber.
	Ohio Company merged in Walpole Company.
	Washington visits the West.
	The Long Hunters explore the West.
	The Zanes found Wheeling.
	Moravians invited to Big Beaver.
	Spain obtains possession of St. Louis and Upper Louisiana.
1771. March,	The Boones return to North Carolina.
1772.	Indians killed by whites on Lower Kenawha.
May 3,	Moravians invited by Delawares, found Shoenbrun on the Muskingum.
April,	General Gage's proclamation against settlers on Wabash.
	Fort Chartres evacuated.
1773. Sept. 25,	Boone and others start to settle Kentucky.
Oct. 10,	Boone and others are attacked by Indians and turn back.
	Bullitt, McAfee, &c., descend the Ohio.
	Bullitt, McAfee, &c., survey at Falls, and on Kentucky river.
	General Thompson surveys in the valley of the Licking.
	General Lyman goes to Natchez.
1774.	James Harrod in Kentucky.
January,	Dunmore sends Connolly to take possession of Pittsburgh as being within Virginia.
Jan. 25,	Connolly calls out the militia; he is arrested by St. Clair; his followers are riotous, and fire on the Indians.
March 28,	Connolly, released on parole, comes to Pittsburgh with an armed force.
	He rebuilds the Fort and calls it Fort Dunmore.
April 16,	Cherokees attack a boat on the Ohio.
April 21,	Connolly writes to the settlers to beware of the Indians.
	Cresap, having Connolly's letter, attacks Indians.
	Greathouse murders several Indians.
	Preparations for war.

1774. Logan revenges his family.
June, Boone sent for surveyors in Kentucky.
June 10, Friendly Shawanese attacked by Connolly.
Traders murdered.
July, McDonald attacks Wappatomica.
Sept. 6 & 12, Troops under Lewis march down Kenhawa.
Oct. 6, Troops under Lewis reach Point Pleasant.
Oct. 10, Battle of Point Pleasant.
November, Dunmore makes peace.

1775. March 17, Treaty of Wataga; purchase by Transylvania Company.
April 1, Boone goes to Kentucky and founds Boonesboro'.
April 20, Henderson reaches Boonesboro'.
May 23, Henderson calls representatives together.
May 27, Legislature adjourns.
April, Massachusetts Council try to prevent hostility by Iroquois.
May, Guy Johnson influences Iroquois against Americans.
June 28, Oneidas and Tuscaroras adhere to America.
June, Boones family and several others reach Kentucky.
July, Congress forms three Indian Departments.
August, Meeting of Commissioners and Indians at Albany.
October, Meeting of Commissioners and Indians at Pittsburgh.
Connolly arrested in Maryland.

1776. April 29, An attack on Detroit proposed in Congress.
April 19, Washington advises the employment of the Indians.
May, Indians incline to British.
June 3, Congress authorizes the employment of Indians.
July 7, to 21, Indians attack Kentuckians; settlers leave.
George Rogers Clark in Kentucky.
June 6, Kentuckians petition Virginia for admission as citizens, and choose Clark and Jones members of Virginia Assembly.
August 23, Clark procures powder from Council of Virginia.
Dec. 7, Virginia admits Kentucky among her counties.
Clark and Jones return by Pittsburgh with powder.
Dec. 25, Jones killed while going for powder to Limestone.
Clark reaches Harrodsburg.

1777. Summer, Cornstalk murdered at Point Pleasant.
Congress of Indians and British at Oswego.
Spring, Kentucky infested with savages.
April, Kentucky chooses Burgesses.
May, Logan's station attacked.
April 20 to June 22,—Clark's spies in Illinois.
August, Logan crosses the mountains for powder.
Colonel Bowman and 100 men come from Virginia.
Sep. 26 & 27, Fort Henry (Wheeling) attacked.
September, First Court at Harrodsburg.
Oct. 1, Clark leaves for Virginia.
October, Brady and party attack St. Joseph.
Nov. 20, The attack on Detroit urged in Congress.
Dec. 10, Clark opens his plan for conquering Illinois to Governor of Virginia.

1778.	January 2,	Orders issued to Clark to attack Illinois.
	February 7,	Boone taken prisoner at the Licking.
	March 10,	Boone carried to Detroit.
	June 24,	Clark passes Falls of Ohio.
	June 16,	Boone escapes and relieves Boonesboro'
	May,	McIntosh commands at Fort Pitt.
		Fort McIntosh built.
	June 25,	New Jersey objects to land claims of Virginia.
	July 4,	Clark takes Kaskaskia.
		Cahokia joins the Americans.
	Aug. 1,	St. Vincents joins the American cause.
	Aug. 1,	Boone goes to attack Paint creek town.
	Aug. 8,	Boonesboro' besieged.
		Fort Laurens built.
	September,	Clark holds council with the Indians.
	Sept. 17,	Treaty with Delawares at Pittsburgh.
		Maize and party attack St. Joseph.
	October,	Virginia grants Henderson and Company 200,000 acres on Green river.
	December,	Governor Hamilton takes Vincennes.
1779.	January 29,	Clark hears of capture of Vincennes.
	January,	Delaware objects to land claims of Virginia.
	Feb. 7,	Clark's campaign against Vincennes.
	Feb. 24,	Hamilton surrenders the Fort and is sent to Virginia.
	April 1,	Americans suspect and attack Iroquois.
		Lexington, Kentucky, settled.
	May,	Virginia passes land laws.
	May 21,	Maryland objects to land claims of Virginia.
	July,	General Sullivan devastates Iroquois country.
	July,	Bowman's expedition against Indian towns on Miamies.
	August,	Fort Laurens abandoned.
	September,	Indians treat with Broadhead at Fort Pitt.
	October,	Rogers and Benham attacked by Indians.
	Oct. 13,	Land Commissioners open their sessions in Kentucky.
	Oct. 30,	Congress asks Virginia to reconsider land laws.
		Colonel John Todd in Illinois.
1780.		Hard winter—great suffering.
	Feb. 19,	New York authorizes a cession of western lands.
	Spring,	Fort Jefferson built on Mississippi.
	Spring,	Great emigration to Kentucky.
	May,	Virginia grants lands in Kentucky for education.
	May,	St. Louis attacked by British and Indians.
		Louisville established by law.
	June,	Byrd invades Kentucky.
	July,	Clark attacks Shawanese.
	Sept. 6,	Resolution of Congress relative to western lands.
		Connecticut passes first act of cession of western reserve.
	October,	Fort Pitt threatened by savages.
	November,	Kentucky divided into three counties.
	December,	Clark prepares to attack Detroit.
1781.	Jan. 2,	Virginia makes her first act of cession.

1781. Feb. 15,	Mr. Jay instructed that he may yield the navigation of the Mississippi.
March 1,	New York cedes her western lands.
	Brodhead attacks Delawares on Muskingum.
April 16,	Mary Heckewelder born; first white child in Ohio.
	Americans begin to settle in Illinois.
	Chickasaws attack Fort Jefferson.
September,	Colonel Floyd rescued by Wells.
September,	Moravians carried to Sandusky by British and Indians.
October,	Moravian Missionaries taken to Detroit.
	Williamson leads a party against the Moravians, but finds the town deserted.
	Kentucky organized.
1782. March,	Moravians murdered by Americans.
March,	Moravian missionaries taken to Detroit.
March 22,	Estil's defeat.
June,	Crawford's expedition, taken prisoner and burnt.
Aug. 14,	Attack on Bryant's station.
Aug. 19,	Battle of the Blue Licks.
September,	Clark invades the Miami valleys the second time.
November,	Land Offices opened.
Nov. 30,	Provisional articles of peace with Great Britain.
1783, Jan. 20,	Hostilities of United States and Great Britain cease.
March,	Kentucky formed into one district.
April 18,	Congress calls on States to cede lands.
April 19,	Peace proclaimed to the army.
	English propose to carry away negroes.
May,	Washington protests against course of English.
June,	Rufus Putnam applies for lands in west.
July 12,	Baron Steuben sent to receive western posts.
August,	Cassaty sent to Detroit.
	Virginia withdraws Clark's commission.
Sept. 3,	Definitive treaty of peace.
Sept. 7,	Washington writes to Duane about western lands.
Sept. 13,	Congress proposes terms of cession to Virginia.
Sept. 22,	Congress forbids all purchases of Indian lands.
Oct. 15,	Congress instructs Indian Commissioners.
	Virginia grants Clark and his soldiers lands.
Nov. 25,	British leave New York taking negroes.
	Daniel Brodhead opens a store in Louisville.
Dec. 20,	Virginia authorizes cession on terms proposed.
1784. Jan. 4,	Treaty of peace ratified by United States.
February,	James Wilkinson goes to Lexington, Kentucky.
March 1,	Virginia gives deed of cession.
March 4,	Indian Commissioners reinstructed.
	Pittsburgh re-surveyed.
April 9,	Treaty of peace ratified by England.
June 22,	Virginia refuses to comply with treaty.
July,	England refuses to deliver up western posts.
Oct. 22,	Treaty with Iroquois at Fort Stanwix.

	Logan calls meeting at Danville.
Dec. 27,	First Kentucky Convention meets.
	Kentucky receives many emigrants.
1785. Jan. 21,	Treaty with Delawares, &c., at Fort McIntosh.
April,	An attempt to settle at mouth of Scioto.
May 20,	Ordinance for survey of western lands passed.
May 23,	Second Kentucky Convention meets.
July,	Don Gardoqui comes from Spain.
August 8,	Third Kentucky Convention meets.
	Colony emigrates from Virginia to Illinois.
August,	Indians threaten hostility.
	Great confederacy of north-western Indians formed by Brant.
	Fort Harmar built.
1786. January,	Brant visits England to learn purposes of ministers.
January,	Virginia agrees to independence of Kentucky.
Jan 10,	Putnam and Tupper call meeting to form Ohio Company.
Jan. 31,	Treaty with Shawanese at Fort Finney, (mouth of Great Miami.)
March 1,	Ohio Company of associates formed.
May, 16,	Governor of Virginia writes to Congress respecting Indian invasions.
May,	The negotiations as to Mississippi before Congress.
May 26,	Resolution of Congrass produces cession by Connecticut.
June 30,	Congress authorizes the invasion of north-western territory.
July 29,	Pittsburgh Gazette first published.
August,	Mr. Jay authorized to yield navigation of Mississippi for a term of years.
Sept. 14,	Connecticut makes second act of cession.
October, 8,	Clark seizes Spanish property at Vincennes.
November,	Virginia protests against yielding navigation of Mississippi.
	Great dissatisfaction in the west.
November,	Governor of Virginia informed as to Clark's movements.
Dec. 22,	Great Indian Council in north-west; they address Congress.
1787. January,	Fourth Kentucky Convention meets.
March 8,	Ohio Company chooses Directors.
May,	Meeting in Kentucky relative to navigation of Mississippi.
June,	Wilkinson goes to New Orleans.
July,	Dr. Cutler negotiates with Congress for lands for Ohio Company.
July 27,	Congress make order in favor of Ohio Company.
July 13,	Ordinance passed for government of north-western territory.
July,	Harry Innis refuses to prosecute invaders of Indian lands.
August 18,	Kentucky Gazette established.
August 29,	Symmes applies for land.
	Entries of Virginia Military Reserve, north of Ohio, begin.
Sept. 17,	Fifth Kentucky Convention meets.
Oct. 27,	Ohio Company completes contract for lands.
Oct. 2,	Symmes' application referred to Board of Treasury.
Oct	Troops ordered west.
Oct. 5,	St. Clair appointed Governor of north-western territory.
Nov 23,	Preparations made by Ohio Company to send settlers west.

1787. Nov. 26,	Symmes issues proposals for settlers.
December,	John Brown, first western representative goes to Congress.
1788. Summer,	Indians expected to make treaty at Marietta.
	Great emigration ; 4,500 persons pass Fort Harmar.
January,	Denman purchases Cincinnati.
Feb. 29,	The admission of Kentucky debated in Congress.
April 7,	Ohio Company settlers land at Muskingum.
July 2,	Marietta named.
July 3,	The admission of Kentucky refused by Congress.
July 9,	St. Clair reaches north-western territory.
July 28,	Sixth Kentucky Convention meets.
July 25,	First law of north-western territory published.
	Symmes starts for the west.
August,	Losantiville (Cincinnati) laid out.
Sept. 2,	First court held at Marietta.
Sept. 22,	Symmes reaches his purchase.
	Great Indian Council in north-west to forbid treaties with separate nations.
Nov. 4,	Seventh Kentucky Convention meets.
Nov. 18,	Columbia settled by Stites.
November,	Dr. Connolly in Kentucky as a British agent.
Dec. 24,	The founders of Cincinnati leave Maysville.
Dec. 28,	Cincinnati reached according to McMillan.
Dec. 29,	Virginia passes third act to make Kentucky independent.
	George Morgan removes to New Madrid.
1789. Jan. 9,	Treaties of Fort Harmar concluded.
	Wilkinson goes to New Orleans again.
Spring,	Daniel Story, first teacher and preacher, in Ohio Company's purchase.
June,	Symmes' settlements threatened by Indians.
June,	Major Doughty arrives at Symmes' purchase and begins Fort Washington.
July,	Western scouts withdrawn by Virginia.
July 20,	Eighth Kentucky Convention meets.
September,	Governor Miro of New Orleans writes Sebastian.
Sept. 29,	Congress empowers President to call out western militia.
Oct. 6,	President authorizes Governor St. Clair to call out Militia.
Dec. 29,	General Harmar reaches Cincinnati with 300 troops.
1790. Jan. 1 or 2,	Governor St. Clair at Cincinnati, which name is then given it.
Spring.	St. Clair goes west to Kaskaskia.
April,	Gamelin sent to Wabash Indians.
May,	Indian hostilities take place.
July 15,	St. Clair calls out western militia.
July 26,	Ninth Kentucky Convention meets.
Sept. 15,	Troops gather at Fort Washington.
Sept. 30,	Harmar leaves Fort Washington.
Oct. 15,	Colonel Hardin with the advance reaches Miami villages.
Oct. 17,	Main army reaches Miami villages.
Oct. 18,	Trotter goes after Indians.
Oct. 19,	Hardin's first defeat.
Oct. 22,	Hardin's second defeat.

1790.	December,	Kentuckians petition Congress to fight Indians in their own way.
	December,	Admission of Kentucky to U. States brought before Congress.
	December,	Massie and others contract to settle Manchester.
1791.	Jan. 2,	Big Bottom settlement destroyed by Indians.
	Feb. 4,	Congress agree to admit Kentucky.
	March 3,	Excise laid on spirits.
	March 9,	Scott of Kentucky authorized to march against Indians.
	March 12,	Procter starts on his western mission.
	April 27,	Procter reaches Buffalo creek.
	May 5,	Procter is refused a vessel to cross Lake Erie.
	May 15,	St. Clair at Fort Washington preparing his expedition.
	May 21,	Procter abandons his mission.
	May 23,	Scott marches up Wabash.
	July 27,	Meeting at Brownsville against excise.
	August 1,	Wilkinson marches against Eel river Indians.
	Sept. 6,	Collector of Alleghany and Washington counties (Pennsylvania) attacked.
	Sept. 7,	Meeting at Pittsburgh against excise.
	Sept. 17,	St. Clair commences his march.
	Oct. 12,	Fort Jefferson commenced.
	October,	Wilson maltreated in west of Pennsylvania.
	Nov. 4,	St. Clair's defeat.
	Nov. 8,	The remainder of the army at Fort Washington.
	December,	Convention elected to form Constitution for Kentucky.
1792.	Jan. 7,	Peace offered by the United States to the Indians through the Senecas.
	Jan. 9,	Pond and Stedman sent west.
	February,	Brant invited to Philadelphia.
	Feb. 1,	Wilkinson sends to field of St. Clair's defeat.
		Gallipolis settled.
	March,	Iroquois chiefs visit Philadelphia.
	April 3,	Instructions issued to Trueman.
	April 3,	Kentucky Constitution prepared.
	May 8,	Excise laws amended.
	May 8,	Captain Hendrick sent west.
	May 22,	Instructions issued to Rufus Putnam.
	May 22,	Trueman leaves Fort Washington—Hardin also.
	June,	General Wayne moves westward.
	June 20,	Brant visits Philadelphia.
		Fire lands given to sufferers, by Connecticut.
	July 7,	Indians seize O. M. Spencer, &c.
	Aug. 21,	Great anti-excise meeting at Pittsburgh.
	Sept. 15,	Washington issues proclamation on excise law.
	Sept. 27,	R. Putnam makes a treaty at Vincennes.
	Nov. 6,	Adair attacked near Fort St. Clair.
	Nov. 6,	Opposition to excise law diminishes.
	December,	United States troops at Legionville, on the Ohio.
1793.	March 1,	Lincoln, Randolph and Pickering, appointed to treat with Indians.
	April,	United States Legion goes down to Cincinnati.

1793.	April 8,	Genet reaches United States.
	May 17,	Commissioners reach Niagara.
	May 18,	Genet is presented to Washington.
	May 30,	First Democratic society in Philadelphia.
	June,	Commissioners correspond with Governor Simcoe.
	July 15,	Commissioners meet Brant and hold a council.
	July 21,	Commissioners at Elliott's house, mouth of Detroit river.
	July 31,	Commissioners meet Indian delegates.
	Aug. 16,	Final action of the Commissioners and Indians.
	Oct. 7,	Wayne leaves Cincinnati with his legion.
	Oct. 13,	Wayne encamps at Greenville.
	Oct. 24,	Wayne is joined by Kentuckians under Scott.
	Oct. 17,	Lowry and Boyd attacked.
	November,	French emissaries sent west.
	Dec. 25,	Field of St. Clair's defeat taken possession of by Wayne's troops.
	Dec. 25,	Dissatisfaction in the west.
1794.	January,	Whisky riots recommence.
	February,	Lord Dorchester's speech to Indians.
	February,	The Mingo Creek Association formed.
	Spring,	Wayne prepares for his campaign.
	April,	General Simcoe builds a Fort on the Maumee.
	April,	Democratic society formed at Pittsburgh.
	May,	Spaniards offer help to Indians.
	May,	French emissaries forced to leave west.
	Summer,	Contest respecting Presqu'isle.
	June 30,	Indians attacked Fort Recovery.
	June,	Suits commenced against whisky rioters.
	July 16,	First gathering about Neville's house; burnt 17th.
	July 23,	Meeting at Mingo Creek.
	July 26,	Mail robbed by Bradford.
	July 26,	Scott, with 1600 men, joins Wayne.
	Aug. 1,	Great gathering at Braddock's field.
	Aug. 7,	Washington issues proclamation against whisky rioters.
	Aug. 8,	Wayne near Maumee.
	Aug. 13,	Wayne sends his last peace message to Indians.
	Aug. 18,	Wayne builds Fort Deposit.
	Aug. 20,	Wayne meets and conquers Indians.
	Aug. 21,	Commissioners of government meet committee of rioters.
	September,	British try to prevent Indians making peace.
	Sept. 11,	Vote taken upon obedience to the law in Pennsylvania.
	Sept. 25,	Washington calls out militia.
	Sept. & Oct.	Fort Wayne built.
	Dec. 28,	Indians ask for peace of Colonel Hamtramck.
1795.	Jan. 24,	Indians sign preliminaries of a treaty.
	Spring,	Prisoners are interchanged.
	May,	Connecticut prepares to sell her reserve.
	June 16,	Council of Greenville opens.
	July,	The Baron de Carondelet writes Sebastian.
	July,	Jay's treaty formed.
	Aug. 3,	Treaty of Greenville signed.
	Aug. 10,	Council of Greenville closed.

1795.	August,	Grant by Congress to Gallipolis settlers.
	Sept. 5 or 9,	Connecticut sells Western Reserve to Land Company.
	Oct. 27,	Pinckney concludes treaty with Spain.
	Nov. 4,	Dayton laid out.
1796.		Chillicothe founded.
		M. Adet, French Minister, sends emissaries to disaffect the west to the Union.
		Sebastian visits the south-west.
	Sept.	Cleveland laid out and named.
	July,	British give up posts in north-west.
	August,	Difficulties with Spain begin.
	August,	General Wayne died.
	August,	First paper mill in the west.
1797.		Power visits Kentucky, and writes to Sebastian.
	Oct.	Daniel Boone moves west of Mississippi.
	Oct.	Occupying claimant law of Kentucky passed.
1798.		W. H. Harrison appointed Secretary of North-west territory.
		Alien and sedition laws passed.
		Nullifying resolutions in Kentucky.
		Death abolished in Kentucky, except for murder.
	Dec.	Representatives for north-west territory first chosen.
1799.	Feb. 4,	Representatives of north-west territory meet to nominate candidates for Council.
	Feb.	Kentucky Constitution amended.
	Sept. 24,	Assembly of north-west territory organizes at Cincinnati.
	Oct. 6,	W. H. Harrison appointed Delegate in Congress for north-west territory.
1800.	May 7,	Indiana territory formed.
	May 30,	Connecticut yields jurisdiction of her reserve to the U. States, and United States gives her patents for the soil.
	Oct. 1,	Treaty of St. Ildefonso.
	Nov. 3,	Assembly of north-west territory meets at Chillicothe.
	Nov. 3,	First missionary in Connecticut Reserve.
1801.		W. H. Harrison appointed Governor of Indiana territory.
		St. Clair re-appointed Governor of north-west territory.
		Cincinnati, in place of Chillicothe, again made seat of government for north-west territory.
	Dec.	Thomas Worthington goes to Washington to procure the erection of Ohio into a State.
1802	January,	University at Athens, Ohio, established.
	January,	First Bank in Kentucky.
	April 30,	Congress agree that Ohio may become a State.
	Oct. 16,	The Spanish Intendant forbids the use of New Orleans by the Americans.
	Nov. 1,	Convention meets to form a Constitution for Ohio.
	Nov. 29,	Constitution formed.
1803.	April,	New Orleans opened to Americans again.
	April,	Livingston and Monroe in France—purchase Louisiana.
	April,	Lands locatedd for Miami University.
	April,	Miami Exporting Company chartered.
	Oct. 21,	The Senate ratify the purchase of Louisiana.

1803.	Dec. 20,	Louisiana given up to the Americans.
1804.	March 26,	Territory of Orleans, & District of Upper Louisiana organized.
	May 14,	Lewis and Clark start on their expedition.
1805.	Jan. 11,	Michigan territory formed.
	June 11,	Detroit burned to the ground.
	June,	Burr visits the west.
	June,	General Assembly meet in Indiana territory.
	June,	Tecumthe and the Prophet begin to influence the Indians.
	June,	Steps taken to make National road.
1806.	July 29,	Burr's letter to Wilkinson.
	Aug.	Spaniards cross the Sabine.
	Aug. 21,	Burr goes west; is at Pittsburgh.
	Sept.	Lewis and Clark return from Oregon.
	Nov.	Davies tries to arrest Burr.
	Dec. 6,	Sebastian found guilty by Kentucky House of Representatives.
	Dec. 10,	Burr's men go down the Ohio.
	Dec. 14,	Burr's boats and stores arrested.
	26,	Burr meets his men at the mouth of the Cumberland.
1807.	Jan. 17,	Burr yields to civil authority of Mississippi.
	Jan.	Burr escapes, is seized, and tried at Richmond in May.
	May,	Petition for slavery in Indiana.
1808.		Bank of Marietta chartered.
		Bank of Chillicothe chartered.
	June,	Tecumthe and the Prophet remove to Tippecanoe.
1809.		Illinois territory formed.
	Feb. 17,	Miami University chartered.
1810.		Boone's Lick settled.
	July,	C. Cole and others killed by Indians in Missouri.
	August,	Meeting of Tecumthe and Harrison at Vincennes.
1811.		Company of rangers raised in Illinois.
	July,	Tecumthe goes to the south.
	August,	Harrison proposes to visit Indians.
	Oct.	Harrison marches toward Tippecanoe.
		First steamer (New Orleans) leaves Pittsburgh for Natchez and New Orleans.
	Nov. 7,	Battle of Tippecanoe.
	Dec. 16,	Great earthquakes begin.
1812.	June 1,	General Hull marches from Dayton.
	June 28,	British at Malden hear of the declaration of war.
	July 1,	Hull sends men and goods by water to Detroit.
	July 2,	Hull hears of the declaration of war.
	July 12,	Americans at Sandwich.
	July 17,	Mackinac taken by the British.
	Aug. 7,	Hull retires to Detroit.
	Aug. 13,	Brock reaches Malden.
	Aug. 14,	Brock at Sandwich.
	Aug. 16,	Brock before Detroit.
	Aug. 16,	Hull surrenders.
	Aug. 15,	Massacre of troops near Chicago.
	Sept. 8,	Fort Harrison attacked.
	Sept. 17,	W. H. Harrison appointed Commander in north-west.

1812.	Oct.	General Hopkins attacks the Indians on the Wabash.
	Oct.	Governor Edwards attacks the Indians on the Illinois.
	Dec.	Colonel Campbell attacks the Indians on the Missisinneway.
1813.	Jan. 10,	Winchester reaches the rapids of Maumee.
	Jan. 17,	Sends troops to Frenchtown.
	Jan. 18,	British at Frenchtown defeated.
	Jan. 22,	Americans defeated at Frenchtown, with great loss.
	Jan. 23,	Massacre of the wounded.
	Jan. 24,	Harrison retreats to Portage river.
	Feb. 1,	Harrison advances to Maumee, and builds Fort Meigs.
	April 28,	Fort Meigs besieged.
	May 5,	General Green Clay reaches Fort Meigs; Dudley's party lost.
	May 9,	British return to Malden.
	July 18,	British fleet prepare to attack Erie.
	July 31,	Fort Stephenson besieged, and bravely defended.
	Aug. 4,	Perry's vessels leave Erie.
	Sept. 10,	Victory by Perry, on Lake Erie.
	Sept. 27,	American army at Malden.
	Sept. 29,	American army at Sandwich.
	Oct. 5.	Battle of the Thames, and Tecumthe killed.
1814.	Feb.	Holmes's expedition into Canada.
	Feb.	J. C. Symmes died.
	July,	Expedition under Croghan against Mackinac.
	July,	Fort Shelby, at Prairie du Chien, taken by the British.
	July 22,	Treaty with Indians at Greenville.
	Oct. & Nov.	McArthur's expedition into Canada.
	Dec. 24,	Treaty of Ghent.
1815.		Various treaties with Indians.
	Feb.	Ohio taxes the Banks.
1816.	March,	Pittsburgh incorporated.
	March,	Columbus made capitol of Ohio.
	Dec.	Bank of Shawneetown chartered.
	Dec.	General Banking Law of Ohio, passed.
	Dec. 11,	Indiana admitted to the Union.
1817.		First steamboat at St. Louis.
	September,	North-west of Ohio bought of Indians.
	Jan. & Oct.,	U. States Bank opens branches in Cincinnati and Chillicothe.
1818.	Aug. 26,	Illinois becomes a State.
1819.		First steamboats on the Missouri.
		Military Post established at Council Bluffs.
		Expedition to the Yellow Stone.
		The first steamer on Lake Erie.
	September,	Contest of Ohio and the United States Bank.
1820.	December,	Nullification resolutions of Ohio.
	Sept.	Missouri forms a Constitution.
	May,	Cass visits Lake Superior, &c.
1821.	Aug. 12,	Missouri received into the Union by proclamation of President.
1822.	Jan. 31,	Ohio moves in relation to canals.
	Jan. 31,	Ohio moves in relation to schools.
1823.	Feb. 14,	Illinois moves in relation to canals.
1824.		Slavery contest in Illinois.
1825.	Feb. 4 & 5,	Ohio passes canal and school laws.
1326.		The first steamer on Lake Michigan.
1827.	Nov. 1.	First seminary built and opened in Illinois.
1830.		Treaty by Keokuk at Prairie du Chien.
1831.		Black Hawk hostile, and driven west of Mississippi.
1832.		First steamer at Chicago.
	February,	Great flood in Ohio.
	May,	Black Hawk war commenced.
	May 14,	Stillman's defeat near Rock river.
	May 21,	Indian creek settlement destroyed.
	July,	Cholera among Scott's troops and along Lakes.
	July 21,	Black Hawk defeated on Wisconsin.
	Aug. 2,	Black Hawk defeated on Mississippi.
	Aug. 27,	Black Hawk delivered to United States.
	Sept.,	Treaty with Indians.

1832. Oct.	Cholera at Cincinnati and along the Ohio.
1833.	First farming settlements in Iowa.
July 20,	Governor Edwards died at Belleville, Illinois.
	Cholera at St. Louis and throughout the Mississippi Valley.
	Mormon difficulties in Jackson county, Missouri.
	Indian treaty at Chicago.
1834.	Gazetteer of Illinois published at Jacksonville.
	Termination of various bank charters in Ohio.
1835.	Michigan forms a Constitution and makes application to join the Union.
	Congress proposes conditions.
1836.	State Bank of Illinois chartered.
	Michigan rejects the conditions.
	Adopted in a second Convention.
	Territory of Wisconsin (including Iowa) organized.
	Illinois and Michigan canal commenced.
1837.	Michigan received into the Union.
	Internal Improvement System adopted in Illinois.
	Riots at Alton, Ill., and Lovejoy killed.
	State House of Missouri, at Jefferson City, burned.
1838. July 4,	Territory of Iowa organized.
	Mormon war in Missouri.
Sept. 1,	Death of Governor William Clark.
1839.	Bank Commissioners appointed in Ohio.
	Mormons retreat to Illinois, locate at Commerce, and call it Nauvoo.
	Iowa City located and made the seat of government.
1840.	Great political excitement in the presidential canvas.
1841. April 4,	Death of W. H. Harrison, President of the United States, at Washington City.
	Canal, Internal Improvement System, and Banks in Illinois stopped.
	Great depression in financial affairs throughout the west.
1842.	Cincinnati Astronomical society founded.
June 20,	Death of General Henry Atkinson at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri.
Aug. 15,	Death of Hon. Mary P. Leduc, first Secretary of Upper Louisiana, and an old citizen of St. Louis.
May 14,	Death of Hon. A. W. Snyder, Belleville, Ill.
Aug. 28,	Death of Hon. J. B. C. Lucas, at St. Louis, aged 80.
1843.	Illinois Banks accept of an act by the Legislature and close their business.
	Corner stone of Cincinnati Observatory laid in November.
	Mormon troubles in Illinois.
1844.	Great flood on the Mississippi—American Bottom submerged.
	Steamboats went from St. Louis to the Illinois bluffs.
	Mormon war in Illinois; Joseph Smith, the leader, and others killed.
	State Constitution formed in Iowa; boundaries not approved by Congress.
1845.	Banking law of Ohio creating a State Bank and branches, and independent Banks passed.
	Illinois negotiates with bond-holders to finish canal.
1846.	Work on the Illinois canal resumed.
	Convention in Wisconsin form a State Constitution; rejected by the people.
1847.	Convention in Illinois form a new Constitution.
1848.	Constitution of Illinois adopted by the people, and went into operation.
	Wisconsin forms a new Constitution; approved by the people, and accepted by Congress.
1849.	Cholera on the western rivers, and in many cities and towns.
	Deaths from all diseases in St. Louis, 8,603; cholera, 4,800.
May 17,	Great fire: 23 steamboats, 400 buildings, and $2,750,000 worth of property burnt.
Oct. 17,	Great Convention in St. Louis on Rail-road to the Pacific.

ERRATA.

In a book like the "Annals," it is hardly possible, between authors, compositors and proof readers, to avoid some typographical errors. The most frequent that occurs in this work, are misplacing the brackets, intended to distinguish the composition of the Editor from that of Mr. Perkins.

Page 29, Nicholas Parrot, should be Perrot.
37, A part of the last paragraph should have been in brackets.
47, The asterisk after "Hidden River," should be out.
66, Read, "all was *still wild* except those little spots."
70, Third paragraph, read 1752 for 7732.
71, A bracket after second paragraph.
133, The brackets in the middle of the page should be out.
134, Brackets out at close of first paragraph.
142, Third paragraph read "a few days after that in the boat," instead, "after that at *Captina*."
167, Put a bracket at close of the page.
171, A bracket should be out at the commencement of paragraph second.
187, A bracket should be at close of the chapter.
201, A bracket should be at close of first paragraph.
209, A bracket at close of the page.
509, Chickasaw Bluffs in line 15 from the top, should be Iron Banks situated a few miles below the junction of Ohio and Mississippi rivers.
261, A bracket should follow asterisk, after last paragraph.
311, A bracket after third paragraph.
349, A bracket after third paragraph.
399, A bracket after first paragraph.
447, A bracket after first paragraph.
504, A bracket should be out at first paragraph.
527, The date should be 1803, instead of 1793.
534, A bracket at close of the page.
569, A bracket at the close of last paragraph but one.
570, Bracket should be left out at the end of second paragraph, after "Illinois."
574, 575, The captions over these pages are wrong. "*Organization of Illinois Territory*," is found on pp. 576, 577.
577, A bracket is wanting at the close of fourth paragraph. "Fort Wayne, August 7, 1818, in some copies should be 1810.
595, The bracket should be left out at the commencement of the paragraph.
602, "Fort Wayne" should read "Sandwich," at the 13th line from bottom.
616, In third paragraph after Cahokia, read *Creek*.
619, The bracket should be put at the close of the last of last paragraph.
636, The caption is wrong. It belongs to page 633.
643, The bracket at the end of first paragraph, should be left out.
709, 711, and 713. The captions over these pages should be "*Sketches of Indian History*."
744, "Cape au Gris," should be *Cape au Gres*. It was so called from the *gray* rock there.
795, Second paragraph read "Sauteaurs."
796, In third paragraph, read *retailed* for "*retained* this story of Black Hawk."

ANNALS OF THE WEST.

CHAPTER I.

SPANISH AND FRENCH DISCOVERIES, A. D. 1512 TO 1750.

Discovery of Florida—De Soto's Expedition and Discovery of the Mississippi—Marquette and Joliet's Expedition—Enterprise of La Salle—Visit to Illinois—Fort Crevecœur—Hennepin's voyage up the Mississippi—La Salle's Expedition down the Mississippi to the Gulf—"Proces Verbal"—Returns to Illinois and starts to France—La Salle returns to the Gulf of Mexico—Discovers and takes possession of Texas—His Assassination—Tonti's Achievements—La Hontan—Kaskaskia Founded—D'Ibberville's Voyage—Grant to Crozat—Mississippi Company—New Orleans Founded—The Natchez Extermination—War with the Chickasaws—Mississippi Valley in 1750.

In the year 1512, on Easter Sunday, the Spanish name for which is Pascua Florida,* Juan Ponce de Leon, an old comrade of Columbus, discovered the coast of the American continent, near St. Augustine; and, in honor of the day, as well as because of the blossoms which covered the trees along the shore, named the new-found country Florida. Juan had been led to undertake the discovery of strange lands, partly by the hope, common to all his countrymen at that time, of finding endless stores of gold, and partly by the wish to reach a fountain that was said to exist, deep within the forests of North America, which possessed the power of renovating the life of those who drank of, or bathed in, its waters. In return for his discovery he was made Governor of the region he had visited, but various circumstances prevented his return thither until 1521, and then he went only to meet with death at the hands of the Indians.

In the mean time, in 1516, a roving Spanish sea captain, Diego Miruelo, had visited the coast first reached by Ponce de Leon, and in his barters with the natives had received considerable quantities of gold, with which he returned home, and spread abroad new stories of the wealth hidden in the interior.

*Pascua, the old English "Pasch" or Passover; "Pascua Florida" is the "Holy-day of Flowers."

Ten years, however, passed before Pamphilo de Narvaez undertook to prosecute the examination of the lands north of the Gulf of Mexico; the shores of which, during the intervening years, had been visited and roughly surveyed. Narvaez was excited to action by the late astonishing success of the conqueror of Montezuma, but he found the gold for which he sought, fly constantly before him; each tribe of Indians referred him to those living still farther in the interior, and from tribe to tribe he and his companions wandered, weary and disappointed, during six months; then, having reached the shore again, naked and famished, they tried to regain the Spanish colonies; but of three hundred only four or five at length reached Mexico. And still these disappointed wanderers persisted in their original fancy that Florida* was as wealthy as Mexico or Peru; and after all their wanderings and sufferings so told the world.†

Among those to whom this report came, was Ferdinand de Soto, who had been with Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, and who longed for an opportunity to make himself as rich and noted as the other great Captains of the day. He asked leave of the King of Spain to conquer Florida at his own cost. It was given in 1538; with a brilliant and noble band of followers, he left Europe; and in May 1539, after a stay in Cuba, anchored his vessels near the coast of the Peninsula of Florida, in the bay of Spiritu Santo, or Tampa bay.‡

*By Florida the Spaniards in early times meant at least all of North America south of the Great Lakes.

†For facts in relation to Florida see Bancroft's Hist. U. S., Vol. I.

‡The original authorities in relation to De Soto, are an anonymous Portuguese writer, a gentleman of Elvas, who claims to have been an eye-witness of what he relates; and Louis Hernandez de Biedma, who was also with the expedition, and presented his account to the Spanish King in 1544. We have also a letter from De Soto, to the authorities of the city of Santiago, in Cuba, dated July 9, 1539. These authorities in the main agree, though the Portuguese account is much the fullest, and the Governor's letter of course relates but few events. The Portuguese narrative was published in 1557; Hakluyt gave it in English in 1609, and it was again published in London in 1686; a French translation appeared in Paris in 1685. Its credibility is questioned. See Sparks in Butler's Kentucky, 2d Ed. 493; also, Bancroft's U. S. I; 66. note. The account by Biedma and De Soto's letter are, in a work published in Paris, called *"Voyages, Relations et Memoires originaux pour servir a l'histoire de decouverte de l'Amerique."* One volume of this collection relates to Florida, and appeared in 1841. We have epitomised the account as given by Bancroft in his first volume.

NOTE BY THE ED.—There is a narrative by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, in Spanish, written a few years after the return of De Soto's companions and while they were living. From this and the other work mentioned above, Theodore Irving, Esq., while in Madrid, a few years since compiled his "Conquest of Florida," in two volumes 12 mo. Much of it appears like romance, but the whole expedition of De Soto was *romance* in reality, though a historical fact.

De Soto entered upon his march into the interior with a determination to succeed. He had brought with him all things that it was supposed could be needful, and that none might be tempted to turn back, he sent away his vessels. From June till November, of 1539, the Spaniards toiled along until they reached the neighborhood of Appalachee bay, finding no gold, no fountain of youth. During the next season, 1540, they followed the course suggested by the Florida Indians, who wished them out of their country, and going to the north-east, crossed the rivers and climbed the mountains of Georgia. De Soto was a stern, severe man, and none dare to murmur. Still finding no cities of boundless wealth, they turned westward, towards the waters of the Mobile, and following those waters, in October (1540,) came to the town of Mavilla on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombecbee. This town the Europeans wished to occupy, but the natives resisted them, and in a battle which ensued, the Indians were defeated.

Finding himself, notwithstanding his victory, exposed to constant attacks from the red men at this point, De Soto resumed his march towards the Mississippi, and passed the winter, probably, near the Yazoo. In April 1541, once more the resolute Spaniard set forward, and upon the first of May reached the banks of the Great River of the West, not far from the 35th parallel of latitude.* A month was spent in preparing barges to convey the horses, many of which still lived, across the rapid stream. Having successfully passed it, the explorers pursued their way northward, into the neighborhood of New Madrid; then turning westward again, marched more than two hundred miles from the Mississippi to the highlands of White river. And still no gold, no gems, no cities; only bare prairies, and tangled forests, and deep morasses. To the south again they toiled on, and passed their third winter of wandering upon the Washita. In the following spring (1542,) De Soto, weary with hope long deferred, descended the Washita to its junction with the Mississippi, wishing to learn the distance and direction of the sea. He heard, when he reached the mighty stream of the West, that its lower portion flowed through endless and uninhabitable swamps.—Determined to learn the truth, he sent forward horsemen; in eight days they advanced only thirty miles. The news sank

*De Soto probably was at the lower Chickasaw Bluffs. The Spaniards called the Mississippi, *Rio Grande*, Great River, which is the literal meaning of the aboriginal name.—Ed.

deep into the stout heart of the disappointed warrior. His men and horses were wasting around him: the Indians near by challenged him, and he dared not meet them. His health yielded to the contests of his mind and the influence of the climate; he appointed a successor, and upon the 21st of May died. His body was sunk in the stream of the Mississippi.

Deprived of their energetic, though ruthless, leader, the Spaniards determined to try to reach Mexico by land. They turned West again therefore, and penetrated to the Red river, wandering up and down in the forests, the sport of inimical Indians. The Red river they could not cross, and jaded and heartless, again they went eastward, and reached in December 1542, the great Father of Waters once more. Despairing of success in the attempt to rescue themselves by land, they proceeded to prepare such vessels as they could to take them to sea. From January to July 1543, the weak, sickly band of gold-seekers, labored at the doleful task; and in July reached, in the vessels thus wrought, the Gulf of Mexico, and by September, entered the river Panuco. One-half of the six hundred* who had disembarked with De Soto, so gay in steel and silk, left their bones among the mountains and in the morasses of the South, from Georgia to Arkansas.

Such was the first expedition by Europeans, into the great Western Valley of North America. They founded no settlements, left no traces, produced no effect unless to excite the hostility of the red against the white men, and to dishearten such as might otherwise have tried to follow up the career of discovery to better purpose. As it was, for more than a century after the expedition of De Soto, the West remained utterly unknown to the whites. In 1616, four years before the Pilgrims "moored their bark on the wild New England shore," Le Caron, a French Franciscan, had penetrated through the Iroquois and Wyandots† to the streams which run into Lake Huron; and in 1634, two Jesuits had founded the first mission among the rivers and marshes of the region east of that great inland sea; but it was 1641, just one hundred years after De Soto reached the

* De Biedma says there landed 620 men.

† The Wyandots are the same as the Hurons. Heckewelder's Narr. 336, note. see their traditionary history by J. Badger, a Missionary among them.—Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany I. 153.

Mississippi, that the first Canadian envoys met the savage nations of the North-west, at the Sault de Ste. Marie,* below the outlet of Lake Superior. This visit, however, led to no permanent result, and it was not till 1659 that even any of the adventurous fur traders spent a winter on the frozen and inhospitable shores of the vast lake of the North, nor till 1660 that the unflinching devotion of the Missionaries caused the first station to rise upon its rocky and pine-clad borders. But Mesnard, who founded that station, perished in the woods in a few months afterward, and five more years slipped by before Father Claude Allouez, in 1665, built the earliest of the lasting habitations of white men among the kindly and hospitable Indians of the Northwest. Following in his steps, in 1668, Claude Dablon and James Marquette founded the mission at St. Mary's Falls; in 1670, Nicholas Parrot, as agent for Talon, the intendant of Canada, explored lake Michigan as far as Chicago; in 1671 formal possession was taken of the North west by French officers in the presence of Indians assembled from every part of the surrounding region, and in the same year Marquette gathered a little flock of listeners, at Point St. Ignatius, on the main land north of the island of Mackinac. During the three years which this most excellent man had now spent in that country, the idea of exploring the lands yet farther towards the setting sun, had been growing more and more definite in his mind. He had heard, as all had, of the great river of the West, and fancied upon its fertile banks,—not mighty cities, mines of gold, or fountains of youth—but whole tribes of God's children to whom the sound of the Gospel had never come. Filled with the wish to go and preach to them, he obeyed with joy the orders of Talon, the wise intendant of Canada, to lead a party into the unknown distance; and having received, as companions on behalf of the government, a Monsieur Joliet, of Quebec, together with five boatmen, in the spring of 1673, he prepared to go forth in search of the much talked of stream.†

Upon the 13th of May, 1673, this little band of seven left Michilimackinac in two bark canoes, with a small store of Indian corn and jerked meat, bound they knew not whither.

The first nation they visited, one with which our reverend Father had been long acquainted, being told of their venturous

*Falls of St. Mary. †For the above dates, &c., see Bancroft's U. S., Vol. III

plan, begged them to desist. There were Indians, they said, on that great river, who would cut off their heads without the least cause; warriors who would seize them; monsters who would swallow them, canoes and all; even a demon, who shut the way, and buried in the waters that boil about him, all who dared draw nigh; and, if these dangers were passed, there were heats there that would infallibly kill them.* "I thanked them for their good advice," says Marquette, "but I told them that I could not follow it; since the salvation of souls was at stake, for which I should be overjoyed to give my life."

Passing through Green Bay, from the mud of which, says our voyager, rise "mischievous vapors, that cause the most grand and perpetual thunders that I have ever heard," they entered Fox river, and toiling over stones which cut their feet, as they dragged their canoes through its strong rapids, reached a village where lived in union the Miamis, Mascoutens† and "Kikabeux" (Kickapoos.) Here Allouez had preached, and behold! in the midst of the town, a cross, (*une belle croix,*) on which hung skins, and belts, and bows, and arrows, which "these good people had offered to the great Manitou, to thank him because he had taken pity on them during the winter, and had given them an abundant chase."

Beyond this point no Frenchman had gone; here was the bound of discovery; and much did the savages wonder at the hardihood of these seven men, who, alone, in two bark canoes, were thus fearlessly passing into unknown dangers.

On the 10th of June, they left this wondering and well-wishing crowd, and, with two guides to lead them through the lakes and marshes of that region, started for the river, which, as they heard, rose but about three leagues distant, and fell into the Mississippi. Without ill-luck these guides conducted them to the portage, and helped them carry their canoes across it; then, returning, left them "alone amid that unknown country, in the hand of God."

*The allusion here is to the legend of the *Piasau*—or the monster bird that devoured men, of which some rude Indian paintings were seen thirty years since on the cliffs above the city of Alton, and Indians as they passed in their canoes made offerings by dropping tobacco and other articles, valuable in their estimation in the river. John Russell, Esq., of Illinois, wove this "Indian Tradition" into a beautiful story that went the rounds of periodical literature, in 1840.—Ed.

†In Charlevoix's time these occupied the country from the Illinois to the Fox river, and from lake Michigan to the Mississippi.—See his Map.

With prayers to the mother of Jesus they strengthened their souls, and committed themselves, in all hope, to the current of the westward flowing river, the "Ouisconsin"* (Wisconsin;) a sand-barred stream, hard to navigate, but full of islands covered with vines, and bordered by meadows, and groves, and pleasant slopes. Down this they floated until, upon the 17th of June, they entered the Mississippi, "with a joy," says Marquette, "that I cannot express."

Quietly floating down the great river, they remarked the deer, the buffaloes, the swans—"wingless, for they lose their feathers in that country,"—the great fish, one of which had nearly knocked their canoe into atoms, and other creatures of air, earth and water, but no men. At last, however, upon the 21st of June, they discovered, upon the western bank of the river, the foot prints of some fellow mortals, and a little path leading into a pleasant meadow. Leaving the canoes in charge of their followers, Joliet and Father Marquette boldly advanced upon this path toward, as they supposed, an Indian village. Nor were they mistaken; for they soon came to a little town, to which, recommending themselves to God's care, they went so nigh as to hear the savages talking. Having made their presence known by a loud cry, they were graciously received by an embassy of four old men, who presented them the pipe of peace, and told them, that this was a village of the "Illinois." The voyagers were then conducted into the town, where all received them as friends, and treated them to a great smoking. After much complimenting and present-making, a grand feast was given to the Europeans, consisting of four courses. The first was of hominy, the second of fish, the third of a dog,† which the Frenchmen declined, and the whole concluded with roast buffalo. After the feast they were marched through the town with great ceremony and much speech-making; and, having spent the night, pleasantly and quietly, amid the Indians, they returned to their canoes with an escort of six hundred people.

*Called "Misconsin" in the printed Journal.—Ed.

†A dog feast is still a feast of honor among the savages. See Fremont's Report of Expeditions of 1842, '43, and '44, printed at Washington, 1845; p. 42. Fremont says the meat is somewhat like mutton. See, also, Dr. Jarvis's discourse before the N. Y. Historical Society in 1819, note R.; Lewis and Clark's Journal, II. 165; Godman's Natural History, I. 254.

The Illinois, Marquette, like all the early travelers, describes as remarkably handsome, well-mannered, and kindly, even somewhat effeminate.

Leaving the Illinois, the adventurers passed the rocks* upon which were painted those monsters of whose existence they had heard on Lake Michigan, and soon found themselves at the mouth of the Pekitanoni, or Missouri of our day; the character of which is well described; muddy, rushing, and noisy.—They next passed a dangerous rock in the river† and then came to the Ouabouskigou, or Ohio, a stream which makes but a small figure in Father Marquette's map, being but a trifling watercourse compared to the Illinois. From the Ohio, our voyagers passed with safety, except from the musquitoes, into the neighborhood of the "Akamscas," or Arkansas. Here they were attacked by a crowd of warriors, and had nearly lost their lives; but Marquette resolutely presented the peace-pipe, and some of the old men of the attacking party were softened, and saved them from harm. "God touched their hearts," says the pious narrator.

The next day the Frenchmen went on to "Akamsca," where they were received most kindly, and feasted on corn and dog till they could eat no more. These Indians cooked in and eat from earthen ware, and were amiable and unceremonious, each man helping himself from the dish and passing it to his neighbor.

From this point Joliet and our writer determined to return to the North, as dangers increased towards the sea, and no doubt could exist as to the point where the Mississippi emptied, to ascertain which point was the great object of their expedition. Accordingly, on the 17th of July, our voyagers left Akamsca; retraced their path with much labor, to the Illinois, through which they soon reached the Lake; and, "nowhere," says Marquette, "did we see such grounds, meadows, woods, stags, buffaloes, deer, wild-cats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beavers," as on the Illinois river.

In September the party, without loss or injury, reached Green Bay, and reported their discovery; one of the most important of that age, but of which we have now no record left except the brief narrative of Marquette; Joliet, (as we learn from an abstract of his account, given in Hennepin's second volume,

* Piasa Rock, at the present city of Alton, Illinois. † The Grand Tower.

London, 1698,) having lost all his papers while returning to Quebec, by the upsetting of his canoe. Marquette's unpretending account, we have in a collection of voyages by Thevenot, printed in Paris in 1681.* Its general correctness is unquestionable; and, as no European had claimed to have made any such discovery at the time this volume was published, but the persons therein named, we may consider the account as genuine.

Afterwards Marquette returned to the Illinois, by their request, and ministered to them until 1675. On the 18th of May, in that year, as he was passing with his boatmen up Lake Michigan, he proposed to land at the mouth of a stream running from the peninsula, and perform mass. Leaving his men with the canoe, he went a little way apart to pray, they waiting for him. As much time passed, and he did not return, they called to mind that he had said something of his death being at hand, and anxiously went to seek him. They found him dead; where he had been praying, he had died. The canoe-men dug a grave near the mouth of the stream, and buried him in the sand. Here his body was liable to be exposed by a rise of water; and would have been so, had not the river retired, and left the missionary's grave in peace. Charlevoix, who visited the spot some fifty years afterward, found that the waters had forced a passage at the most difficult point, had cut through a bluff, rather than cross the lowland where that grave was. The river is called Marquette.†

While the simple-hearted and true Marquette was pursuing his labors of love in the West, two men, differing widely from him and each other, were preparing to follow in his footsteps, and perfect the discoveries so well begun by him and the Sieur Joliet. These were Robert de la Salle and Louis Hennepin.

* This work is now very rare, but Marquette's Journal has been republished by Mr. Sparks, at least in substance, in Butler's Kentucky, 2d Ed. 492; and in the American Biography, 1st series, vol. X. A copy of the map by Marquette, is also given by Mr. Bancroft, vol. III. We have followed the original in Thevenot, a copy of which is in Harvard Library.

†Charlevoix's *Letters*, vol. II. p. 96. *New France*, vol. VI. p. 20. Marquette spells the name of the great western river, "Mississippy;" Hennepin made it "Meschasipi;" others have written "Meschasabe," &c. &c. There is great confusion in all the Indian oral names; we have "Kikabeaux," "Kikapous," "Quicapous;" "Ottaouets," "Outnovas;" "Miamis," "Oumamis;" and so of nearly all the nations. Our "Sioux" Charlevoix tells us, is the last syllable of "Nadoussioux," which is written, by Hennepin, "Nadoussion" and "Nadoussious," in his "*Louisiana*," and "Nadouessans," and in his "*Nouvelle Decouverte*." The Shawanese are always called the "Chouanouns."

La Salle was a native of Normandy, and was brought up, as we learn from Charlevoix, among the Jesuits;* but, having lost, by some unknown cause, his patrimony, and being of a stirring and energetic disposition, he left his home to seek fortune among the cold and dark regions of Canada. This was about the year 1670. Here he mused long upon the pet project of those ages, a short-cut to China and the East; and, gaining his daily bread, we know not how, was busily planning an expedition up the great lakes, and so across the continent to the Pacific, when Marquette returned from the Mississippi. At once the hot mind of La Salle received from his and his companion's narrations, the idea, that, by following the Great River northward, or by turning up some of the streams which joined it from the westward, his aim might be certainly and easily gained. Instantly he went towards his object. He applied to Frontenac, then governor-general of Canada, laid before him an outline of his views, dim but gigantic, and, as a first step, proposed to rebuild of stone, and with improved fortifications, Fort Frontenac upon Lake Ontario, a post to which he knew the governor felt all the affection due to a namesake. Frontenac entered warmly into his views. He saw, that, in La Salle's suggestion, which was to connect Canada with the Gulf of Mexico by a chain of forts upon the vast navigable lakes and rivers which bind that country so wonderfully together, lay the germ of a plan, which might give unmeasured power to France, and unequalled glory to himself, under whose administration, he fondly hoped, all would be realized. He advised La Salle, therefore, to go to the King of France, to make known his project, and ask for the royal patronage and protection; and, to forward his suit, gave him letters to the great Colbert, minister of finance and marine.

With a breast full of hope and bright dreams, in 1675, the penniless adventurer sought his monarch; his plan was approved by the minister, to whom he presented Frontenac's letter; La Salle was made a Chevalier; was invested with the seignory of Fort Catarocouy or Frontenac, upon condition he would rebuild it; and received from all the first noblemen and princes, assurances of their good-will and aid. Returning to Canada, he labored diligently at his fort till the close of 1677, when he again sailed for France with news of his pro-

* Charlevoix's *New France*, Paris edition of 1744, vol. II. p. 263.

gress. Colbert and his son, Seignelay, now minister of marine, once more received him with favor, and, at their instance, the King granted new letters patent with new privileges. His mission having sped so well, on the 14th of July, 1678, La Salle, with his lieutenant, Tonti, an Italian, and thirty men, sailed again from Rochelle for Quebec, where they arrived on the 15th of September; and, after a few days' stay, proceeded to Fort Frontenac.*

Here was quietly working, though in no quiet spirit, the rival and co-laborer of La Salle, Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan friar, of the Recollet variety; a man full of ambition to be a great discoverer; daring, hardy, energetic, vain, and self-exaggerating, almost to madness; and, it is feared, more anxious to advance his own holy and unholy ends than the truth. He had in Europe lurked behind doors, he tells us, that he might hear sailors spin their yarns touching foreign lands; and he profited, it would seem, by their instructions. He came to Canada when La Salle returned from his first visit to the court, and had, to a certain extent, prepared himself, by journeying among the Iroquois, for bolder travels in the wilderness. Having been appointed by his religious superiors to accompany the expedition which was about to start for the extreme West, under La Salle, Hennepin was in readiness for him at Fort Frontenac, where he arrived, probably, some time in October, 1678.†

*Charlevoix's *New France*, 1744, vol. II. p. 264, 266. Sparks' life of La Salle. American Biography, new series, I. 10 to 15.

† Hennepin's *New Discovery*, Utrecht edition of 1697, p. 70.—Charlevoix's *New France* vol. II. p. 266. We give the names of the lakes and rivers as they appear in the early travels.

Lake Ontario was also Lake Frontenac.

Lake Erie, was Erike, Erige, or Erie, from a nation of Eries destroyed by the Iroquois; they lived where the State of Ohio now is (Charlevoix's *New France*, vol. II. p. 62;) it was also the Lake of Conti.

Lake Huron, was Karegnondi in early times (*Map of* 1656;) and also, Lake of Orleans.

Lake Michigan, was Lake of Puans (*Map of* 1656;) also, of the Illinois, or Illinese, or Illinouacks; also Lake Mischigonong, and Lake of the Dauphin.

Lake Superior was lake *Superieur*, meaning the upper, not the larger lake—also, lake of Conde. Green Bay, was Baie de Puans.

Illinois River, in Hennepin's *Louisiana*, and Joutel's *Journal*, is River Seignelay; and the Mississippi river, in those works, is River Colbert; and was by La Salle, called River Colbert.

Ohio River was Ouabouskigou, Oubachi, Oubache, Oyo, Ouye, Belle Riviere; and by La Salle, River St. Louis.

Missouri River, was Pekitanoni, Riviere des Osages et Mascurites; and by Coxe is called Yellow River.

The Chevalier's first step was to send forward men to prepare the minds of the Indians along the lakes for his coming, and to soften their heart by well-chosen gifts and words; and also, to pick up peltries, beaver skins, and other valuables; and, upon the 18th of November, 1678, he himself embarked in a little vessel of ten tons, to cross Lake Ontario. This, says one of his chroniclers, was the first ship that sailed upon that fresh water sea. The wind was strong and contrary, and four weeks nearly were passed in beating up the little distance between Kingston and Niagara. Having forced their brigantine as far towards the Falls as was possible, our travellers landed; built some magazines with difficulty, for at times the ground was frozen so hard that they could drive their stakes or posts into it, only by first pouring upon it boiling water; and then made acquaintance with the Iroquois of the village of Niagara, upon Lake Erie. Not far from this village, La Salle founded a second fort, upon which he set his men to work; but, finding the Iroquois jealous, he gave it up for a time, and merely erected temporary fortifications for his magazines; and then, leaving orders for a new ship to be built, he returned to Fort Frontenac, to forward stores, cables, and anchors for his forthcoming vessel.

Through the hard and cold winter days, the frozen river lying before them "like a plain paved with fine polished marble," some of his men hewed and hammered upon the timbers of the *Griffin* as the great bark was to be named, while others gathered furs and skins, or sued for the good will of the bloody savages amid whom they were quartered; and all went merrily until the 20th of January, 1679. On that day the Chevalier arrived from below; not with all his goods, however, for his misfortunes had commenced. The vessel in which his valuables had been embarked was wrecked through the bad management of the pilots; and, though the more important part of her freight was saved, much of her provision went to the bottom. During the winter, however, a very nice lot of furs was scraped together, with which, early in the spring of 1679, the commander returned to Fort Frontenac to get another outfit, while Tonti was sent forward to scour the lake coasts, muster together the men who had been sent before, collect skins, and see all that was to be seen. In thus coming and going, buying and trading, the summer of this year slipped

away, and it was the 7th of August before the *Griffin* was ready to sail. Then, with *Te-Deums*, and the discharge of arquebuses, she began her voyage up Lake Erie.

Over Lake Erie, through the strait beyond, across St. Clair, and into Huron the voyagers passed most happily. In Huron they were troubled by storms, dreadful as those upon the ocean, and were at last forced to take refuge in the road of Michilimackinac. This was upon the 27th of August. At this place, which is described as one "of prodigious fertility,"* La Salle remained until the middle of September, founded a fort there, and sent men therefrom in various directions to spy out the state of the land. He then went on to Green Bay, the "Baie des Puans,"† of the French; and, finding there a large quantity of skins and furs collected for him, he determined to load the *Griffin* therewith, and send her back to Niagara. This was done with all promptness; and, upon the 18th of September, she was dispatched under the charge of a pilot, supposed to be competent and trustworthy, while the Norman himself, with fourteen men, proceeded up Lake Michigan, paddling along its shores in the most leisurely manner; Tonti, meanwhile, having been sent to find stragglers, with whom he was to join the main body at the head of the lake.

From the 19th of September till the 1st of November, the time was consumed by La Salle in his voyage up the sea in question. On the day last named, he arrived at the mouth of the river of the Miamis, or St. Josephs, as it is now called.‡ Here he built a fort and remained for nearly a month, when hearing nothing from his *Griffin*, he determined to push on before it was too late.

On the 3rd of December, having mustered all his forces, thirty laborers and three monks, after having left ten men to garrison the fort, La Salle started again upon "his great voyage and glorious undertaking." Ascending the St. Josephs river in the south-western part of Michigan to a point where, by a short portage, they passed to the "*The-au-ki-ki*," (now corrupted into Kankakee,) a main branch of the Illinois river. Falling down the said river by easy journeys, the better to

*In reality a very sterile spot.

†So called from the filthiness of the savages, who lived principally on fish.—Ed.

‡See on this point, North American Review, January 1839, No. CII. p. 74.

observe that country, about the last of December, reached a village of the Illinois Indians, containing some five hundred cabins, but, at that moment, no inhabitants. The Sieur La Salle, being in great want of bread-stuffs, took advantage of this absence of the Indians to help himself to a sufficiency of maize, of which large quantities were found hidden in holes under the huts or wigwams. This village was, as near as we can judge, not far from the spot marked on our maps as Rock Fort, in La Salle county, Illinois. The corn being got aboard, the voyagers betook themselves to the stream again, and toward evening on the 4th of January, 1680, fell into a lake which must have been the lake of Peoria. Here the natives were met with in large numbers, but they were gentle and kind, and having spent some time with them, La Salle determined in that neighborhood to build another fort, for he found that already some of the adjoining tribes were trying to disturb the good feeling which existed; and, moreover, some of his own men were disposed to complain. A spot upon rising ground, near the river, was accordingly chosen about the middle of January, and the fort of *Crevecœur* (Broken Heart,) commenced; a name expressive of the very natural anxiety and sorrow, which the pretty certain loss of his *Griffin*, and his consequent impoverishment (for there were no insurance offices then,) the danger of hostility on the part of the Indians, and of mutiny on the part of his men, might well cause him.

Nor were his fears by any means groundless. In the first place, his discontented followers, and afterwards emissaries from the Mascoutens, tried to persuade the Illinois that he was a friend of the Iroquois, their most deadly enemies; and that he was among them for the purpose of enslaving them. But La Salle was an honest and fearless man, and, as soon as coldness and jealousy appeared on the part of his hosts, he went to them boldly and asked the cause, and by his frank statements preserved their good feeling and good will. His disappointed enemies, then, or at some other time, for it is not very clear when,* tried poison; and, but for "a dose of good treacle," La Salle might have ended his days in his fort Crevecœur.

Meanwhile the winter wore away, and the prairies were

* Charlevoix says it was at the close of 1679; Hennepin, that they did not reach the Illinois, till January 4th, 1680. We have no means of deciding, but follow Hennepin, who is particular as to dates, and was present.

getting to look green again; but our discoverer heard no good news, received no reinforcement; his property was gone, his men were fast deserting him, and he had little left but his own strong heart. The second year of his hopes, and toils, and failures, was half gone, and he further from his object than ever; but still he had that strong heart, and it was more than men and money. He saw that he must go back to Canada, raise new means, and enlist new men; but he did not dream, therefore, of relinquishing his projects. On the contrary, he determined that, while he was on his return, a small party should go to the Mississippi and explore that stream towards its source; and that Tonti, with the few men that remained, should strengthen and extend his relations among the Indians.

For the leader of the Mississippi exploring party, he chose Father Louis Hennepin; and, having furnished him with all the necessary articles, started him upon his voyage on the last day of February, 1680.*

Having thus provided against the entire stagnation of discovery during his forced absence, La Salle at once betook himself to his journey eastward: a journey scarce conceivable now, for it was to be made by land from fort Crevecœur round to fort Frontenac, a distance of at least twelve hundred miles, at the most trying season of the year, when the rivers of the lakes would be full of floating ice, and offer to the traveler neither the security of winter, nor the comfort of summer. But the Chevalier was not to be daunted by any obstacles; his affairs were in so precarious a state that he felt he must make a desperate effort, or all his plans would be for ever broken up; so through snow, ice and water, he won his way along the southern borders of lakes Michigan, Erie and Ontario, and at last reached his destination. He found, as he expected, every thing in confusion: his Griffin was lost; his agents had cheated

* The commander was *D'Acau*, corruptly made *Dacan* by many modern writers. Our authority is Dr. Sparks. In a manuscript correspondence on the subject, with the editor, Dr. S. says:

"In my French MSS., I find the word written *D'Acau*, and I suppose it was commonly called *Acau*. Hence Hennepin writes it from the sound *Ako*; and from the blind manner in which the name was written in Tonti's original MS., *D'Acau*, was mistaken for *Ducan*; and here we have the origin of the conflict between Hennepin and Tonti, in regard to this name, which has puzzled the subsequent writers."

Hennepin was notorious for misstatements, and claims to authority he never possessed. He was with the expedition and the historian of it.—Ed.

him; his creditors had seized his goods. Had his spirit been one atom less elastic and energetic, he would have abandoned the whole undertaking; but La Salle knew neither fear nor despair, and by midsummer we behold him once more on his way to rejoin his little band of explorers on the Illinois. This pioneer body, meanwhile, had suffered greatly from the jealousy of the neighboring Indians, and the attacks of bands of Iroquois, who wandered all the way from their homes in New York, to annoy the less warlike savages of the prairies. Their sufferings, at length, in September, 1680, induced Tonti to abandon his position, and seek the lakes again, a point which, with much difficulty, he effected. When, therefore, La Salle, who had heard nothing of all these troubles, reached the posts upon the Illinois in December 1680, or January 1681, he found them utterly deserted; his hopes again crushed, and all his dreams again disappointed. There was but one thing to be done, however, to turn back to Canada, enlist more men, and secure more means: this he did, and in June, 1681, had the pleasure to meet his comrade, Lieutenant Tonti, at Mackinac, to whom he spoke, as we learn from an eye-witness, with the same hope and courage which he had exhibited at the outset of his enterprise.

And here, for a time, we must leave La Salle and Tonti, and notice the adventures of Hennepin, who, it will be remembered, left fort Crevecœur on the last of February, 1680. In seven days he reached the Mississippi, and, paddling up its icy stream as he best could, by the 11th of April had got no higher than the Wisconsin. Here he was taken prisoner by a band of northern Indians, who treated him and his comrades with considerable kindness, and took them up the river until about the first of May, when they reached the Falls of St. Anthony, which were then so named by Hennepin in honor of his patron saint. Here they took to the land, and traveling nearly two hundred miles towards the northwest, brought him to their villages. These Indians were the Sioux.

Here Hennepin and his companions remained about three months, treated kindly and trusted by their captors; at the end of that time, he met with a band of Frenchmen, headed by one Sieur de Luth, who, in pursuit of trade and game, had penetrated thus far by the route of Lake Superior; and, with these fellow countrymen the Franciscan returned to the bor-

ders of civilized life, in November, 1680, just after La Salle had gone back to the wilderness as we have related. Hennepin soon after went to France, where, in 1684, he published a work narrating his adventures.*

To return again to the Chevalier himself, he met Tonti, as we have said, at Mackinac, in June, 1681; thence he went down the lakes to fort Frontenac, to make the needful preparations for prosecuting his western discoveries; these being made, we find him, in August, 1681, on his way up the lakes again, and on the 3d of November at the St. Josephs, as full of confidence as ever. The middle of December had come, however, before all were ready to go forward, and then, with twenty-three Frenchmen, eighteen eastern Indians, ten Indian women to wait upon their lazy mates, and three children, he started, not as before by the way of the Kankakee, but by the Chicago river, traveling on foot and with the baggage on sledges. It was upon the 5th or 6th of January, 1682, that the band of explorers left the borders of lake Michigan; they crossed the portage, passed down to fort Crevecœur, which they found in good condition, and still going forward, on the 6th of February, were upon the banks of the Mississippi. On the thirteenth they commenced their downward passage, but nothing of interest occurred, until, on the 26th of the month, at the Chickasaw Bluffs, a Frenchman, named Prudhomme, who had gone out with others to hunt, was lost, a circumstance which led to the erection of a fort upon the spot, named from the missing man, who was found, however, eight or nine days afterwards. Pursuing their course, they at length, upon the 6th of April, 1682, discovered the three passages by which the Mississippi discharges its waters into the Gulf; and here we shall let La Salle himself tell his story, as it is given in the

*This volume, called "A description of Louisiana," he, thirteen years afterwards, enlarged and altered, and published with the title, "New Discovery of a Vast Country situated in America, between New Mexico and the Frozen Ocean." In this new publication, he claimed to have violated La Salle's instructions, and in the first place to have gone *down* the Mississippi to its mouth, before ascending it. His claim was very naturally doubted; and examination has proved it to be a complete fable, the materials having been taken from an account published by Le Clercq in 1691, of La Salle's successful voyage down the great river of the West, a voyage of which we have presently to speak. This account of La Clercq's was drawn from the letters of Father Zenobe Membre, a priest who was with La Salle, and is the most valuable published work in relation to the final expedition from Canada, made by that much-tried and dauntless commander. The whole subject of Hennepin's credibility, is presented by Mr. Sparks, in his life of La Salle, with great firmness and precision, and to that we refer all curious readers.

"Proces-verbal" which Mr. Sparks has translated from the original in the French archives. It thus proceeds:

"We landed on the bank of the most western channel, about three leagues from its mouth. On the 7th, M. de La Salle went to reconnoitre the shores of the neighboring sea, and M. de Tonti likewise examined the great middle channel. They found these two outlets beautiful, large and deep.

On the 8th, we reascended the river, a little above its confluence with the sea, to find a dry place, beyond the reach of inundations. The elevation of the North Pole was here about twenty-seven degrees. Here we prepared a column and a cross, and to the said column we affixed the arms of France, with this inscription:

LOUIS LE GRAND, RIO DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE, REGEN;
LE NEUVIEME AVRIL, 1682.

The whole party, under arms, chaunted the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudiat*, the *Domine salvum fac Regem;* and then, after a salute of firearms and cries of *Vive le Roi*, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who, standing near it, said, with a loud voice in French:—

"'In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty, which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of his Majesty and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits; and all the nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams and rivers, comprised in the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis, on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Sipore or Chukagoua, and this with the consent of the Chaounons, Chickasaws, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the river Colbert or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadouessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Montantees, Illinois, Mesigameas, Natches, Koroas, which are

the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom, also, we have made alliance either by ourselves, or by others in our behalf;* as far as its mouth at the sea, or Gulf of Mexico, about the twenty-seventh degree of the elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of the river of Palms; upon the assurance, which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said river Colbert; hereby protesting against all those, who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people or lands, above described, to the prejudice of the right of his Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named. Of which, and of all that can be needed, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the Notary, as required by law.'

"To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of *Vive le Roi*, and with salutes of firearms. Moreover, the said Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree, to which the cross was attached, a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraved the arms of France, and the following Latin inscription.

LVDOVICVS MAGNVS REGENT.
NONO APRILIS CIↃ IↃC LXXXII.
ROBERTVS CAVELLIER, CVM DOMINO DE TONTY, LEGATO, R. P. ZENOBI MEMBRE, RECOLLECTO, ET VIGINTI GALLIS PRIMVS HOC FLVMEN, INDE AB ILINEORVM PAGO, ENAVIGAVIT, EJVSQVE OSTIVM FECIT PERVIVVM, NONO APRILIS ANNI CIↃ IↃC LXXXII.

After which the Sieur de la Salle said, that his Majesty, as eldest son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown, without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must now be planted; which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the *Vexilla* and the *Domine salvum fac Regem* were sung.—Whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of *Vive le Roi*.

"Of all and every of the above, the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him

*There is an obscurity in this enumeration of places and Indian nations, which may be ascribed to an ignorance of the geography of the country; but it seems to be the design of the Sieur de la Salle to take possession of the whole territory watered by the Mississippi from its mouth to its source, and by the streams flowing into it on both sides.—Sparks.

the same, signed by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

"LA METAIRE, *Notary.*

DE LA SALLE,
P. ZENOBE, *Recollect Missionary,*
HENRY DE TONTY,
FRANCOIS DE BOISRONDET,
JEAN BOURDON,
SIEUR D'AUTRAY,
JAQUES CAUCHOIS.
PIERRE YOU,
GILES MEUCRAT,
JEAN MICHEL, *Surgeon,*
JEAN MAS,
JEAN DULIGNON,
NICHOLAS DE LA SALLE."

Thus was the foundation fairly laid for the claim of France to the Mississippi Valley, according to the usages of European powers. But La Salle and his companions could not stay to examine the land they had entered, nor the coast they had reached. Provisions with them were exceedingly scarce, and they were forced at once to start upon their return for the north. This they did without serious trouble, although somewhat annoyed by the savages, until they reached Fort Prudhomme, where La Salle was taken violently sick. Finding himself unable to announce his success in person, the Chevalier sent forward Tonti to the lakes to communicate with the Count de Frontenac: he himself was able to reach the fort at the mouth of the St. Josephs, toward the last of September. From that post he sent with his dispatches, Father Zenobe, to represent him in France, while he pursued the more lucrative business of attending to his fur trade, in the north-west, and completing his long projected fort of St. Louis, upon the high and commanding bluff of the Illinois, now known as Rock Fort; a bluff two hundred and fifty feet high, and accessible only on one side.* Having seen this completed, and the necessary steps taken to preserve a good understanding with the Indians, and also to keep up a good trade with them, in the autumn of 1683, the Chevalier sailed for his native land, which he reached, December 13th.

At one time he had thought probably of attempting to estab-

*After exchanging views and facts with Dr. Sparks, he writes, Nov. 26, 1846. "It appears to me that "Buffalo Rock," from your description, is most likely to have been the site of La Salle's Fort St. Louis."

Buffalo Rock is a singular promontory on the north side of the Illinois river in La Salle county, six miles below Ottowa. It rises nearly 50 or 60 feet nearly perpendicular on three sides, and contains on its surface about 600 acres, of timber and prairie.—Gaz. of Illinois by Ed.

lish a colony on the Mississippi, by means of supplies and persons sent from Canada; but farther reflection led him to believe his true course to be to go direct from France to the mouth of the Mississippi, with abundant means of settling and securing the country; and to obtain the necessary ships, stores, and emigrants, was the main purpose of his visit to Europe. But he found his fair fame in danger, in the court of his king. His success, his wide plans, and his overbearing character were all calculated to make him enemies; and among the foremost was La Barre, who had succeeded Frontenac as Governor of Canada.

But La Salle had a most able advocate in France, so soon as he was there in person; and the whole nation being stirred by the story of the new discoveries, of which Hennepin had widely promulgated his first account some months before La Salle's return, our hero found ears open to drink in his words, and imaginations warmed to make the most of them. The minister, Seignelay, desired to see the adventurer, and he soon won his way to whatever heart that man had; for it could not have required much talk with La Salle to have been satisfied of his sincerity, enthusiasm, energy, and bravery. The tales of the new governor fell dead, therefore the king listened to the prayer of his subject, that a fleet might be sent to take possession of the mouth of the Mississippi, and so that the great country of which he told them be secured to France.—The king listened: and soon the town of Rochelle was busy with the stir of artisans, ship-riggers, adventurers, soldiers, sailors, and all that varied crowd which in those days looked into the dim West for a land where wealth was to be had for the seeking.

On the 24th of July, 1684, twenty-four vessels sailed from Rochelle to America, four of which were for the discovery and settlement of the famed Louisiana. These four carried two hundred and eighty persons, including the crews; there were soldiers, artificers, and volunteers, and also "some young women." There is no doubt that this brave fleet started full of light hearts, and vast, vague hopes; but, alas! it had scarce started when discord began; for La Salle and the commander of the fleet, M. de Beaujeu, were well fitted to quarrel one with the other, but never to work together. In truth La Salle seems to have been no wise amiable, for he was overbearing,

harsh, and probably selfish to the full extent to be looked for in a man of worldly ambition. However, in one of the causes of quarrel which arose during the passage, he acted, if not with policy, certainly with boldness and humanity. It was when they came to the Tropic of Cancer, where, in those times, it was customary to dip all green hands, as is still sometimes done under the Equator. On this occasion the sailors of La Salle's little squadron promised themselves rare sport and much plunder, grog, and other good things, the forfeit paid by those who do not wish a seasoning; but all these expectations were stopped, and hope turned into hate, by the express and emphatic statement on the part of La Salle, that no man under his command should be ducked, whereupon the commander of the fleet was forced to forbid the ceremony.

With such beginnings of bickering and dissatisfaction, the Atlantic was slowly crossed, and, upon the 20th of September, the island of St. Domingo was reached. Here certain arrangements were to be made with the colonial authorities; but, as they were away, it became necessary to stop there for a time. And a sad time it was. The fever seized the newcomers; the ships were crowded with sick; La Salle himself was brought to the verge of the grave; and when he recovered, the first news that greeted him, was that of his four vessels, the one wherein he had embarked his stores and implements, had been taken by the Spaniards. The sick man had to bestir himself thereupon to procure new supplies; and while he was doing so, his enemies were also bestirring themselves to seduce his men from him, so that with death and desertion, he was likely to have a small crew at the last. But energy did much; and, on the 25th of November, the first of the remaining vessels, she that was "to carry the light," sailed for the coast of America. In her went La Salle and the historian of the voyage, Joutel.*

For a whole month were the disconsolate sailors sailing, and sounding, and stopping to take in water and shoot alligators, and drifting in utter uncertainty, until, on the 28th of December, the main land was fairly discovered. But "there being," as Joutel says, "no man among them who had any knowledge of that Bay," and there being also an impression

* Joutel accompanied La Salle, and subsequently wrote his *"Journal Historique,"* which was published in Paris, 1713. In the main appears to be a truthful narrative.—Ed.

that they must steer very much to the westward to avoid the currents, it was no wonder they missed the Mississippi, and wandered far beyond it, not knowing where they went; and so wore away the whole month of January, 1685. At last, La Salle, out of patience, determined to land some of his men and go along the shore toward the point where he believed the mouth of the Mississippi to be, and Joutel was appointed one of the commanders of this exploring party. They started on the 4th of February, and traveled eastward, (for it was clear that they had passed the river) during three days, when they came to a great stream which they could not cross, having no boats. Here they made fire signals, and, on the 13th, two of the vessels came in sight; the mouth of the river, or entrance of the bay, for such it proved to be, was forthwith sounded, and the barks sent in to be under shelter. But, sad to say, La Salle's old fortune was at work here again; for the vessel which bore his provisions and most valuable stores, was run upon a shoal by the grossest neglect, or, as Joutel thinks, with malice prepense; and, soon after, the wind coming in strong from the sea, she fell to pieces in the night, and the bay was full of casks and packages, which could not be saved, or were worthless when drawn from the salt water. From this untimely fate our poor adventurer rescued but a small half of his second stock of indispensables.

And here, for a moment, let us pause to look at the Chevalier's condition in the middle of March, 1685. Beaujeu, with his ship, is gone, leaving his comrades in the marshy wilderness, with not much of joy to look forward to. They had guns and powder, and shot; eight cannon, too, "but not one bullet," that is, cannon-ball, the naval gentlemen having refused to give them any. And here are our lonely settlers, building a fort upon the shores of the Bay of St. Louis, as they called it, known to us as the Bay of St. Bernard, or Matagorda Bay, in Texas. They build from the wreck of their ship, we cannot think with light hearts; every plank and timber tells of past ill luck, and, as they looked forward, there is vision of irritated savages, (for there had been warring already,) of long search for the *Hidden River*,* of toils and dangers in its ascent when reached. No wonder, that "during that time several men deserted." So strong was the fever for

* So the Spaniards called the Mississippi.

desertion, that, of some who stole away and were retaken, it was found necessary to execute one.

And now La Salle prepares to issue from his nearly completed fort, to look around and see where he is. He has still a good force, some hundred and fifty people; and, by prompt and determined action, much may be done between this last of March and next autumn. In the first place, the river falling into the Bay of St. Louis is examined, and a new fort commenced in that neighborhood, where seed is planted also; for the men begin to tire of meat and fish, with spare allowance of bread and no vegetables. But the old luck is at work still. The seed will not sprout; men desert; the fort goes forward miserably slow; and at last, three months and more gone to no purpose, Joutel and his men, who are still hewing timber at the first fort, are sent for, and told to bring their timber with them in a float. The float or raft was begun "with immense labor," says the wearied historian, but all to no purpose, for the weather was so adverse, that it had to be all taken apart again and buried in the sand. Empty-handed, therefore, Joutel sought his superior, the effects being left at a post by the way. And he came to a scene of desolation; men sick, and no houses to put them in; all the looked-for crop blasted; and not a ray of comfort from any quarter.

"Well," said La Salle, "we must now muster all hands, and build ourselves 'a large lodgment.'" But there was no timber within a league; and not a cart nor a bullock to be had, for the buffaloes, though abundant, were ill broken to such labor. If done, this dragging must be done by men; so, over the long grass and weeds of the prairie-plain, they dragged some sticks, with vast suffering. Afterwards the carriage of a gun was tried; but it would not do; "the ablest men were quite spent." Indeed, heaving and hauling over that damp plain, and under that July sun, might have tried the constitution of the best of Africans; and of the poor Frenchmen thirty died, worn out. The carpenter was lost; and, worse still, La Salle, wearied, worried, disappointed, lost his temper and insulted his men. So closed July; the Chevalier turned carpenter, marking out the tenons and mortises of what timber he could get, and growing daily more morose. In March he thought much might be done before autumn, and now autumn stands but one month removed from him, and not even a house built yet.

And August soon passed too, not without results, however; for the timber that had been buried below was got up, and a second house built, "all covered with planks and bullock's hides over them."

And now once more was La Salle ready to seek the Mississippi. First, he thought he would try with the last of the four barks with which he left France; the bark *La Belle*, "a little frigate carrying six guns," which the King had given our Chevalier to be his navy. But, after having put all his clothes and valuables on board of her, he determined to try with twenty men to reach his object by land. This was in December, 1685. From this expedition he did not return until March, 1686, when he came to his fort again, ragged, hatless, and worn down, with six or seven followers at his heels, his travels having been all in vain. It was not very encouraging; but, says Joutel, "we thought only of making ourselves as merry as we could." The next day came the rest of the party, who had been sent to find the little frigate, which should have been in the bay. They came mournfully, for the little frigate could not be found, and she had all La Salle's best effects on board.

The bark was gone; but our hero's heart was still beating in his bosom, a little cracked and shaken, but strong and iron-bound still. So, borrowing some changes of linen from Joutel, toward the latter end of April, he again set forth, he and twenty men, each with his pack, "to look for his river," as our writer aptly terms it. Some days after his departure, the bark *La Belle* came to light again; for she was not lost, but only ashore. Deserted by her forlorn and diminished crew, however, she seems to have been suffered to break up and go to pieces in her own way, for we hear no more of the little frigate.

And now, for a time, things went on pretty smoothly. There was even a marriage at the fort; and "Monsieur le Marquis la Sabloniere" wished to act as groom in a second, but Joutel absolutely refused. By and by, however, the men, seeing that La Salle did not return, "began to mutter." There were even proposals afloat to make away with Joutel, and start upon a new enterprise; the leader in which half-formed plan was one Sieur Duhaut, an unsafe man, and inimical to La Salle, who had, probably, maltreated him somewhat. Joutel, however,

learned the state of matters, and put a stop to all such proceedings. Knowing idleness to be a root of countless evils he made his men work and dance as long as there was vigor enough in them to keep their limbs in motion; and in such manner the summer passed away, until in August La Salle returned. He had been as far as the sources of the Sabine, probably, but had suffered greatly; of the twenty men he had taken with him, only eight came back, some having fallen sick, some having died, and others deserted to the Indians. He had not found "his river," though he had been so far in that direction; but he came back full of spirits, "which," says our writer, "revived the lowest ebb of hope." He was all ready, too, to start again at once, to seek the Mississippi, and go onward to Canada, and thence to France, to get new recruits and supplies; but, "it was determined to let the great heats pass before that enterprise was taken in hand." And the heats passed, but with them our hero's health, so that the proposed journey was delayed from time to time until the 12th of January, 1687.

On that day started the last company of La Salle's adventurers. Among them went Joutel, and also the discontented Duhaut; and all took their "leaves with so much tenderness and sorrow as if they had all presaged that they should never see each other more." They went northwest along the bank of the river on which their fort stood, until they came to where the streams running toward the coast were favorable, and then turned eastward. From the 12th of January until the 15th of March did they thus journey across that southern country, crossing "curious meadows," through which ran "several little brooks, of very clear and good water," which, with the tall trees, all of a size, and planted as if by a line, "afforded a most delightful landskip." They met many Indians too, with whom La Salle established relations of peace and friendship. Game was abundant, "plenty of fowl and particularly of turkeys," was there, which was "an ease to their sufferings;" and so they still toiled on in shoes of green bullock's hide, which, dried by the sun, pinched cruelly, until, following the tracks of the buffaloes, who choose by instinct the best ways, they had come to a pleasanter country than they had yet passed through, and were well on toward the long-sought Father of Waters.

On the 15th of March, La Salle, recognizing the spot where they were as one through which he had passed in his former journey, and near which he had hidden some beans and Indian wheat, ordered the Sieurs Duhaut, Hiens, Liotot the Surgeon, and some others, to go and seek them. This they did, but found that the goods were all spoiled, so they turned toward the camp again. While coming campward they chanced upon two bullocks, which was killed by one of La Salle's hunters, who was with them. So they sent the commander word that they had killed some meat, and that, if he would have the flesh dried, he might send horses to carry it to the place where he lay; and, meanwhile, they cut up the bullocks, and took out the marrow-bones, and laid them aside for their own choice eating, as was usual to do. When La Salle heard of the meat that had been taken, he sent his nephew and chief confident, M. Moranget, with one De Male and his own footman, giving them orders to send all that was fit to the camp at once. M. Moranget, when he came to where Duhaut and the rest were, and found that they had laid by for themselves the marrow-bones, became angry, took from them their choice pieces, threatened them, and spoke harsh words. This treatment touched these men, already not well pleased, to the quick; and, when it was night, they took counsel together how they might best have their revenge. The end of such counseling, where anger is foremost, and the wilderness is all about one, needs scarce to be told; "we will have their blood, all that are of that party shall die," said these malcontents. So, when M. Moranget and the rest had supped and fallen asleep, Liotot the surgeon took an axe, and with few strokes killed them all; all that were of La Salle's party, even his poor Indian hunter, because he was faithful; and, lest De Male might not be with them (for him they did not kill,) they forced him to stab M. Moranget, who had not died by the first blow of Liotot's axe, and then threw them out for the carrion-birds to feast on.

This murder was done upon the 17th of March. And at once the murderers would have killed La Salle, but he and his men were on the other side of a river, and the water for two days was so high that they could not cross.

La Salle, meantime, was growing anxious also; his nephew so long absent, what meant it? and he went about asking if

Duhaut had not been a malcontent; but none said, Yes. Doubtless there was something in La Salle's heart, which told him his followers had cause to be his foes. It was now the 20th of the month, and he could not forbear setting out to seek his lost relative. Leaving Joutel in command, therefore, he started with a Franciscan monk and one Indian. Coming near the hut which the murderers had put up, though still on the opposite side of the river, he saw carrion-birds hovering near, and to call attention if any were there, fired a shot. There were keen and watching ears and eyes there; the gun told them to be quick, for their prey was in the net; so, at once, Duhaut and another crossed the river, and, while the first hid himself among the tall weeds, the latter showed himself to La Salle at a good dstance off. Going instantly to meet him, the fated man passed near to the spot where Duhaut was hid. The traitor lay still till he came opposite; then, raising his piece, shot his commander through the head; after lingering an hour, he died.

Thus fell La Salle, on the threshold of success. No man had more strongly all the elements that would have borne him safe through, if we except that element which insures affection. "He had a capacity and talent," says Joutel, one of his staunchest friends, "to make his enterprise successful; his constancy and courage, and extraordinary knowledge in arts and sciences, which rendered him fit for anything, together with an indefatigable body, which made him surmount all difficulties, would have procured a glorious issue to his undertaking, had not all those excellent qualities been counterbalanced by too haughty a behavior, which sometimes made him insupportable, and by a rigidness toward those that were under his command, which at last drew on him an implacable hatred, and was the occasion of his death."

La Salle died, as far as can be judged, upon a branch of the Brazos.*

And now, the leader being killed, his followers toiled on mournfully, and in fear, each of the others—Duhaut assuming the command until May. Then there arose a difference among them as to their future course; and, by and by, things coming to extremities, some of La Salle's murderers turned upon the others, and Duhaut and Liotot were killed by their

*Sparks, 158.

comrades. This done, the now dominant party determined to remain among the Indians, with whom they then were, and where they found some who had been with La Salle in his former expedition, and had deserted. These were living among the savages, painted, and shaved, and naked, with great store of squaws and scalps. But Joutel was not of this way of thinking; he and some others still wished to find the Great River and get to Canada. At last, all consenting, he did, with six others, leave the main body, and take up his march for the Illinois, where he hoped to find Tonti, who should have been all this while at Fort St. Louis. This was in May, 1687.

With great labor this little band forced their heavy-laden horses over the fat soil, in which they often stuck fast; and, daring countless dangers, at length, upon the 24th of July, reached the Arkansas, where they found a post containing a few Frenchmen who had been placed there by Tonti. Here they stayed a little while, and then went forward again, and on the 14th of September, reached Fort St. Louis, upon the Illinois. At this post, Joutel remained until the following March—that of 1688—when he set off for Quebec, which city he reached on the last of July, just four years having passed since he sailed from Rochelle.

Thus ended La Salle's third and last voyage, producing no permanent settlement; for the Spaniards came, dismantled the fort upon the Bay of St. Louis, and carried away its garrison, and the Frenchmen who had been left elsewhere in the southwest intermingled with the Indians, until all trace of them was lost.

And so closed his endeavors in defeat. Yet he had not worked and suffered in vain. He had thrown open to France and the world an immense and most valuable country; had established several permanent forts, and laid the foundation of more than one settlement there. Peoria, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, to this day, are monuments of La Salle's labors; for though he founded neither of them, (unless Peoria, which was built nearly upon the sight of Fort Crevecœur,) it was by those whom he led into the West, that these places were peopled and civilized. He was, if not the discoverer, the first settler of the Mississippi Valley, and as such deserves to be known and honored.*

*The authorities in relation to La Salle are Hennepin; a narrative published in the name of Tonti in 1697, but disclaimed by him; (Charlevoix iii. 365.—*Lettres Edifiantes,*

Tonti, left by La Salle when he sailed for France, after reaching the Gulf Mexico in 1682, remained as commander of that Rock Fort of St. Louis, which he had begun in 1680. Here he stayed, swaying absolutely the Indian tribes, and acting as viceroy over the unknown and uncounted Frenchmen who were beginning to wander through that beautiful country, making discoveries of which we have no records left. In 1686, looking to meet La Salle, he went down to the mouth of the Mississippi; but discovering no signs of his old comrade, he turned northward again. [There is evidence that in this voyage he proceeded up the Arkansas, and left a corps of men at the place long known as the "Post," who became the nucleus of that ancient settlement.] After reaching his post on the Illinois, he found work to do; for the Iroquois, long threatening, were now in the battle-field, backed by the English, and Tonti, with his western wild allies, was forced to march and fight. Engaged in this business, he appears to us at intervals in the pages of Charlevoix; in the fall of 1687 we have him with Joutel, at Fort St. Louis; in April, 1689, he suddenly appears to us at Crevecœur, revealed by the Baron La Hontan; and again, early in 1700, D'Iberville is visited by him at the mouth of the Mississippi. After that we see him no more, and the *Biographie Universelle* tells us, that, though he remained many years in Louisiana, he finally was not there; but of his death, or departure thence, no one knows.

Next in sequence, we have a glimpse of the above-named Baron La Hontan, discoverer of the Long River, and, as that discovery seems to prove, drawer of a somewhat long bow. By his volumes, published *a la Haye*, in 1706, we learn, that he too, warred against the Iroquois in 1687 and 1688; and, having gone so far westward as the Lake of the Illinois, thought he would contribute his mite to the discoveries of those times. So, with a sufficient escort, he crossed by Marquette's old route, Fox River and the Wisconsin, to the Mississippi; and, turning up that stream, sailed thereon till he came to the mouth of a river, called *Long River*, coming from the West. [It is marked on the map of Mr. Nicollet, as a small stream entering the Mississippi a short distance below

letter of Marest, xi. 308, original edition. Introduction to Sparks' Life of La Salle:) the work of [illegible] Clercq, already mentioned; Joutel's Journal; and Sparks' Life: the last is especially valuable.

St. Peters. He represents this river as of immense size, up which he sailed more than eighty days, and did not reach half the distance of its navigable waters, and that in the depth of winter! Very little dependence can be placed on the story of La Hontan.]

After La Hontan's alleged discoveries, we have few events worth recording in the annals of the north-west previous to 1750. "La Salle's death," says Charlevoix, in one place, "dispersed the French who had gathered upon the Illinois;" but in another, he speaks of Tonti and twenty Canadians, as established among the Illinois three years after the Chevalier's fate was known there.* This, however, is clear that before 1693, the reverend Father Gravier began a mission among the Illinois, and became the founder of Kaskaskia, though in what year we know not; but for some time it was merely a missionary station, and the inhabitants of the village consisted entirely of natives, it being one of three such villages, the other two being Cahokia and Peoria. This we learn from a letter written by Father Gabriel Marest, dated "Aux Cascaskias, autrement dit de l'Immaculee Conception de la Sainte Vierge, le 9 Novembre 1712." In this letter the writer, after telling us that Gravier must be regarded as the founder of the Illinois Missions, he having been the first to reduce the principles of the language of those Indians to grammatical order, and so to make preaching to them of avail,—goes on near the close of his epistle to say, "These advantages (rivers, &c.) favor the design which some French have of establishing themselves in our village. * * * If the French, who may come among us, will edify our neophytes by their piety and good conduct, nothing would please us better than their coming; but if immoral, and perhaps irreligious, as there is reason to fear, they would do more harm than we can do good."†

Soon after the founding of Kaskaskia, though in this case also we are ignorant of the year, the missionary Pinet gathered a flock at Cahokia;‡ while Peoria arose near the remains

*New France, vol. iii. pp. 395, 383.

†Bancroft, iii. 195. Lettres Edifiantes, (Paris 1781,) 328, 330, 375. Hall and others speak of the Kaskaskia records as containing deeds dated 1712; those may have been to the French referred to by Marest, or perhaps to converted Indians.

‡Bancroft, iii. 196.

of Fort Crevecœur.‖ An unsuccessful attempt was also made to found a colony on the Ohio,§ it failed in consequence of sickness. In the north De la Motte Cadillac, in June, 1701, laid the foundation of Fort Pontchartrain on the Strait, (le Detroit)¶ while in the southwest efforts were making to realize the dreams of La Salle. The leader in the last named enterprise was Lemoine D'Iberville, a Canadian officer, who, from 1694 to 1697, distinguished himself not a little by battles and conquests among the icebergs of the "Baye d'Udson" or Hudson's Bay.* He having, in the year last named, returned to France, proposed to the minister to try, what had been given up since La Salle's sad fate, the discovery and settlement of Louisiana by sea. The Count of Pontchartrain, who was then at the head of marine affairs, was led to take an interest in the proposition; and, upon the 17th of October, 1698, D'Iberville took his leave of France, handsomely equipped for the expedition, and with two good ships to forward him in his attempt.†

Of this D'Iberville we have no very clear notion, except that he was a man of judgment, self-possession, and prompt action.

Such was the man who, upon the 31st of January, 1699, let go his anchor in the Bay of Mobile. Having looked about him at this spot, he went thence to seek the great river called by the savages, says Charlevoix, "Malbouchia," and by the Spaniards, "la Palissade," from the great number of trees about its mouth. Searching carefully, upon the 2d of March,

‖ There was an Old Peoria on the north-west shore of the lake of that name, a mile and a half above the outlet. From 1778 to 1796 the inhabitants left this for New Peoria, (Fort Clark,) at the outlet. American State Papers, xviii. 476.

§ Judge Law, in his address of February, 1839, before the Vincennes Historical Society, contends that this post was on the Wabash, and at Vincennes, (p. 14, 15, and note B.) Charlevoix, (ii. 266, edition 1744,) says it was "*a l'entree de la Riviere Ouabache, qui se decharge dans le Micissipi, &c.*"—"At the entrance (or mouth) of the River Oubache which discharges itself into the Mississippi." The name Ouabache was applied to the Ohio below the mouth of what we now call the Wabash. See all the more ancient maps, &c. [Fort Massac, on the Ohio, was a missionary station in 1712, and Ohio was then called Ouabache. —Ed.]

¶ Charlevoix, ii. 284.—Le Detroit was the whole Strait from Erie to Huron. (Charlevoix, ii. 269, note: see also his Journal.) The first grants of land at Detroit, i. e. Fort Pontchartrain, were made in 1707.—(See American State Papers, xvi. 263 to 284. Lanman's History of Michigan, 336.)

* *New France*, vol. iii. pp. 215, 296.—*Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. x. p. 280.

† *New France*, vol. iii. p. 377.

our commander found and entered the Hidden River, whose mouth had been so long and unsuccessfully sought. As soon as this was done, one of the vessels returned to France to carry thither the news of D'Iberville's success, while he turned his prow up the Mississippi. Slowly ascending the vast stream, he found himself puzzled by the little resemblance which it bore to that described by Tonti. So great were the discrepancies, that he begun to doubt if he were not upon the wrong stream, when an Indian chief sent to him Tonti's letter to La Salle, on which, through thirteen years, those wild men had been looking with wonder and awe. Assured by this, that he had indeed reached the desired spot, and wearied probably by his tedious sail thus far, he returned to the Bay of Biloxi, between the Mississippi and the Mobile waters, built a fort in that neighborhood, and, having manned it in a suitable manner, returned to France himself.*

While he was gone, in the month of September, 1699, the lieutenant of his fort, M. De Bienville, went round to explore the mouths of the Mississippi, and take soundings. Engaged in this business, he had rowed up the main entrance some twenty-five leagues, when, unexpectedly, and to his no little chagrin, a British corvette came in sight, a vessel carrying twelve cannon, slowly creeping up the swift current. M. Bienville, nothing daunted, though he had but his leads and lines to do battle with, spoke up, and said, that, if this vessel did not leave the river without delay, he had force enough at hand to make her repent it. All which had its effect; the Britons about ship and stood to sea again, growling as they went, and saying, that they had discovered that country fifty years before, that they had a better right to it than the French, and would soon make them know it. The bend in the river, where this took place, is still called "English Turn." This was the first meeting of those rival nations in the Mississippi Valley, which, from that day, was a bone of contention between them till the conclusion of the French war of 1756. Nor did the matter rest long with this visit from the corvette. Englishmen began to creep over the mountains from Carolina, and trading with the Chicachas, or Chickasaws of our day, stirred them up to acts of enmity against the French.

When D'Iberville came back from France, in January, 1700,

* *New France*, vol. iii. p. 380, *et. seq.*

and heard of these things, he determined to take possession of the country anew, and to build a fort upon the banks of the Mississippi itself. So, with due form, the vast valley of the West was again sworn in to Louis, as the whole continent through to the South Sea had been previously sworn in by the English to their Kings; and, what was more effectual, a little fort was built, and four pieces of cannon placed thereon. But even this was not much to the purpose; for it soon disappeared, and the marshes about the mouth of the Great River were again, as they had ever been, and long must be, uninhabited by men.

D'Iberville, in the next place, having been visited and guided up the river by Tonti in 1700, proposed to found a city among the Natchez,—a city to be named, in honor of the Countess of Pontchartrain, *Rosalie*. Indeed, he did pretend to lay the corner-stone of such a place, though it was not till 1714 that the fort called *Rosalie* was founded, where the city of Natchez is standing at this day.

Having thus built a fort at the mouth of the Great River, and designated a choice spot above for a settlement, D'Iberville once more sought Europe, having, before he left, ordered M. Le Sueur to go up the Mississippi in search of a copper mine, which that personage had previously got a clue to, upon a branch of the St. Peters river;* which order was fulfilled, and much metal obtained, though at the cost of great suffering. Mining was always a Jack-a-lantern with the first settlers of America, and our French friends were no wiser than their neighbors. The products of the soil were, indeed, scarce, though valuable on a large scale, it being supposed that the wealth of Louisiana consisted in its pearl-fishery, its mines, and the wool of its wild cattle.† In 1701 the commander came again, and began a new establishment upon the river Mobile, one which superseded that at Biloxi, which thus far had been the chief port in that southern colony. After this, things went on but slowly until 1708; D'Iberville died on one of his voyages between the mother country and her sickly daughter, and after his death little was done. In 1708, however, M. D'Artaguette came from France as commissary of

* Charlevoix, vol. iv. pp. 162, 164. In Long's *Second Expedition*, p. 318, may be seen a detailed account of Le Sueur's proceedings, taken from a manuscript statement of them.

† Charlevoix, vol. iii. p. 389.

Louisiana, and, being a man of spirit and energy, did more for it than had been done before. But it still lingered; and, under the impression that a private man of property might manage it better than the government could, the king, upon the 14th of September, 1712, granted to Crozat, a man of great wealth, the monopoly of Louisiana for fifteen years, and the absolute ownership of whatever mines he might cause to be opened.*

Crozat, with whom was associated Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, and Governor of Louisiana, relied mainly upon two things for success in his speculation; the one, the discovery of mines; the other, a lucrative trade with New Mexico. In regard to the first, after many years' labor, he was entirely disappointed; and met with no better success in his attempt to open a trade with the Spaniards, although he sent to them both by sea and land.

Crozat, therefore, being disappointed in his mines and his trade, and having, withal, managed so badly as to diminish the colony, at last, in 1717, resigned his privileges to the king again, leaving in Louisiana not more than seven hundred souls.†

Then followed the enterprises of the far-famed Mississippi Company or Company of the West, established to aid the immense banking and stock-jobbing speculations of John Law, a gambling, wandering Scotchman, who seems to have been possessed with the idea that wealth could be indefinitely increased by increasing the circulating medium in the form of notes of credit. The public debt of France was selling at 60 to 70 per cent. discount; Law was authorized to establish a Bank of circulation, the shares in which might be paid for in public stock at par, and to induce the public to subscribe for the bank shares, and to confide in them, the Company of the West was established in connection with the Bank, having the exclusive right of trading in the Mississippi country for twenty-five years, and with the monopoly of the Canada beaver trade. This was in September, 1717; in 1718 the monopoly of tobacco was also granted to this favored creature of the State; in 1719, the exclusive right of trading in Asia, and the East

* The grant may be found, Land Laws 944.

† By Louisiana here is to be understood Louisiana proper; not the Illinois country commonly included at that period.—Ed.

Indies; and soon after the farming of the public revenue, together with an extension of all these privileges to the year 1770; and as if all this had been insufficient, the exclusive right of coining, for nine years, was next added to the immense grants already made to the Company of the West.* Under this hot bed system, the stock of the Company rose to 500, 600, 800, 1000, 1500, and at last 2050 per cent.; this was in April, 1720. At that time the notes of the Bank in circulation exceeded two hundred millions of dollars, and this abundance of money raised the price of every thing to twice its true value. Then the bubble burst; decree after decree was made to uphold the tottering fabric of false credit, but in vain; in January, 1720, Law had been made minister of finance, and as such he proceeded first, to forbid all persons to have on hand more than about one hundred dollars in specie, any amount beyond that must be exchanged for paper, and all payments for more than twenty dollars were to be made in paper; and this proving insufficient, in March, all payments over two dollars were ordered to be in paper, and he who dared attempt to exchange a bill for specie forfeited both. Human folly could go no farther; in April the stock began to fall, in May the Company was regarded as bankrupt, the notes of the Bank fell to ten cents on the dollar, and though a decree made it an offence to refuse them at par, they were soon worth little more than waste paper.

Under the direction of a Company thus organized and controlled, and closely connected with a bank so soon ruined, but little could be hoped for a colony, which depended on good management to develop its real resources for trade and agriculture.† In 1718, colonists were sent from Europe, and New Orleans laid out with much ceremony and many hopes; but in January, 1722, Charlevoix writing thence, says: "if the eight hundred fine houses and the five parishes that were two years since represented by the journals, as existing here, shrink now to a hundred huts, built without order,—a large wooden magazine,—two or three houses that would do but little credit to a French village,—and half of an old storehouse, which was to have been occupied as a chapel, but from

* After 1719, called the Company of the Indies.

† A set of regulations for governing the Company, passed in 1721, may be found in Dillon's Indiana, 41 to 44.

which the priests soon retreated to a tent as preferable, if all this is so, still how pleasant to think of what this city will one day be, and instead of weeping over its decay and ruin to look forward to its growth to opulence and power."* And again, "The best idea you can form of New Orleans, is to imagine two hundred persons, sent to build a city, but who have encamped on the river-bank, just sheltered from the weather, and waiting for houses.—They have a beautiful and regular plan for this metropolis, but it will prove harder to execute than to draw."† Such, not in words precisely, but in substance, were the representations and hopes of the wise historian of New France, respecting the capital of the colony of Law's great corporation; and we may be sure that with the chief place in such a condition, not much had been done for the permanent improvement of the country about it. The truth was, the same prodigality and folly which prevailed in France during the government of John Law, over credit and commerce, found their way to his western possessions; and though the colony then planted, survived, and the city then founded became in time what had been hoped,—it was long before the influence of the gambling mania of 1718, 19 and 20 passed away. Indeed the returns from Louisiana never repaid the cost and trouble of protecting it, and, in 1732, the Company asked leave to surrender their privileges to the crown, a favor which was granted them.

But though the Company of the West did little for the enduring welfare of the Mississippi valley, it did something; the cultivation of tobacco, indigo, rice and silk, was introduced, the lead mines of Missouri were opened, though at vast expense and in hope of finding silver; and, in Illinois, the culture of wheat began to assume some degree of stability and, of importance. In the neighborhood of the river Kaskaskia, Charlevoix found three villages, and about Fort Chartres, the head quarters of the Company in that region, the French were rapidly settling.‡

All the time, however, during which the great monopoly lasted, was, in Louisiana, a time of contest and trouble. The

*Charlevoix, iii. 430—ed. 1744.

†Charlevoix, iii. 441—ed. 1744.

‡See Appendix—Annals of Illinois.

English, who, from an early period, had opened commercial relations with the Chickasaws, through them constantly interfered with the trade of the Mississippi. Along the coast from Pensacola to the Rio del Norte, Spain disputed the claims of her northern neighbor: and at length the war of the Natchez struck terror into the hearts of both white and red men. Amid that nation, as we have said, D'Iberville had marked out Fort Rosalie, in 1700, and fourteen years later its erection had been commenced. The French, placed in the midst of the natives, and deeming them worthy only of contempt, increased their demands and injuries until they required even the abandonment of the chief town of the Natchez, that the intruders might use its site for a plantation. The inimical Chickasaws heard the murmurs of their wronged brethren, and breathed into their ears counsels of vengeance; the sufferers determined on the extermination of their tyrants. On the 28th of November, 1729, every Frenchman in that colony died by the hands of the natives, with the exception of two mechanics: the women and children were spared. It was a fearful revenge, and fearfully did the avengers suffer for their murders. Two months passed by, and the French and Choctaws in one day took sixty of their scalps; in three months they were driven from their country and scattered among the neighboring tribes; and within two years the remnants of the nation, chiefs and people, were sent to St. Domingo and sold into slavery. So perished this ancient and peculiar race, in the same year in which the Company of the West yielded its grants into the royal hands.

When Louisiana came again into the charge of the government of France, it was determined, as a first step, to strike terror into the Chickasaws, who, devoted to the English, constantly interfered with the trade on the Mississippi. For this purpose the forces of New France, from New Orleans to Detroit, were ordered to meet in the country of the inimical Indians, upon the 10th of May, 1736, to strike a blow which should be final. D'Artaguette, governor of Illinois, with the young and gallant Vincennes, leading a small body of French and more than a thousand northern Indians, on the day appointed, was at the spot appointed; but Bienville, who had returned as the king's lieutenant to that southern land which he had aided to explore, was not where the commanders from

above expected to meet him. During ten days they waited, and still saw nothing, heard nothing of the forces from the south. Fearful of exhausting the scant patience of his red allies, at length D'Artaguette ordered the onset; a first and a second of the Chickasaw stations were carried successfully, but in attacking a third the French leader fell; when the Illinois saw their commander wounded, they turned and fled, leaving him and de Vincennes, who would not desert him, in the hands of the Chickasaws. Five days afterwards, Bienville and his followers, among whom were great numbers of Choctaws, bribed to bear arms against their kinsmen, came creeping up the stream of the Tombecbee; but the savages were on their guard, English traders had aided them to fortify their position, and the French in vain attacked their log fort. On the 20th of May, D'Artaguette had fallen; on the 27th Bienville had failed in his assault; on the 31st, throwing his cannon into the river, he and his white companions turned their prows to the south again. Then came the hour of barbarian triumph, and the successful Chickasaws danced around the flames in which were crackling the sinews of D'Artaguette, Vincennes, and the Jesuit Senat, who stayed and died of his own free will, because duty bade him.

Three years more passed away, and again a French army of nearly four thousand white, red and black men, was gathered upon the banks of the Mississippi, to chastise the Chickasaws. From the summer of 1739 to the spring of 1740, this body of men sickened and wasted at Fort Assumption, upon the site of Memphis. In March of the last named year, without a blow struck, peace was concluded, and the province of Louisiana once more sunk into inactivity.*

Of the ten years which followed, we know but little that is interesting in relation to the West: and of its condition in 1750, we can give no better idea than may be gathered from the following extracts of letters written by Vivier, a missionary among the Illinois.

Writing "Aux Illinois," six leagues from Fort Chartres, June 8th, 1750, Vivier says: "We have here, Whites, Negroes

* In reference to Crozat, Law, and events in Louisiana, we refer to Bancroft iii.—Penny Cyclopedia, articles "Law;" "Mississippi Company;" Charlevoix, vol. ii.; Du Pratz's Louisiana; Niles' Register, ii. 161, 189; and the collection of documents (mostly official) relative to the Company of the West, published at Amsterdam, in 1720, in the work called "Relations de la Louisiane, et du Fleuve Mississippi," 2 vols.

and Indians, to say nothing of cross-breeds. There are five French villages, and three villages of the natives, within a space of twenty-one leagues, situated between the Mississippi and another river called the Karkadiad (Kaskaskia.) In the five French villages are, perhaps, eleven hundred whites, three hundred blacks, and some sixty red slaves or savages. The three Illinois towns do not contain more than eight hundred souls, all told.* Most of the French till the soil; they raise wheat, cattle, pigs and horses, and live like princes. Three times as much is produced as can be consumed; and great quantities of grain and flour are sent to New Orleans." In this letter, also, Vivier says that which shows Father Marest's fears from French influence over the Indian neophytes to have been well founded. Of the three Illinois towns, he tells us, one was given up by the missionaries as beyond hope, and in a second but a poor harvest rewarded their labors; and all was owing to the bad example of the French, and the introduction by them of ardent spirits.†

Again, in an epistle dated November 17, 1750, Vivier says: "For fifteen leagues above the mouth of the Mississippi one sees no dwellings, the ground being too low to be habitable. Thence to New Orleans the lands are only partially occupied. New Orleans contains, black, white and red, not more, I think, than twelve hundred persons. To this point come all kinds of lumber, bricks, salt-beef, tallow, tar, skins and bear's grease; and above all, pork and flour from the Illinois. These things create some commerce, forty vessels and more have come hither this year. Above New Orleans plantations are again met with; the most considerable is a colony of Germans, some ten leagues up the river. At Point Coupee, thirty-five leagues above the German settlement, is a fort. Along here, within five or six leagues, are not less than sixty 'habitations.' Fifty leagues farther up is the Natchez post, where we have a garrison who are kept prisoners by their fear of the Chickasaws and other savages. Here and at Point Coupee, they raise excellent tobacco. Another hundred leagues brings us

* There was a fourth, (Peoria probably,) eighty leagues distant, nearly as large as the three referred to; this is stated in another part of the same letter. See appendix—Annals of Illinois, art. Aborigines.—Ed.

† Criminals, vagabonds and strumpets, were largely exported to Louisiana, when the first settlements were made.—Father Poisson in Lettres Edifiantes, (Paris, 1781,) vi. 393, &c.

to the Arkansas, where we have also a fort and garrison, for the benefit of river traders. There were some inhabitants about here formerly, but in 1748, the Chickasaws attacked the post, slew many, took thirteen prisoners, and drove the rest into the fort. From the Arkansas to the Illinois, near five hundred leagues,* there is not a settlement. There should, however, be a good fort on the Oubache, (Ohio) the only path by which the English can reach the Mississippi. In the Illinois are numberless mines, but no one to work them as they deserve. Some individuals dig lead near the surface, and supply the Indians and Canada. Two Spaniards, now here, who claim to be adepts, say that our mines are like those of Mexico, and that if we would dig deeper, we should find silver under the lead; at any rate the lead is excellent. There are also in this country copper mines beyond doubt, as from time to time large pieces are found in the streams."†

*Distances are overrated in all the old French journals. The distance in fact, was about 500 English miles, instead of French leagues.

†Lettres Edifiantes, (Paris, 1781,) vii. 79 to 106.

[See Annals of Missouri, Appendix, for a Sketch of the Lead and Copper mines.—Ed.]

CHAPTER II.

ENGLISH DISCOVERIES AND CLAIMS.

English Discoveries by Virginia—By Pennsylvania—Daniel Coxe—British Purchases of the Five Nations—Ohio and other Companies formed—Agency of Gist—Fort attacked by the French, and the Natives killed and Traders carried to Canada—Gen. Washington's Mission—Preparations for War—Pittsburgh Taken.

We have now sketched the progress of French discovery in the Valley of the Mississippi. The first travelers reached that river in 1673, and when the new year of 1750 broke upon the great wilderness of the West, all was still, except those little spots upon the prairies of Illinois, and among the marshes of Louisiana, which we have already named. Perhaps we ought also to except Vincennes, or St. Vincent's, on the Wabash,* as there is cause to believe that place was settled as early as 1735, at least. But the evidence in relation to this matter is of a kind which we think worth stating, not from the importance of the matter itself, but to illustrate the difficulty which besets an inquirer into certain points of our early western history. Volney, by conjecture, fixes the settlement of Vincennes about 1735;† Bishop Brute, of Indiana, speaks of a missionary station there in 1700, and adds, "The friendly tribes and traders called to Canada for protection, and then M. de Vincennes came with a detachment, I think, of Carignan, and was killed in 1735."‡ Mr. Bancroft says a military establishment was formed there in 1716, and in 1742, a settlement of herdsmen took place.‖ Judge Law regards the post as dating back to 1710 or 1711, supposing it to be the same with the Ohio settlement noticed on page 30, and quotes also an Act of Sale, existing at Kaskaskia, (if we understand him aright,) which in January, 1735, speaks of M. de Vinsenne, as "Commandant au Poste de Ouabache."§ Again, in a petition of the old inhabitants at Vincennes, dated in November, 1793, we find the settlement spoken of as having been made before 1742;¶ and such is the general voice of tradition. On the

*Also called Post St. Vincent's and Au Poste or O'Post.
†Volney's View, p. 336.
‡Butler's Kentucky, Introduction, xix., note.
‖History United States, iii. 346.
§Law's Address, 1839, p. 21.
¶American State Papers, xvi. 32.

other hand, Charlevoix, who records the death of Vincennes, which took place among the Chickasaws, (see ante p. 63,) in 1736, makes no mention of any post on the Wabash, or any missionary station there; neither does he mark any upon his map, although he gives even the British forts upon the Tennessee and elsewhere. Vivier, a part of whose letters we have already quoted, says in 1750, nothing of any mission on the Wabash, although writing in respect to western missions, and speaks of the *necessity* of a fort upon the "Ouabache;" by this, it is true, he meant doubtless the Ohio, but how natural to refer to the post at Vincennes, if one existed. In a volume of "Memoires" on Louisiana, compiled from the minutes of M. Dumont and published in Paris, in 1753, but probably prepared 1749,* though we have an account of the Wabash or St. Jerome, its rise and course, and the use made of it by the traders, not a word is found touching any fort, settlement or station on it. Vaudreuil, when Governor of Louisiana, in 1751 mentions even then no post on the Wabash, although he speaks of the need of a post on the Ohio, near to where Fort Massac or Massacre was built afterwards, and names Fort Miami, on the Maumee.† The records of Vincennes, Judge Law says, show no earlier mission than 1749.‡ Still farther, in "The Present State of North America," a pamphlet published in London, in 1755, with which is a map of the French posts in the West, we have it stated that in 1750 a fort was founded at Vincennes, and that in 1754, three hundred families were sent to settle about it.

Such is the state of proof relative to Vincennes: one thing however, seems certain, which is, that the Wabash was very, early frequented. Hennepin, in 1663–4, had heard of the "Hohio"; the route from the lakes to the Mississippi, by the Wabash, was explored in 1676;‖ and in Hennepin's volume

*Memoires Historiques sur La Louisiane, &c.

[†There were *four* places called "Miami," or "Maumee;" one at the junction of the Little St. Joseph and Ste. Marie, in Indiana, now called Fort Wayne.

The second was on the St. Joseph river of Michigan.

The third was on the Illinois river, and placed by Charlevoix on his Map of New France 1723.

The fourth was the fort erected by the British at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee, about fifteen miles from the west end of Lake Erie.

Some of the authorities quoted, by the "Ouabache" mean the Ohio river, which had the name of *"Ouabache,"* in French and English documents until about 1735.—Ed.]

‡Address, p. 17.

‖Histoire General des Voyages, xiv. 758.

of 1698, is a journal, said to be that sent by La Salle to Count Frontenac, in 1682 or '3, which mentions the route by the Maumee* and Wabash as the most direct to the great western river.

In 1749, therefore, when the English first began to move seriously about sending men into the West, there were only the Illinois and the lower country settlements, and perhaps Vincennes; the present States of Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky, being still substantially in possession of the Indians. From this, however, it must not be inferred that the English colonists were ignorant of, or indifferent to, the capacities of the West, or that the movements of the French were unobserved up to the middle of the eighteenth century. Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, as early as 1710, had commenced movements, the object of which was to secure the country beyond the Alleghenies to the English crown. He caused the mountain passes to be examined, and with much pomp and a great retinue, undertook the discovery of the regions on their western side. Then it was that he founded "The Tramontine Order," giving to each of those who accompanied him a golden horse shoe, in commemoration of their toilsome mountain march, upon which they were forced to use horse-shoes, which were seldom needed in the soft soil of the eastern vallies. In Pennsylvania, also, Governor Keith and James Logan, Secretary of the Province, from 1719 to 1731 represented to the powers in England, the necessity of taking steps to secure the western lands.† Nothing, however, was done by the government of the mother country, except to take certain diplomatic steps to secure the claim of Britain to those distant and unexplored wildernesses.

England, from the outset, claimed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, on the ground that the discovery and possession of the seacoast was a discovery and possession of the country; and, as is well known, her grants to Virginia, Connecticut, and other colonies were through to the South Sea. It was not upon this, however, that Great Britain relied in her contest with France; she had other grounds, namely, actual discovery, and purchase or title of some kind from the Indian owners.

*Until this century, usually called the Miami, and sometimes the Tawa or Ottawa River.

†Bancroft, iii. 344; Jones' Present State of Virginia, (1724,) 14; Universal History, xl. 192.

Her claim on the score of actual discovery was poorly supported however, and little insisted on.

"King Charles the First, in the fifth year of his reign (1630) granted unto Sir Robert Heath, his attorney general, a patent of all that part of America," which lies between thirty-one and thirty-six degrees north latitude, from sea to sea. Eight years afterwards, Sir Robert conveyed this very handsome property to Lord Maltravers, who was soon, by his father's death, Earl of Arundel. From him, we know not by what course of conveyance, this grant, which formed the province of Carolana (not Carolina,) came into the hands of Dr. Daniel Coxe, who was, in the opinion of the attorney-general of England, true owner of that Province in the year of D'Iberville's discovery, 1699.*

[We will give a brief sketch of the British through the discoveries of Coxe and others.

Daniel Coxe states that one Colonel Wood of Virginia, discovered at different times, several branches of the great rivers Ohio and "Meschasebe,"—says that he, (Coxe,) had seen the journal of a Mr. Needham, who was employed by Col. Wood. He tells of another journal, which he affirms was in his possession for some time, written by some one in English, who had gone up the Mississippi to the "Yellow or Muddy river, otherwise called the Missouri,"—that a number of persons went from New England one hundred and fifty leagues beyond the river "Meschasebe," to New Mexico. He claims to have made discoveries himself, by sailing up the Mississippi in 1698. This was probably the English expedition met by Bienville at the "English Turn." These statements of Dr. Coxe are found in his "Memorial to King William," but are unsupported by any other authority except his voyage up the Mississippi when he came in contact with Bienville, and made the "English Turn."

There is a tradition,† that in 1742 John Howard crossed the mountains of Virginia, went down the Ohio in a canoe made of a buffaloe skin, and was taken prisoner by the French on the Mississippi. In the London edition of Du Pratz, published

* *A Description of the English Province of Carolana, &c.*, by Daniel Coxe, Esquire. London 1722, pp. 113 *et seq.* By "*Carolana,*" Coxe includes what is called the "Valley of the Mississippi," and not the States of "Carolina."—Ed.

†Kercheval's *Valley of Virginia.*

in 1774, the same facts of Howard are stated in a note, and reference given to an official report of the Governor of Virginia. This visit of Howard, though it could give the government no claim to this Valley, is mentioned as the first English exploration to the Ohio and Mississippi which is fairly authenticated.

The next adventurer under British authority was Conrad Weiser, an Interpreter to the Indians, in 1748. Weiser was sent from Philadelphia to the Indians at Logstown on the Ohio river, between Pittsburgh and Big Beaver creek, to carry presents and a friendly "talk;" and English traders are referred to as residing in that vicinity. That "traders" resided amongst the Indians on the Ohio at an early period, is well authenticated.

The Government of Pennsylvania recalled its traders from Ohio in 1732, in consequence of troubles with the French. The Indians at a council in Albany, in 1754, acknowledged the English had been on the Ohio thirty years.

Mr. Butler, in his History of Kentucky, Introduction to the second edition, gives the adventures of one "Salling," in the West, as early as 1730, but in a note to Du Pratz, he is named as having been with Howard in 1742.

But the principal ground of claim of the British to the country west of the Alleghenies, was by treaties of purchase from the "Five Nations," or Iroquois. This was the only confederacy of Indian tribes that deserved the name of government in this part of North America. They had the rude elements of a confederated republic, and they were the conquerors of most of the other tribes from Lower Canada to the Mississippi and even beyond. The facts and proofs of these conquests will be found in the Appendix. Different from the policy of all the other tribes, they left the conquered nations to manage their own internal affairs as they might choose, but exacted tributes, and especially claimed the right as conquerors to dispose of their country. On this right the Five Nations sold in treaty with the British authorities, the country on the Ohio, including Western Virginia, and Kentucky; a large part of Illinois, and the country along the northern lakes into Upper Canada.

Waiving for the present, all questions as to the justice of their claims, we only state a fact now fully established, that

this confederacy did set up claims to the whole country, now embraced in Kentucky and Western Virginia north of the Cherokee claims, and the Northwestern Territory except a district in Ohio and Indiana and a small section in Southwestern Illinois, which was claimed and held by the Miami confederacy.

In 1684, Lord Howard, Governor of Virginia, held a treaty with the Five Nations, at Albany, when at the request of Colonel Dungan, Governor of New York, they placed themselves under the protection of the British nation.* They made a deed of sale by treaty to the British Government of a vast tract of country South and East of the Illinois river, and extending across Lake Huron into Canada.

Another formal deed was drawn up, and signed by the Chiefs of the National Confederacy in 1726, by which their lands were conveyed in trust to England, "to be protected and defended by his Majesty, to and for the use of the grantors and their heirs."†

If, then, the Six Nations had a good claim to the western country, there could be but little doubt that England was justified in defending that country against the French, as France, by the treaty of Utrecht, had agreed not to invade the lands of Britain's Indian allies. But this claim of the New York savages has been disputed. Among others General William H. Harrison has attempted to disprove it, and show, that the Miami confederacy of Illinois and Ohio could not have been conquered by the Iroquois.‡ We shall not enter into the controversy; but will only say, that to us the evidence is very strong, that, before 1680, the Six Nations had overrun the western lands, and were dreaded from Lakes Erie and Michigan to the Ohio, and west to the Mississippi. In 1673, Allouez and Dablon found the Miamis upon Lake Michigan, fearing a visit from the Iroquois,§ and from this time forward we hear

* *Plain Facts*, Philadelphia, 1781, pp. 22, 23.

†This may be found at length in Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*, fourth edition, London, 1768, p. 269.

‡See Harrison's *Historical Address*, 1837.

General Harrison, probably, was not aware the Iroquois made their ingress and egress into the Illinois country by the Ohio and the Lakes. We have no evidence they conquered the Miami confederacy, and at one period the two confederacies appear to have been confirmed by terms.—Ed.

§George Croghan, the Indian agent, took an oath that the Iroquois claimed no farther on the north side of the Ohio than the Great Miami or Stony river; (called also Rocky

of them in that far land from all writers, genuine and spurious, as may be easily gathered from what we have said already of Tonti and his wars.* We cannot doubt, therefore, that they did overrun the lands claimed by them, and even planted colonies in what is now Ohio; but that they had any claim, which a Christian nation should have recognized, to most of the territory in question, we cannot for a moment, think, as for half a century at least it had been under the rule of other tribes, and, when the difference between France and England began, was, with the exception of the lands just above the head of the Ohio, the place of residence and the hunting-ground of other tribes.†

But some of the western lands were also claimed by the British, as having actually been purchased. This purchase was said to have been made at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, when a treaty was held between the colonists and the Six Nations, relative to some alleged settlements that had been made upon the Indian lands in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland; and to this treaty, of which we have a very good and graphic account, written by Witham Marshe, who went as secretary with the commissioners for Maryland, we now turn. The Maryland commissioners reached Lancaster upon the 21st of June, before either the governor of Pennsylvania, the Virginia commissioners, or the Indians had arrived; though all but the natives came that evening.

The next forenoon wore wearily away, and all were glad to sit down, at one o'clock, to a dinner in the court-house, which the Virginians gave their friends, and from which not many were drawn, even by the coming of the Indians, who came, to the number of two hundred and fifty-two, with squaws and little children on horseback, and with their fire-arms, and bows, and arrows, and tomahawks, and, as they passed the

river, Great Mineami; and Asserenict.) Hutchin's Geographical Description, 25. The purport of this oath has been misunderstood, it says nothing of what the Iroquois transferred to England in 1768. See Butler's Kentucky, 5, 6.—Hall's Statistics of the West, Preface, viii. Butler's Chronology, 9.—The oath is given, American State Papers, xvii. 110.

*See Charlevoix, De La Hontan, Hennepin, Tonti, &c.

†"In 1774, when the Lancaster treaty was held with the Six Nations, some of their number were making war upon the Catawbas."—Marsh's Journal, Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. vii. pp. 190, 191.

[See the facts stated in the Appendix, Annals of Illinois, Art. Aborigines.]

court-house, invited the white men with a song to renew their former treaties. On the outskirts of the town, vacant lots had been chosen for the savages to build their wigwams upon, and thither they marched on with Conrad Weiser, their friend and interpreter,* while the Virginians "drank the loyal healths," and finished their entertainment. [Here follows a minute description of the drunkenness and festivity of the Indians, which continued at intervals for several days. It appears, however, in Marshe's journal, that the chiefs "narrowly scanned" the goods paid by the commissioners of Maryland for the lands that colony purchased, amounting to £220 Pennsylvania currency. The commissioners of Virginia paid £200 in gold and a like sum in goods, with a promise that as settlements increased more should be paid.] The commissioners from Virginia, at this treaty of Lancaster, were Col. Thomas Lee and Col. William Beverly.†

On the 5th of July, everything having been settled satisfactorily, the commissioners left "the filthy town" of Lancaster, and took their homeward way, having suffered much from the vermin and the water, though when they used the latter would be a curious enquiry.

Such was the treaty of Lancaster, upon which, as a cornerstone, the claim of the colonists to the West, by purchase, rested; and upon this, and the grant from the Six Nations, Great Britain relied in all subsequent steps.

As settlements extended, and the Indians murmured, the promise of further pay was called to mind, and Weiser was sent across the Alleghenies to Logstown, in 1748,‡ with presents, to keep the Indians in good humor; and also to sound them, probably, as to their feeling with regard to large settlements in the West, which some Virginians, with Col. Thomas Lee, the Lancaster commissioner, at their head, were then contemplating.§ The object of these proposed settlements

*For some idea of Weiser, see Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, vol. ii., p. 316, where a long letter by him is given. Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 134.

†*Plain Facts, being an Examination, &c., and a Vindication of the Grant from the Six United Nations of Indians to the Proprietors of Indiana, vs. the Decision of the Legislature of Virginia.* Pp. 29–39. Philadelphia: R. Aitken. 1781, Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. p. 480. Marshe's Journal. The whole proceedings may be found in Colden's History of the Iroquois, given with proper formal solemnity.

‡Plain Facts, pp. 40, 119, 120.

§Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. p. 478. Scarce anything was known of the old Ohio Company, until Mr. Spark's inquiries led to the note referred to; and even now so little is

was not the cultivation of the soil, but the monopoly of the Indian trade, which, with all its profits, had till that time been in the hands of unprincipled men, half civilized, half savage, who, through the Iroquois, had from the earliest period penetrated to the lakes of Canada and competed everywhere with the French for skins and furs.* It was now proposed in Virginia to turn these fellows out of their good berth beyond the mountains, by means of a great company, which should hold lands and build trading-houses, import European goods regularly, and export the furs of the West in return to London. Accordingly, after Weiser's conference with the Indians at Logstown, which was favorable to their views, Thomas Lee, with twelve other Virginians, among whom were Lawrence and Augustine, brothers of George Washington, and also Mr. Hanbury of London, formed an association which they called the "Ohio Company," and in 1748, petitioned the king for a grant beyond the mountains. This petition was approved by the monarch, and the government of Virginia was ordered to grant to the petitioners half a million of acres within the bounds of that colony, beyond the Alleghenies, two hundred thousand of which were to be located at once. This portion was to be held for ten years free of quit-rent, provided the company would put there one hundred families within seven years, and build a fort sufficient to protect the settlement; all which the company proposed, and prepared to do at once, and sent to London for a cargo suited to the Indian trade, which was to come out so as to arrive in November, 1749.

Other companies were also formed about this time in Virginia, to colonize the West. Upon the 12th of June, 1749, a grant of 800,000 acres, from the line of Canada, on the north and west, was made to the Loyal Company; and, upon the 29th of October, 1751, another of 100,000 acres to the Greenbriar Company.†

But the French were not blind all this while. They saw, that if the British once obtained a strong-hold upon the Ohio,

known, that we cannot but hope some Historical Society will prevail on Charles Fenton Mercer, formerly of Virginia, who holds the papers of that Company, to allow their publication. No full history of the West can be written, until the facts relative to the great land companies are better known.

*See Charlevoix, first and second volume in many places; especially i. 502, 515, ii. 133, 269, 373. The English were at Mackinac as early as 1686.

†Revised Statutes of Virginia, by W. B. Leigh, ii. 347.

they might not only prevent their settlements upon it, but must at last come upon their lower posts, and so the battle be fought sooner or later. To the danger of the English possessions in the West, Vaudreuil, the French governor, had been long alive. Upon the 10th of May, 1744, he wrote home representing the consequences that must come from allowing the British to build a trading-house among the Creeks;* and, in November, 1748, he anticipated their seizure of Fort Prudhomme, which was upon the Mississippi below the Ohio.† Nor was it for mere sickly missionary stations that the governor feared; for, in the year last named, the Illinois settlements, few as they were, sent flour and corn, the hams of hogs and bears, pickled pork and beef, myrtle wax, cotton, tallow, leather, tobacco, lead, iron, copper, some little buffalo wool, venison, poultry, bear's grease, oil, skins, and coarse furs to the New Orleans market. Five in 1746, from five to six hundred barrels of flour, according to one authority, and two thousand according to another, went thither from Illinois, convoys annually going down in December with the produce.‡ Having these fears, and seeing the danger of the late movements of the British, Gallisoniere, then Governor of Canada, determined to place along the Ohio, evidences of the French claim to, and possession of the country; and for that purpose, in the summer of 1749, sent Louis Celeron with a party of soldiers, to place plates of lead, on which were written out the claims of France, in the mounds, and at the mouths of the rivers.§ Of this act William Trent, who was sent out in 1752, by Virginia, to conciliate the Indians, heard while upon the Ohio, and mentioned it in his Journal; and within a few years, one of the plates, with the inscription

* Pownall's *Memorial on Service in America*, as before quoted. Vaudreuil came out as Governor of Canada in 1755.—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, vol. vii., p. 105. See also Holmes *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 23.

†Pownall's *Memorial*.

‡Ibid. Representations to Earl of Hillsborough, 1770, quoted in Filson's Kentucky, 1784: also, in Hutchins' Geographical Description, p. 15.

§ Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 430. Atwater's *History of Ohio*, first edition, p. 109. *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. ii. pp. 535-641. De Witt Clinton received the plate mentioned in the text from Mr. Atwater, who says it was found at the mouth of the Muskingum, though marked as having been placed at the mouth of the Venango (Yenangue) river, (French Creek, we presume.) Celeron wrote from an old Shawnee town on the Ohio to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania, respecting the intrusion of traders from that colony into the French dominions. Minutes of the Council of Pennsylvania, quoted in Dillon's History of Indiana, i. 66.

partly defaced, has been found near the mouth of the Muskingum. Of this plate, the date upon which is August 16th, 1749, a particular account was sent, by De Witt Clinton, to the American Antiquarian Society, in whose second volume (p. 535–41) the inscription may be found at length. By this step, the French, perhaps, hoped to quiet the title of the river, "Oyo;" but it produced not the least result. In that very year, we are told, a trading-house was built by the English, upon the Great Miami, at the spot since called Loramie's Store;* while, from another source, we learn, that two traders were, in 1749, seized by the French upon the Maumee. At any rate, the storm was gathering; the English company was determined to carry out its plan, and the French were determined to oppose them.

During 1750, we hear of no step, by either party; but in February, 1751, we find Christopher Gist, the agent who had been appointed by the Ohio Company to examine the western lands, upon a visit to the Twigtwees or Tuigtuis, who lived upon the Miami River, one hundred and thirty miles from its mouth.† In speaking of this tribe, Mr. Gist says nothing of a trading-house among them, (at least in the passage from his Journal quoted by Mr. Sparks,) but he tells us, they left the Wabash for the sake of trading with the English; and we have no doubt, that the spot which he visited was at the mouth of Loramie's Creek, where, as we have said, a trading-house was built about or before this time. Gist says, the Twigtwees were a very numerous people, much superior to the Six Nations, and that they were formerly in the French interest. Wynne speaks of them as the same with the Ottowas; but Gist undoubtedly meant the great Miamis confederacy; for he says that they are not one tribe, but "many different tribes, under the same form of government."‡ [The journey of Gist com-

**Contest in America, by an Impartial Hand.* Once this writer speaks of this post as upon the Wabash, but he doubtless meant that on the Miami.

†Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii. p. 37.

‡See Harrison's *Discourse*, already quoted. Franklin, following a Twigtwee chief present at Carlisle, in 1753, (Minutes of that Council, p. 7. Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iv. p. 71,) speaks of the Piankeshaws, a tribe of the Twigtwees; and again, of the Miamis or Twigtwees (ibid. vol. iii. p. 72.)] The name is spelt in the Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Twechtwese, and they are described as those Indians, called by the French, Miamis, (iii. 479.) On Evans' map, of 1755, they are called Tawixti, and are mentioned among the confederated nations of the West. See also General Harrison's letter of March 22, 1814, in McAfee, p. 43.

menced October 31, 1750, and lasted until May 1751. From the head of the Potomac, he went to the forks of the Ohio (Pittsburgh), thence across what is now the State of Ohio to the mouth of the Scioto; then to the Twigtwee towns on the Miami; from thence returned to the Scioto, then followed the Ohio to within fifteen miles of the Falls, which he dared not visit on account of the Indians there; and thence returned to the settlements by Kentucky river and Cumberland Gap. A journal of his tour was published as an Appendix to Pownall's Topography, London, 1776; and large extracts are given by Dr. Hildreth.*]

Having thus generally examined the land upon the Ohio, in November Gist commenced a thorough survey of the tract south of the Ohio and east of the Kanawha, which was that on which the Ohio Company proposed to make their first settlement. He spent the winter in that labor. In 1751, also, General Andrew Lewis, commenced some surveys in the Greenbriar country, on behalf of the company already mentioned, to which one hundred thousand acres of land had been granted in that region;† but his proceedings, as well as Gist's, were soon interrupted. Meanwhile no treaty of a definite character had yet been held with the western Indians; and, as the influence both of the French and of the independent English traders, was against the company, it was thought necessary to do something, and the Virginia government was desired to invite the chiefs to a conference at Logstown, which was done.

All this time the French had not been idle. They not only stirred up the savages, but took measures to fortify certain points on the upper waters of the Ohio, from which all lower posts might be easily attacked, and, beginning at Presqu'Ile, or Erie, on the lake, prepared a line of communication with the Allegheny. This was done by opening a wagon-road from Erie to a little lake lying at the head of French Creek, where a second fort was built, about fifteen miles from that at Erie. When this second fort was made, we do not clearly learn; but

*Pownall's work was a folio of 46 pages, called, "Topographical Description of such parts of North America as are contained in the annexed Map." The Map was Evans'. Gist's Journal occupies ten pages. *MS. Letters of L. C. Draper and Dr. Sparks to Mr. Perkins.*—Ed.

† Stuart's Memoir of Indian War. Border Warfare, 48.

some time in 1752, we believe.* But lest, while these little castles were quietly rising amid the forest, the British also might strengthen themselves too securely to be dislodged, a party of soldiers was sent to keep the Ohio clear; and this party, early in 1752, having heard of the trading-house upon the Miami, and, very likely, of the visit to it by Gist, came to the Twigtwees and demanded the traders, as unauthorized intruders upon French lands. The Twigtwees, however, were neither cowards nor traitors, and refused to deliver up their friends.† The French, assisted by the Ottowas and Chippewas, then attacked the trading-house, [where several families lived,] which was probably a block-house, and after a severe battle, in which fourteen of the natives were killed,‡ and others wounded, took and destroyed it, carrying the traders away to Canada as prisoners, or, as one account says, burning some of them alive. This fort, or trading-house, was called by the English writers Pickawillany.§

Such was the fate of the first British settlement in the Ohio valley, of which we have any record. It was destroyed early in 1752, as we know by the fact, that its destruction was referred to by the Indians at the Logstown treaty in June. What traders they were who were taken, we do not know with certainty. Some have thought them agents of the Ohio Company; but the Gist's proceedings about the Kanawha do not favor the idea, neither do the subsequent steps of the company; and in the "History of Pennsylvania," ascribed to Franklin, we find a gift of condolence made by that Province to the Twigtwees for those slain in defence of the traders

*Washington's Journal of 1753.—Mante, in his History of the War, says, early in 1753, but there was a post at Erie when the traders were taken, before June, 1752.

†Sparks' *Franklin*, vol. iv. p. 71.—vol. iii. p. 230. *Plain Facts*, p. 42. *Contest in North America*, &c. p. 36. *Western Monthly Magazine*, 1833. This fort was always referred to in the early treaties of the United States with the Indians; see Land Laws and Treaties, *post*. Several other captures beside this are referred to by Franklin and others. The attack on Logstown, spoken of by Smollett and Russell, was doubtless this attack on the Miami post. Smollett; *George II.* chap. ix. See also Burk's *Virginia*, vol. iii. p. 170.

‡Among them a king of the Piankeshaws. (Minutes of the Council of Carlisle, 1753.) From those Minutes we learn also that the Ottowas and Chippewas aided the French.

§Washington's Journal (London, 1754) has a map on which the name is printed "Pikkawalinna."—A memorial of the king's minister, in 1755, refers to it as "Pickawillanes, in the centre of the territory between the Ohio and the Wabash." Sparks' Franklin, vol. iv. p. 330.) The name is probably some variation of Piqua or Pickaway: in 1773, written by Rev. David Jones "Pickawake." (Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 265.)

among them, in 1752, which leads us to believe that they were independent merchants from that colony.*

Blood had now been shed, and both parties became more deeply interested in the progress of events in the West. The English, on their part, determined to purchase from the Indians a title to the lands they wished to occupy, by fair means or foul; and, in the spring of 1752, Messrs. Fry,† Lomax, and Patton, were sent from Virginia to hold a conference with the natives at Logstown, to learn what they objected to in the treaty of Lancaster, of which it was said they complained, and to settle all difficulties.‡ On the 9th of June, the commissioners met the red men at Logstown: this was a little village, seventeen miles and a half below Pittsburgh, upon the north side of the Ohio.§ It had long been a trading point, but had been abandoned by the Indians in 1750.‖ Here the Lancaster treaty was produced, and the sales of the western lands insisted upon; but the chiefs said, "No: they had not heard of any sale west of the warrior's road,¶ which ran at the foot of the Allegheny ridge." The commissioners then offered goods for a ratification of the Lancaster treaty; spoke of the proposed settlement by the Ohio Company; and used all their persuasions to secure the land wanted. Upon the 11th of June, the Indians replied: "They recognized the treaty of Lancaster, and the authority of the Six Nations to make it, but denied that they had any knowledge of the western lands being conveyed to the English by said deed; and declined, upon the

* The Twigtwees met the Pennsylvanians at Lancaster, in July, 1748, and made a treaty with them. (Dillon's Indiana, i. 63.) Croghan, also, (Butler's Kentucky, 471,) speaks of them as connected with Pennsylvania. The Shawnees, from the West, went to Philadelphia to make treaties, in 1732. (Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, iii. 491.)

† Afterwards Commander in Chief over Washington, at the commencement of the French war of 1755—63; he died at Will's Creek, (Cumberland) May 31, 1754. Sparks' Washington, ii. 27, note.

‡ *Plain Facts*, p. 40.—Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. p. 480.

§ Croghan, in his *Journal* says, that Logstown was *south* of the Ohio. (Butler's Kentucky, App.) The river is itself nearly north and south at the spot in question; but we always call the Canada side the north side, having reference to the general direction of the stream.

‖ Bancroft's *Expedition*, London, 1766, p. 10.—Logstown is given on the map accompanying the volume.

¶ Washington (Sparks' ii. 526,) speaks of a warrior's path coming out upon the Ohio about thirty miles above the Great Kanawha;—Filsons and Hutchins (see map) make the one referred to by them terminate below the Scioto.—One may have been a branch used by the Muskingum and Hocking tribes, the other by those of the Scioto Valley.

whole, having any thing to do with the treaty of 1744." "However," said the savages, "as the French have already struck the Twigtwees, we shall be pleased to have your assistance and protection, and wish you would build a fort at once at the Forks of the Ohio."* But this permission was not what the Virginians wanted; so they took aside Montour, the interpreter, who was a son of the famous Catharine Montour,† and a chief among the Six Nations, being three-fourths of Indian blood, and persuaded him, by valid arguments, (of the kind which an Indian mostly appreciates doubtless,) to use his influence with his fellows. This he did; and, upon the 13th of June, they all united in signing a deed, confirming the Lancaster treaty *in its full extent*, consenting to a settlement southeast of the Ohio, and guaranteeing that it should not be disturbed by them.‡ By such means was obtained the first treaty with the Indians in the Ohio valley.

All this time the two powers beyond the Atlantic were in a professed state "of profound peace;" and commissioners were at Paris trying to out-manœuvre one another with regard to the disputed lands in America,§ though in the West all looked like war. We have seen how the English outwitted the Indians, and secured themselves, as they thought, by their politic conduct. But the French, in this as in all cases, proved that they knew best how to manage the natives; and, though they had to contend with the old hatred felt toward them by the Six Nations, and though they by no means refrained from strong acts, marching through the midst of the Iroquois country, attacking the Twigtwees, and seizing the English traders, nevertheless they did succeed, as the British never did, in attaching the Indians to their cause. As an old chief of the Six Nations said at Easton, in 1758: "The Indians on the Ohio left you because of your own fault. When we heard the French were coming, we asked you for help and arms, but we did not

* *Plain Facts*, p. 42.

† For a sketch of this woman, see *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, First Series, vol. vii. p. 189, or Stone's *Life of Brant*, vol. i. p. 339. She had two sons, Andrew and Henry. The latter was a Captain among the Iroquois, the former a common interpreter, apparently. Andrew was taken by the French in 1749. Which of them was at Logstown we are not told; but, from his influence with the Indians, it was probably Henry.

‡ *Plain Facts*, pp. 38–44. The Virginia commissioners were men of high character, but treated with the Indians according to the ideas of their day.

§ See Smollet; George II., chap. viii. and ix.

get them. The French came, they treated us kindly, and gained our affections. The Governor of Virginia settled on our lands for his own benefit, and, when we wanted help, forsook us."*

So stood matters at the close of 1752. The English had secured (as they thought) a title to the Indian lands southeast of the Ohio, and Gist was at work laying out a town and fort there on Chartier's Creek, about two miles below the Fork.† Eleven families also were crossing the mountains to settle at the point where Gist had fixed his own residence, west of Laurel Hill, and not far from the Youghiogany. Goods, too, had come from England for the Ohio Company, which, however, they could not well, and dared not, carry beyond Will's Creek, the point where Cumberland now stands, whence they were taken by the traders and Indians; and there was even some prospect of a road across the mountains to the Monongahela.

On the other hand, the French were gathering cannon and stores upon Lake Erie, and, without treaties or deeds for land, were gaining the good will of even inimical tribes, and preparing, when all was ready, to strike the blow. Some of the savages, it is true, remonstrated. They said they did not understand this dispute between the Europeans, as to which of them the western lands belonged, for they did not belong to either. But the French bullied when it served their turn, and flattered when it served their turn, and all the while went on with their preparations, which were in an advanced state early in 1753.‡

In May of that year, the governor of Pennsylvania informed the Assembly of the French movements, a knowledge of which was derived, in part at least, from Montour, who had been present at a conference between the French and Indians relative to the invasion of the West.§ The Assembly, thereupon, voted six hundred pounds for distribution among the tribes, besides two hundred for the presents of condolence to the Twigtwees, already mentioned. This money was not sent,

**Plain Facts*, p. 55.—Pownall's *Memoir on Service in North America.*

†Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. pp. 433, 482, and map, p. 38.

‡See in Washington's Journal, the speech of Half-king to the French commander and his answer.—Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. p. 484.

§Sparks' Franklin, vol. iii. p. 219.

but Conrad Weiser was despatched in August to learn how things stood among the Ohio savages.* Virginia was moving also. In June, or earlier, a commissioner was sent westward to meet the French, and ask how they dared to invade his Majesty's province. The messenger went to Logstown, but was afraid to go up the Allegheny, as instructed.† Trent was also sent off with guns, powder, shot and clothing for the friendly Indians; and then it was, that he learned the fact already stated, as to the claim of the French, and their burial of medals in proof of it. While these measures were taken, another treaty with the wild men of the debatable land was also in contemplation; and in September, 1753, William Fairfax met their deputies at Winchester, Virginia, where he concluded a treaty, with the particulars of which we are unacquainted, but on which, we are told, was an endorsement, stating that such was their feeling, that *he had not dared to mention to them either the Lancaster or the Logstown treaty*;‡ a most sad comment upon the modes taken to obtain those grants. In the month following, however, a more satisfactory interview took place at Carlisle, between the representatives of the Iroquois, Delawares, Shawnees, Twigtwees and Wyandots, and the commissioners of Pennsylvania, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin. At this meeting the attack on the Twigtwees was talked over, the plans of the French discussed, and a treaty concluded. The Indians had sent three messages to the French, warning them away; the reply was, that they were coming to build forts at "Wenengo," (Venango,) Mohongiala forks, (Pittsburgh,) Logstown and Beaver Creek. The red men complained of the traders as too scattered, and killing them with rum; they wished only three trading stations, viz: mouth of "Mohongely," (Pittsburgh,) Logstown, and mouth of Conawa."§

Soon after this, no satisfaction being obtained from the Ohio, either as to the force, position, or purposes of the French, Robert Dinwiddie, then Governor of Virginia, determined to send to them another messenger, and selected a young surveyor, who, at the age of nineteen, had received the rank of major, and whose previous life had inured him to

* Sparks' Franklin, vol. iii. p. 280.
† Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. p. 430.
‡ *Plain Facts*, p. 44.
§ Minutes of Treaty at Carlisle in October, 1753, pp. 5 to 8.

hardship and woodland ways; while his courage, cool judgment, and firm will, all fitted him for such a mission. This young man, as all know, was George Washington, who was twenty-one years and eight months old, at the time of the appointment.* With Gist as his guide, Washington left Will's Creek, where Cumberland now is, on the 15th of November, and, on the 22d, reached the Monongahela, about ten miles above the Fork. Thence he went to Logstown, where he had long conferences with the chiefs of the Six Nations living in that neighborhood. Here he learned the position of the French upon the *Riviere aux Bœufs*, and the condition of their forts. He heard, also, that they had determined not to come down the river till the following spring, but had warned all the Indians, that, if they did not keep still, the whole French force would be turned upon them; and that, if they and the English were equally strong, they would divide the land between them, and cut off all the natives. These threats, and the mingled kindness and severity of the French, had produced the desired effect. Shingiss, king of the Delawares, feared to meet Washington, and the Shannoah (Shawnee) chiefs would not come either.†

The truth was, these Indians were in a very awkward position. They could not resist the Europeans, and knew not which to side with; so that a non-committal policy was much the safest, and they were wise not to return by Washington (as he desired they should) the wampum they received from the French, as that would be equivalent to breaking with them.

Finding that nothing could be done with these people, Washington left Logstown on the 30th of November, and, traveling amid cold and rain, reached Venango,‡ an old Indian town at the mouth of French Creek, on the 4th of the next month. Here he found the French; and through the rum, the flattery, and the persuasions of his enemies, he very nearly lost all his Indians, even his old friend, the

* Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. pp. 428—447.

† Shingiss, or Shingask, was the great Delaware Warrior of that day, and did the British much mischief.—See Hackewelder's Narrative, p. 64.

‡ A corruption of Innungah; (Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 636, note.) The French fort there was called Fort Machault. Memoires sur la Derniere Guerre, iii. 181.)

Half-king. Patience and good faith conquered, however, and, after another effort through mires and creeks, snow, rain and cold, upon the 11th he reached the head of French Creek. Here he delivered Governor Dinwiddie's letter, took his observations, received his answer, and upon the 16th set out upon his return journey, having had to combat every art and trick "which the most faithful brain could suggest," in order to get his Indians away with him. Flattery, liquor, guns, and provisions were showered upon the Half-king and his comrades, while Washington himself received bows, smirks, and compliments, with a plentiful store of creature-comforts also.

From Venango, Washington and Gist went on foot, leaving their Indian friends to the tender mercies of the French. Of their hardships and dangers on this journey out and back, we need only say, that three out of five men who went with them were too badly frost-bitten to continue the journey.*— In spite of all, however, they reached Will's Creek, on the 6th of January, well and sound.† During the absence of the young messenger, steps had been taken to fortify and settle the point formed by the junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny; and while upon his return he met "seventeen horses, loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the Fork of the Ohio," and, soon after, "some families going out to settle." These steps were taken by the Ohio Company; but, as soon as Washington returned with the letter of St. Pierre, the commander on French Creek, and it was perfectly clear that neither he nor his superiors meant to yield the West without a struggle, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Board of Trade, stating that the French were building another fort at Venango, and that in March twelve or fifteen hundred men would be ready to descend the river with their Indian allies, for which purpose three hundred canoes had been collected; and that Logstown was then to be made head-quarters, while forts were built in various other positions, and the whole country occupied. He also sent expresses to the Governors of Pennsylvania and New York, calling upon them for assistance; and with the advice of his council, proceeded to

* Sparks' Washington, ii. 55.

† Gist's Journal of this Expedition may be found in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, third series, vol. v. (1836,) 101 to 108.

enlist two companies, one of which was to be raised by Washington, the other by Trent, who was a frontier man. This last was to be raised upon the frontiers; and to proceed at once to the Fork of the Ohio, there to complete in the best manner, and as soon as possible, the fort begun by the Ohio Company; and in case of attack, or any attempt to resist the settlements, or obstruct the works, those resisting were to be taken, and if need were, to be killed.*

While Virginia was taking these strong measures, which were fully authorized by the letter of the Earl of Holdernesse, Secretary of State,† written in the previous August, and which directed the Governors of the various provinces, after representing to those who were invading his Majesty's dominions the injustice of the act, to call out the armed force of the province, and repel force by force; while Virginia was thus acting, Pennsylvania was discussing the question, whether the French were *really* invading his Majesty's dominions,—the Governor being on one side, and the Assembly on the other,‡ and New York was preparing to hold a conference with the Six Nations, in obedience to orders from the Board of Trade, written in September, 1753.§ These orders had been sent out in consequence of the report in England, that the natives would side with the French, because dissatisfied with the occupancy of their lands by the English; and simultaneous orders were sent to the other provinces, directing the Governors to recommend their Assemblies to send commissioners to Albany to attend this grand treaty, which was to heal all wounds. New York, however, was more generous when called on by Virginia, than her neighbor on the south, and voted, for the assistance of the resisting colony, five thousand pounds currency.‖

It was now April, 1754. The fort at Venango was finished, and all along the line of French Creek troops were gathering; and the wilderness echoed the strange sounds of an European camp,—the watch-word, the command, the clang of muskets, the uproar of soldiers, the cry of the sutler; and with these

*Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. pp. 1, 431, 446.—Sparks' Franklin, vol. iii. p. 254.

†Sparks' Franklin, vol. iii. p. 251, where the letter is given.

‡Sparks' Franklin, vol. iii. pp. 254, 263.

§Plain Facts, pp. 45, 46. Sparks' Franklin, vol. iii. p. 253.

‖Massachusetts Historical Collections, first series, vol. vii. p. 73.

were mingled the shrieks of drunken Indians, won over from their old friendship by rum and soft words. Scouts were abroad, and little groups formed about the tents or huts of the officers, to learn the movements of the British. Canoes were gathering, and cannon were painfully hauled here and there. All was movement and activity among the old forests, and on hill-sides, covered already with young wild flowers, from Lake Erie to the Allegheny. In Philadelphia, meanwhile, Governor Hamilton, in no amiable mood, had summoned the Assembly, and asked them if they meant to help the King in the defence of his dominions; and had desired them, above all things, to do whatever they meant to do, quickly. The Assembly debated, and resolved to aid the King with a little money, and then debated again and voted not to aid him with any money at all, for some would not give less than ten thousand pounds, and others would not give more than five thousand pounds; and so, nothing being practicable, they adjourned upon the 10th of April until the 13th of May.*

In New York, a little, and only a little better spirit, was at work; nor was this strange, as her direct interest was much less than that of Pennsylvania. Five thousand pounds indeed was, as we have said, voted to Virginia; but the Assembly questioned the invasion of his Majesty's dominions by the French, and it was not till June that the money voted was sent forward.†

The Old Dominion, however, was all alive. As, under the provincial law, the militia could not be called forth to march more than five miles beyond the bounds of the colony, and as it was doubtful if the French were in Virginia, it was determined to rely upon volunteers. Ten thousand pounds had been voted by the Assembly; so the two companies were now increased to six, and Washington was raised to the rank of lieutenant colonel, and made second in command under Joshua Fry. Ten cannon, lately from England, were forwarded from Alexandria; wagons were got ready to carry westward provisions and stores through the heavy spring roads; and everywhere along the Potomac men were enlisting under the Governor's proclamation, which promised to

* Sparks' Franklin, vol. iii. pp. 264, 265.

†Massachusetts Historical Collections, first series, vol. vii. pp. 72, 73, and note.

those that should serve in that war, two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio, or, already enlisted, were gathering into grave knots, or marching forward to the field of action, or helping on the thirty cannon and eighty barrels of gunpowder, which the King had sent out for the western forts. Along the Potomac they were gathering, as far as to Will's Creek; and far beyond Will's Creek, whither Trent had come for assistance, his little band of forty-one men was working away, in hunger and want, to fortify that point at the Fork of the Ohio, to which both parties were looking with deep interest. The first birds of spring filled the forest with their songs; the redbud was here and there putting forth its flowers on the steep Alleghe ny hill-sides, and the swift river below swept by, swollen by the melting snows and April showers; a few Indian scouts were seen but no enemy seemed near at hand; and all were so quiet, that Frazier, an old Indian trader, who had been left by Trent in command of the new fort, ventured to his home at the mouth of Turtle Creek, ten miles up the Monongahela. But, though all was so quiet in that wilderness, keen eyes had seen the low entrenchment that was rising at the Fork, and swift feet had borne the news of it up the valley; and, upon the 17th of April, Ensign Ward, who then had charge of it, saw upon the Allegheny a sight that made his heart sink; sixty batteaux and three hundred canoes, filled with men, and laden deep with cannon and stores. The fort was called on to surrender; by the advice of the Half-king, Ward tried to evade the act, but it would not do; Contrecœur, with a thousand men about him, said "Evacuate," and the Ensign dared not refuse. That evening he supped with his captor, and the next day was bowed off by the Frenchman, and, with his men and tools, marched up the Monongahela. From that day began the war.*

* Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. The number of French troops was probably over-stated, but to the captives there seemed a round thousand. Burk, in his History of Virginia, speaks of the taking of Logstown by the French; but Logstown was never a post of the Ohio Company as he represents it, as is plain from all contemporary letters and accounts. Burk's ignorance of Western matters is clear in this, that he says the French *dropped down* from Fort Du Quesne to Presqu'Ile and Venango; they, or a part of them, did drop down the Ohio, but surely not to posts, one of which was on Lake Erie, and the other far up the Allegheny! In a letter from Captain Stobo, written in July, 1754, at Fort Du Quesne, where he was then confined as hostage under the capitulation of Great Meadows, he says there were but two hundred men in and about the Fort at that time.—(American Pioneer, i. 236.—For plan of Forts Du Quesne and Pitt, see article in Pioneer; also, Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 77.)

CHAPTER III.

WAR OF 1754 TO 1763.

Fort Necessity—Proposed compromise by the French—March of Braddock—Defeat of Braddock—Expedition to the Indian Towns on the Ohio—Fort Du Quesne taken by the British—Journey of Post—Treaty at Easton—Settlements in the West—Treaty of Peace at Paris.

Washington was at Will's Creek, (Cumberland,) when the news of the surrender of the Forks reached him. He was on his way across the mountains, preparing roads for the King's cannon, and aiming for the mouth of Red Stone Creek, (Brownsville,) where a store-house had been already built by the Ohio Company; by the 9th of May, he had reached Little Meadows, on the head waters of a branch of the Youghiogheny, toiling slowly, painfully forward, four, three, sometimes only two miles a day! All the while from traders and others he heard of forces coming up the Ohio to reinforce the French at the Fork, and of spies out examining the valley of the Monongahela, flattering and bribing the Indians. On the 27th of May he was at Great Meadows, west of the Youghiogheny, near the Fort of Laurel Hill, close by the spot now known as Braddock's Grave. He had heard of a body of French somewhere in the neighborhood, and on the 27th, his former guide, Gist, came from his residence beyond Laurel Hill, near the head of Red Stone Creek, and gave information of a body of French, who had been at his plantation the day before. That evening from his old friend the Half-king, he heard again of enemies in the vicinity. Fearing a surprise, Washington at once started, and early the next morning attacked the party referred to by the Chief of the Iroquois. In the contest ten of the French were killed, including M. de Jumonville, their commander; of the Americans but one was lost. This skirmish France saw fit to regard as the commencement of the war, and in consequence of a report made by M. de Contrecœur, to the Marquis Du Quesne, founded upon the tales told by certain of Jumonville's men, who had run away at the first onset, it has been usual with French writers to represent the attack by Washington as unauthorized, and the party as-

sailed by him as a party sent with peaceable intentions; and this impression was confirmed by the term "assassination of M. de Jumonville," used in the capitulation of Great Meadows in the following July;—this having been accepted by Washington (*to whom the term was falsely translated,*) it was naturally regarded as an acknowledgment by him of the improper character of the attack of May 28th. Mr. Sparks, in his appendix to Washington's papers, vol. ii. pp. 447, 459, has discussed this matter at length, and fully answered the aspersions of the European writers; to his work we refer our readers.

From the last of May until the 1st of July, preparations were made to meet the French who were understood to be gathering their forces in the West. On the 28th of June, Washington was at Gist's house, and new reports coming in that the enemy was approaching in force, a council of war was held, and it was thought best, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, to retreat to Great Meadows, and even farther if possible. When, however, the retiring body of Provincials reached that post, it was deemed impossible to go farther in the exhausted state of the troops, who had been eight days without bread. Measures were therefore taken to strengthen the fort, which, from the circumstances, was named Fort Necessity. On the 1st of July, the Americans reached their position; on the 3d, alarm was given of an approaching enemy; at eleven o'clock, A. M., nine hundred in number, they commenced the attack in the midst of a hard rain; and from that time until eight in the evening, the assailants ceased not to pour their fire upon the little fortress. About eight the French requested some officer to be sent to treat with them; Captain Vanbraam, the only person who pretended to understand the language of the enemy, was ordered to go to the camp of the attacking party, whence he returned bringing terms of capitulation, which, by a flickering candle, in the dripping quarters of his commander, he translated to Washington, and as it proved, from intention or ignorance, mistranslated. By this capitulation, the garrison of Fort Necessity were to have leave to retire with everything but their artillery; the prisoners taken May 28th were to be returned; and the party yielding were to labor on no works west of the mountains for one year; for the observance of these conditions Captain Vanbraam, the negotiator, and Captain Stobo,

were to be retained by the French as sureties.* The above provisions having been agreed to, Washington and his men, hard pressed by famine, hastened to the nearest depot which was at Will's Creek. At this point, immediately afterwards, Fort Cumberland was erected under the charge of Colonel Innes, of North Carolina, who, since the death of Colonel Fry, had been Commander-in-Chief. At that time there were in service, 1st, the Virginia militia; 2nd, the Independent Companies of Virginia, South Carolina, and New York, all of whom were paid by the King; 3d, troops raised in North Carolina and paid by the Colony; and 4th, recruits from Maryland; of these the Virginia and South Carolina troops alone had been beyond the mountains.

From August to October little appears to have been done, but in the latter month the Governor of Virginia, (Dinwiddie,) so changed the military organization of the Colony, as to leave no one in the army with a rank above that of Captain; this was done in order to avoid all contests as to precedence among the American officers, it being clear that troops from various Provinces would have to be called into the field, and that the different commissions from the Crown, and the Colonies, would give large openings for rivalry and conflict; but among the results of the measure was the resignation of Washington, who for a time retired to Mount Vernon.†

It was now the fall of 1754. In Pennsylvania, Morris, who had succeeded Hamilton, was busily occupied with making speeches to the Assembly and listening to their stubborn replies;‡, while in the north the Kennebec was fortified, and a plan talked over for attacking Crown Point on Lake Champlain the next spring;§ and in the south things went on much as if there were no war coming. All the colonies united in one thing, however, in calling loudly on the mother country for help. During this same autumn the pleasant Frenchmen were securing the West, step by step; settling the valley of the Wabash; gallanting with the Delawares, and coquetting with the Iroquois, who still balanced between them and the

*This fact would seem to show that Vanbraam's mistranslation must have been from ignorance or accident.

†Sparks' Washington, ii. 64, 67, and generally, the whole volume, as to this war.

‡Sparks' Franklin, vol. iii. p. 282.

§Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. vii. p. 88.

English. The forest of the Ohio shed their leaves, and the prairies filled the sky with the smoke of their burning; and along the great rivers, and on the lakes, and amid the pathless woods of the West, no European was seen, whose tongue spoke other language than that of France. So closed 1754.

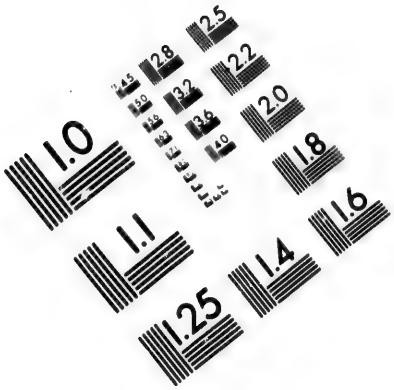
The next year opened with professions, on both sides, of the most peaceful intentions, and preparations on both sides to push the war vigorously. France, in January, proposed to restore every thing to the state it was in before the last war, and to refer all claims to commissioners at Paris; to which Britain, on the 22nd, replied that, the west of North America must be left as it was at the treaty of Utrecht. On the 6th of February, France made answer, that the old English claims in America were untenable; and offered a new ground of compromise, namely, that the English should retire east of the Alleghenies, and the French west of the Ohio. This offer was long considered, and at length *was agreed to by England* on the 7th of March, *provided* the French would destroy all their forts on the Ohio and its branches; to which, after twenty days had passed, France said, "No."* While all this negotiation was going on, other things also had been in motion. General Braddock, with his gallant troops, had crossed the Atlantic, and, upon the 20th of February, had landed in Virginia, commander-in-chief of all the land forces in America; and in the north all this while there was whispering of, and enlisting for, the proposed attack on Crown Point; and even Niagara, far off by the falls, was to be taken in case nothing prevented. In France, too, other work had been done than negotiation; for at Brest and Rochelle ships were fitting out, and troops gathering, and stores crowding in. Even old England herself had not been all asleep, and Boscawen had been busy at Plymouth, hurrying on the slow workmen, and gathering the unready sailors.† In March the two European neighbors were smiling and doing their best to quiet all troubles; in April they still smiled, but the fleets of both were crowding sail across the Atlantic and, in Alexandria, Braddock, Shirley, and their fellow-officers were taking counsel as to the summer's campaign.

In America four points were to be attacked; Fort Du

*Plain Facts, pp. 51, 52.—Secret Journals, vol. iv. p. 74.

†Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. p. 68.—Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. vii. p. 89.—Smollett. George II, chapter x.





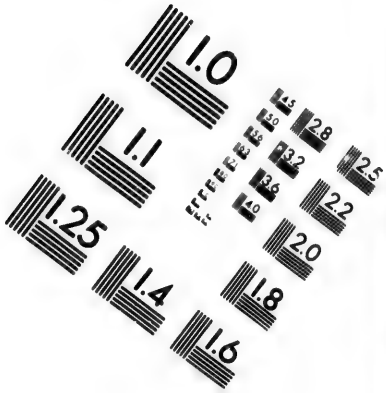
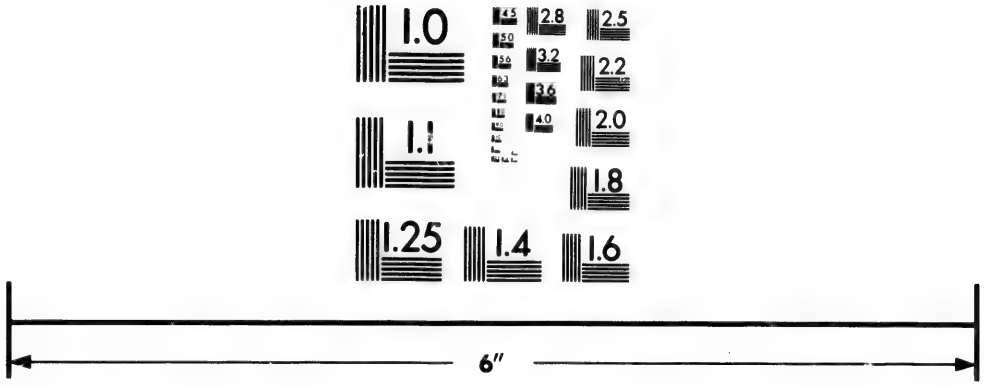
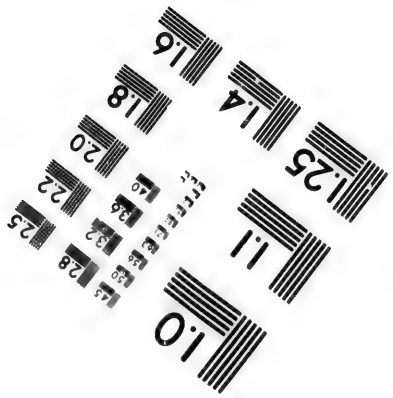
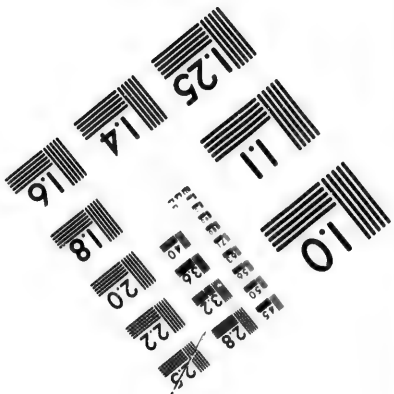


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Quesne, Crown Point, Niagara, and the French posts in Nova Scotia. On the 20th of April, Braddock left Alexandria to march upon Du Quesne, whither he was expressly ordered, though the officers in America looked upon it as a mistaken movement, as they thought New York should be the main point for regular operations. The expedition for Nova Scotia, consisting of three thousand Massachusetts men, left Boston on the 20th of May; while the troops which General Shirley was to lead against Niagara, and the provincials which William Johnson was to head in the attack upon Crown Point, slowly collected at Albany.

May and June passed away, and mid summer drew nigh. The fearful and desponding colonists waited anxiously for news; and, when the news came that Nova Scotia had been conquered, and that Boscawen had taken two of the French men of war, and lay before Louisburg, hope and joy spread everywhere. July passed away, too, and men heard how slowly and painfully Braddock made progress through the wilderness, how his contractors deceived him, and the colonies gave little help, and neither horses nor wagons could be had, and only one, Benjamin Franklin, sent any aid;* and then reports came that he had been forced to leave many of his troops, and much of his baggage and artillery, behind him; and then, about the middle of the month, through Virginia there went a whisper, that the great general had been defeated and wholly cut off; and, as man after man rode down the Potomac confirming it, the planters hastily mounted, and were off to consult with their neighbors; the country turned out; companies were formed to march to the frontiers; sermons were preached, and every heart and mouth was full. In Pennsylvania the Assembly were called together to hear the "shocking news;" and in New York it struck terror into those who were there gathered to attack the northern posts. Soldiers deserted; the batteaux men dispersed; and when at length Shirley, since Braddock's death the commander-in-chief, managed with infinite labor to reach Oswego on Lake Ontario, it was too late and stormy, and his force too feeble, to allow him to more than garrison that point, and march back to Albany again.† John-

*Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. p. 77, &c.—Sparks' Franklin, vol. vii. p. 94, &c.

†For a full account of Shirley's Expedition, see the paper in Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. vii.

son did better; for he met and defeated Baron Dieskau upon the banks of Lake George, though Crown Point was not taken, nor even attacked.

But we must turn back for a moment to describe particularly the events of Braddock's famous defeat, connected as it is with the history of the West; and we cannot do it more perfectly than in the words of Mr. Sparks in his appendix to the second volume of the writings of Washington.

The defeat of General Braddock, on the banks of the Monongahela, is one of the most remarkable events in American history. Great preparations had been made for the expedition, under that experienced officer, and there was the most sanguine anticipation, both in England and America, of its entire success. Such was the confidence in the prowess of Braddock's army, according to Dr. Franklin, that, while he was on his march to Fort Du Quesne, a subscription paper was handed about in Philadelphia, to raise money to celebrate his victory by bonfires and illuminations, as soon as the intelligence should arrive.

General Braddock landed in Virginia on the 20th of February, 1755, with two regiments of the British army from Ireland, the forty-fourth and forty-eighth, each consisting of five hundred men, one of them commanded by Sir Peter Halket, and the other by Colonel Dunbar. To these were joined a suitable train of artillery, with military supplies and provisions. The General's first head-quarters were at Alexandria, and the troops were stationed in that place and its vicinity, till they marched for Will's Creek, where they arrived about the middle of May. It took four weeks to effect that march. In letters written at Will's Creek, General Braddock, with much severity of censure, complained of the lukewarmness of the colonial governments and tardiness of the people, in facilitating his enterprise, the dishonesty of agents and the faithlessness of contractors. The forces which he brought together at Will's Creek, however, amounted to somewhat more than two thousand effective men, of whom about one thousand belonged to the royal regiments, and the remainder were furnished by the colonies. In this number were embraced the fragments of two independent companies from New York, one of which was commanded by Captain Gates, afterwards a Major-General in the Revolutionary war. Thirty sailors had also been granted for the expedition by Admiral Keppel, who commanded the squadron that brought over the two regiments.

At this post the army was detained three weeks, nor could it then have moved, had it not been for the energetic personal services of Franklin, among the Pennslyvania farmers, in pro-

curing horses and wagons to transport the artillery, provisions and baggage.

The details of the march were well described in Colonel Washington's letters. The army was separated into two divisions. The advanced division, under General Braddock, consisted of twelve hundred men, besides officers. The other, under Colonel Dunbar, was left in the rear, to proceed by slower marches. On the 8th of July, the General arrived with his division, all in excellent health and spirits, at the junction of the Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers. At this place Colonel Washington joined the advance division, being but partially recovered from a severe attack of fever, which had been the cause of his remaining behind. The officers and soldiers were now in the highest spirits, and firm in the conviction, that they should within a few hours, victoriously enter the walls of Fort Du Quesne.

The steep and rugged grounds on the north side of the Monongahela prevented the army from marching in that direction, and it was necessary in approaching the Fort, now about fifteen miles distant, to ford the river twice, and march part of the way on the south side. Early on the morning of the 9th, all things were in readiness, and the whole train passed through the river a little below the mouth of the Youghiogheny, and proceeded in perfect order along the southern margin of the Monongahela.

Washington was often heard to say during his lifetime, that the most beautiful spectacle that he ever beheld was the display of the British troops on this eventful morning. Every man was neatly dressed in full uniform, the soldiers were arranged in columns and marched in exact order, the sun gleamed from their burnished arms, the river flowed tranquilly on their right, and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on their left. Officers and men were equally inspired with cheering hopes and confident anticipations.

In this manner they marched forward till about noon, when they arrived at the second crossing place, ten miles from Fort Du Quesne. They halted but a little time, and then began to ford the river and regain its northern bank. As soon as they had crossed, they came upon a level plain, elevated but a few feet above the surface of the river, and extending northward nearly half a mile from its margin. Then commenced a gradual ascent at an angle of about three degrees, which terminated in hills of a considerable height at no great distance beyond. The road from the fording place to Fort Du Quesne, led across the plain and up this ascent, and thence proceeded through an uneven country, at that time covered with woods.

By the order of march, a body of three hundred men, under Colonel Gage, afterwards General Gage, of Boston memory,

made the advanced party, which was immediately followed by another of two hundred. Next came the General with the columns of artillery, the main body of the army, and the baggage. At one o'clock the whole had passed the river, and almost at this moment a sharp firing was heard upon the advance parties, who were now ascending the hill, and had got forward about a hundred yards from the termination of the plain. A heavy discharge of musketry was poured in upon their front, which was the first intelligence they had of the proximity of an enemy, and this was suddenly followed by another on their right flank. They were filled with great consternation, as no enemy was in sight, and the firing seemed to proceed from an invisible foe. They fired in their turn, however, but quite at random, and obviously without effect, as the enemy kept up a discharge in quick, continued succession.

The General advanced speedily to the relief of these detachments; but before he could reach the spot which they occupied, they gave way and fell back upon the artillery and the other columns of the army, causing extreme confusion, and striking the whole mass with such a panic, that no order could afterwards be restored. The General and the officers behaved with the utmost courage, and used every effort to rally the men, and bring them to order, but all in vain. In this state they continued nearly three hours, huddling together in confused bodies, firing irregularly, shooting down their own officers and men, and doing no perceptible harm to the enemy. The Virginia provincials were the only troops who seemed to retain their senses, and they behaved with a bravery and resolution worthy of a better fate. They adopted the Indian mode, and fought each man for himself behind a tree. This was prohibited by the General, who endeavored to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been manœuvring on the plains of Flanders. Meantime the French and Indians, concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a deadly and unceasing discharge of musketry, singling out their objects, taking deliberate aim, and producing a carnage almost unparalleled in the annals of modern warfare. More than half of the whole army, which had crossed the river in so proud an array, only three hours before, were killed or wounded; the General himself had received a mortal wound, and many of his best officers had fallen by his side.

In describing the action a few days afterwards, Colonel Orme wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania: "The men were so extremely deaf to the exhortations of the General and the officers, that they fired away in the most irregular manner all their ammunition, and then ran off, leaving to the enemy the artillery, ammunition, provisions and baggage; nor could they be persuaded to stop till they had got as far as Gist's plantation, nor there only in part, many of them proceeding as far

as Colonel Dunbar's party, who lay six miles on this side. The officers were absolutely sacrificed by their good behavior, advancing sometimes in bodies, sometimes separately, hoping by such example to engage the soldiers to follow them, but to no purpose. The General had five horses shot under him, and at last received a wound through his right arm into his lungs, of which he died the 13th instant. Secretary Shirley was shot through the head; Captain Morris, wounded, Colonel Washington had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution. Sir Peter Halket was killed upon the spot. Colonel Burton and Sir John St. Clair were wounded." In addition to these, the other field officers wounded were Lieutenant-Colonel Gage, (afterwards so well known as the commander of the British forces in Boston, at the beginning of the Revolution,) Colonel Orme, Major Sparks, and Brigade Major Halket. Ten Captains were killed, and twenty-two wounded; the whole number of officers in the engagement was eighty-six, of whom twenty-six were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates amounted to seven hundred and fourteen. Of these at least one-half were supposed to be killed. Their bodies left on the field of action were stripped and scalped by the Indians. All the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and baggage, every thing in the train of the army, fell into the enemy's hands, and were given up to be pillaged by the savages. General Braddock's papers were also taken, among which were his instructions and correspondence with the ministry after his arrival in Virginia. The same fate befell the papers of Colonel Washington, including a private journal and his official correspondence, during his campaign of the preceding year.

M. de Contrecœur, the commandant of Fort Du Quesne, received early intelligence of the arrival of General Braddock and the British regiments in Virginia. After his removal from Will's Creek, French and Indian scouts were constantly abroad, who watched his motions, reported the progress of his march, and the route he was pursuing. His army was represented to consist of three thousand men. M. de Contrecœur was hesitating what measures to take, believing his small force wholly inadequate to encounter so formidable an enemy, when M. de Beaujeu, a Captain in the French service, proposed to head a detachment of French and Indians, and meet the enemy in their march. The consent of the Indians was first obtained. A large body of them was then encamped in the vicinity of the Fort, and M. de Beaujeu opened to them his plan, and requested their aid. This they at first declined, giving as a reason the superior force of the enemy, and the impossibility of success. But at the pressing solicitation of M. de Beaujeu,

they agreed to hold a council on the subject, and talk with him again the next morning. They still adhered to their first decision, and when M. de Beaujeu went out among them to inquire the result of their deliberations, they told him a second time they could not go. This was a severe disappointment to M. de Beaujeu, who had set his heart upon the enterprise, and was resolved to prosecute it. Being a man of great good nature, affability, and ardor, and much beloved by the savages, he said to them, "I am determined to go out and meet the enemy. What! will you suffer your father to go out alone? I am sure we shall conquer." With this spirited harangue, delivered in a manner that pleased the Indians, and won upon their confidence, he subdued their unwillingness, and they agreed to accompany him.

It was now the 7th of July, and news came that the English were within six leagues of the Fort. This day and the next were spent in making preparations, and reconnoitering the ground for attack. Two other Captains, Dumas and Liquery were joined with M. de Beaujeu, and also four Lieutenants, six Ensigns and two Cadets. On the morning of the 9th they were all in readiness, and began their march at an early hour. It seems to have been their first intention to make a stand at the ford, and annoy the English while crossing the river, and then retreat to the ambuscade on the side of the hill where the contest actually commenced. The trees on the bank of the river afforded a good opportunity to effect this measure, in the Indian mode of warfare, since the artillery could be of little avail against an enemy, where every man was protected by a tree, and at the same time the English would be exposed to a point blank musket shot in fording the river. As it happened, however, M. de Beaujeu and his party did not arrive in time to execute this part of the plan.

The English were preparing to cross the river, when the French and Indians reached the defiles on the rising ground, where they posted themselves, and waited until Braddock's advanced columns came up. This was the signal for the attack, which was made at first in front, and repelled by so heavy a discharge from the British, that the Indians believed it proceeded from artillery, and showed symptoms of wavering and retreat. At this moment M. de Beaujeu was killed, and the command devolving on M. Dumas, he showed great presence of mind in rallying the Indians, and ordered his officers to lead them to the wings and attack the enemy in the flank, while he with the French troops would maintain the position in front. This order was promptly obeyed, and the attack became general. The action was warm and severely contested for a short time; but the English fought in the European method, firing at random, which had little effect in the woods, while the Indians fired from concealed places, took aim, and almost

every shot brought down a man. The English columns soon got into confusion; the yell of the savages with which the woods resounded, struck terror into the hearts of the soldiers, till at length they took to flight, and resisted all the endeavors of their officers to restore any degree of order in their escape. The route was complete, and the field of battle was left covered with the dead and wounded, and all the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and baggage of the English army. The Indians gave themselves up to pillage, which prevented them from pursuing the English in their flight.

Such is the substance of the accounts written at the time by the French officers and sent home to their Government. In regard to the numbers engaged, there are some slight variations in the three statements. The largest number reported is two hundred and fifty French and Canadians, and six hundred Indians. If we take a medium, it will make the whole number led out by M. de Beaujeu, at least eight hundred and fifty. In an imperfect return, three officers were stated to be killed, and four wounded; about thirty soldiers and Indians killed, and as many wounded. When these facts are taken into view, the result of the action will appear much less wonderful, than has generally been supposed. And this wonder will still be diminished, when another circumstance is recurred to, worthy of particular consideration, and that is, the shape of the ground upon which the battle was fought. This part of the description, so essential to the understanding of military operations, and above all in the present instance, has never been touched upon, it is believed, by any writer. We have seen that Braddock's advanced columns, after crossing the valley extending nearly half a mile from the margin of the river, began to move up a hill, so uniform in its ascent, that it was little else than an inclined plane of a somewhat crowning form. Down this inclined surface extended two ravines, beginning near together, at about one hundred and fifty yards from the bottom of the hill, and proceeding in different directions till they terminated in the valley below. In these ravines the French and Indians were concealed and protected. At this day they are from eight to ten feet deep, and sufficient in extent to contain at least ten thousand men. At the time of the battle, the ground was covered with trees and long grass, so that the ravines were entirely hidden from view, till they were approached within a few feet. Indeed, at the present day, although the place is cleared from trees, and converted into pasture, they are perceptible only at a very short distance. By this knowledge of the local peculiarities of the battle ground, the mystery, that the British conceived themselves to be contending with an invisible foe, is solved. Such was literally the fact. They were so paraded between the ravines, that their whole front and right flank were exposed

to the incessant fire of the enemy, who discharged their muskets over the edge of the ravines, concealed during the operation by the grass and bushes, and protected by an invisible barrier below the surface of the earth. William Butler, a veteran soldier still living (1832,) who was in this action, and afterwards at the plains of Abraham, said to me, "We could only tell where the enemy were by the smoke of their muskets." A few scattering Indians were behind trees, and some were killed venturing out to take scalps, but much the larger portion fought wholly in the ravines.

It is not probable, that either General Braddock, or any one of his officers suspected the actual situation of the enemy, during the whole bloody contest. It was a fault with the General, for which no apology can be offered, that he did not keep scouts and guards in advance and on the wings of the army, who would have made all proper discoveries before the whole had been brought into a snare. This neglect was the primary cause of his defeat; which might have been avoided. Had he charged with the bayonet, the ravine would have been cleared instantly; or had he brought his artillery to the points where the ravines terminated in the valley, and scoured them with grape-shot, the same consequence would have followed.

But the total insubordination of his troops would have prevented both these movements, even if he had become acquainted with the ground in the early part of the action. The disasters of this day, and the fate of the commander, brave and resolute as he undoubtedly was, are to be ascribed to his contempt of Indian warfare, his overweening confidence in the prowess of veteran troops, his obstinate self-complacency, his disregard of prudent counsel, and his negligence in leaving his army exposed to a surprise on their march. He freely consulted Colonel Washington, whose experience and judgment, notwithstanding his youth, claimed the highest respect for his opinions; but the General gave little heed to his advice. While on his march, George Croghan, the Indian interpreter, joined him with one hundred friendly Indians, who offered their services. These were accepted in so cold a manner, and the Indians themselves treated with so much neglect, that they deserted him one after another. Washington pressed upon him the importance of these men, and the necessity of conciliating and retaining them, but without effect.

[A report has prevailed in Western Pennsylvania, that Braddock was shot by a provincial soldier, whose brother had been sentenced and shot by a court-martial, and an old man died a few years since who made this claim.]

When the battle was over, and the remnant of Braddock's army had gained, in their flight, the opposite bank of the river, Colonel Washington was dispatched by the General to

meet Colonel Dunbar, and order forward wagons for the wounded with all possible speed. But it was not till the 11th, after they had reached Gist's plantation with great difficulty and much suffering from hunger, that any arrived. The General was first brought off in a tumbril; he was next put on horse-back, but being unable to ride, was obliged to be carried by the soldiers. They all reached Dunbar's camp, to which the panic had already extended, and a day was passed there in great confusion. The artillery was destroyed, and the public stores and heavy baggage were burnt, by whose order was never known. They moved forward on the 13th, and that night General Braddock died, and was buried in the road, for the purpose of concealing his body from the Indians. The spot is still pointed out, within a few yards of the present national road, and about a mile west of the site of Fort Necessity at the great meadows. Captain Stewart, of the Virginia forces, had taken particular charge of him from the time he was wounded till his death. On the 17th, the sick and wounded arrived at Fort Cumberland, and were soon after joined by Colonel Dunbar with the remaining fragments of the army.

The French sent out a party as far as Dunbar's camp, and destroyed every thing that was left. Colonel Washington being in very feeble health, proceeded in a few days to Mount Vernon.

[Col. James Smith was a prisoner at Fort Du Quesne at the time of this celebrated battle, and gives in his "Narrative" a particular account of the return of the parties of the French and Indians. He saw them when they went out to the field and when they returned, and witnessed the horrid scene of burning their prisoners. The insertion cannot add to the testimony already adduced, nor cast any additional light on the disaster to the British and colonial troops.]

Although the doings of 1755, recorded above, could not well be looked on as of a very amicable character, war was not declared by either France or England, until May the following year; and even then France was the last to proclaim the contest which she had been so long carrying on, though more than three hundred of her merchant vessels had been taken by British privateers. The causes of this proceeding are not very clear to us. France thought, beyond doubt, that George would fear to declare war, because Hanover was so exposed to attack; but why the British movements, upon the sea particularly, did not lead to the declaration on the part of France, is not easily suggested. Early in 1756, however, both king-

doms formed alliances in Europe; France with Austria, Russia, and Sweden; England with the Great Frederic. And then commenced forthwith the Seven Years' War, wherein most of Europe, North America, and the East and West Indies partook and suffered.

Into the details of that war we cannot enter; not even into those of the contest of North America. In Virginia many things worthy of notice took place, but most of them took place east of the mountains—among western events we find only the following:—Immediately after Braddock's defeat, the Indians began to push their excursions across the mountains, so that in April, 1756, Washington writes from Winchester: "The Blue Ridge is now our frontier, no men being left in this county (Frederick) except a few who keep close, with a number of women and children, in forts." Under these, or similar circumstances, it was deemed advisable to send an expedition against the Indian towns upon the Ohio; Major Lewis, in January 1756, was appointed to command the troops to be used in the proposed irruption, and the point aimed at was apparently the upper Shawanese town,* situated on the Ohio three miles above the mouth of the Great Kanahwa.† The attempt proved a failure, in consequence, it is said, of the swollen state of the streams, and the treachery of the guides, and Major Lewis and his party suffered greatly.‡ Of this expedition, however, we have no details, unless it be, as we suspect, the same with the "Sandy Creek voyage," described by Withers, in his Border warfare, as occurring in 1757, during which year Washington's letters make no reference to any thing of the kind. Withers, moreover, says, the return of the party was owing to orders from Governor Fauquier; but Dinwiddie did not leave until January, 1758.§

Upon a larger scale it was proposed during 1756, to attack Crown Point, Niagara, and Fort du Quesne, but neither was

* The lower Shawanese town was just below the mouth of the Scioto. See Croghan's Journal—Butler's Kentucky, second edition, 472.

† Sparks' Washington, ii. 527.

‡ Sparks' Washington, ii. 125, 135, 136.

§ Sparks' Washington, ii. 270. Had the return been owing to the Governor's orders, would Lieutenant M'Nutt, as Withers states, have presented his journal blaming Lewis for returning, to the very Governor whose commands he obeyed? Border Warfare, 65.

Mr. L. E. Draper wrote Mr. Perkins he had complete proof from the MS. journal of Col. William Preston of this "Sandy Creek" expedition, and that it occurred in 1750, as we have corrected the Text.—Ed.

attacked; for Montcalm took the forts at Oswego, which he destroyed, to quiet the jealousy of the Iroquois, within whose territory they were built, and this stroke seemed to paralyze all arms. One bold blow was made by Armstrong at Kittaning, on the Allegheny, in September,* and the frontiers of Pennsylvania for a time were made safe; but otherwise the year in America wore out with little result.

During the next year, 1757, nothing took place, but the capture of Fort William Henry, by Montcalm, and the massacre of its garrison by his Indians; a scene, of which the readers of Cooper's Last of the Mohicans need scarce be reminded. This, and the near destruction of the British fleet by a gale, off Louisburg, were the leading events of this dark season: and no wonder that fear and despair sank deep into the hearts of the colonists. Nor was it in America alone, that Britain suffered during that summer. On the continent, Frederic was borne down; in the Mediterranean, the navy of England had been defeated, and all was dark in the East; and, to add to the weight of these misfortunes, many of them came upon Pitt, the popular minister.†

But the year 1758 opened under a new star. On sea and land, in Asia, Europe and America, Britain regained what had been lost. The Austrians, Russians and Swedes, all gave way before the great Captain of Prussia, and Pitt sent his own strong, and hopeful, and energetic spirit into his subalterns. In North America, Louisburg yielded to Boscawen; Fort Frontenac was taken by Bradstreet; and Du Quesne was abandoned upon the approach of Forbes through Pennsylvania. From that time, the post at the Fork of the Ohio was Fort Pitt.

In this last capture, as more particularly connected with the West, we are now chiefly interested. The details of the gathering and the march may be seen in the letters of Washington, who, in opposition to Colonel Bouquet, was in favor of crossing the mountains by Braddock's road, whereas, Bouquet wished to cut a new one through Pennsylvania. In this

* Holmes' Annals, vol. ii. p. 73.—Burk's Virginia, vol. iii. p. 221.—Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 96. Holmes, (referring to New York Historical Collections, iii. 399,) says the Ohio Indians had already killed one thousand persons on the frontier: Armstrong did not, however, destroy more than forty savages.

† He returned to office, June 29th, 1757.

division, Bouquet was listened to by the General; and late in the season a new route was undertaken, by which such delays and troubles were produced, that the whole expedition came near proving a failure. Braddock's road had, in early times, been selected by the most experienced Indians and frontier men as the most favorable whereby to cross the mountains, being nearly the route by which the national road has been since carried over them. In 1753, it was opened by the Ohio Company. It was afterward improved by the Provincial troops under Washington, and was finished by Braddock's engineers;* and this route was now to be given up, and a wholly new one opened, probably, as Washington suggested, through Pennsylvania influence, that her frontiers might thereby be protected, and a way opened for her traders. The hardships and dangers of the march from Raystown to Fort Du Quesne, where the British van arrived upon the 25th of November, may be seen slightly pictured by the letters of Washington and the second journal of Post,† and may be more vividly conceived by those who have passed through the valley of the upper Juniata.‡

But, turning from this march, let us look at the position of things in the West, during the autumn of 1758. We have said, that in the outset the French did their utmost to alienate the Six Nations and Delawares from their old connexion with the British; and so politic were their movements, so accurate their knowledge of Indian character, that they fully succeeded. The English, as we have seen, had made some foolish and iniquitous attempts to get a claim to the western lands, and by rum and bumbo had even obtained grants of those lands; but when the rum had evaporated, the wild men saw how they had been deceived, and listened not unwillingly to the French professions of friendship, backed as they were by presents and politeness, and accompanied by no attempts to buy or wheedle land from them.§ Early, therefore, many of the old allies of England joined her enemies; and the treaties of Albany,

*Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. p. 102.

†Proud's Pennsylvania, vol. ii. Appendix.

‡Gen. Forbes was so sick on this march as to be carried on a litter. He died in Philadelphia a few days after the British took possession of Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburgh.

§See Post's Journals; Pownall's Memoir on Service in North America.

Johnson Hall, and Easton,* did little or nothing towards stopping the desolation of the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The Quakers always believed, that this state of enmity between the Delawares and themselves, or their rulers, might be prevented by a little friendly communion; but the persuasions of the French, the renegade English traders, and others who had gone to the West, were great obstacles to any friendly conversation on the one side, and the common feeling among the whites was an equal difficulty on the other. In the autumn of 1756, a treaty was held at Easton with the Pennsylvania Delawares,† and peace agreed to. But this did not bind the Ohio Indians even of the same nation, much less the Shawanese and Mingoes; and though the Sachem of the Pennsylvania savages, Teedyuscung, promised to call his western relatives with a loud voice, they did not, or would not hear him; the tomahawk and brand still shone among the rocky mountain fastnesses of the interior. [illegible] or can [illegible] ny heart but pity the red men. They knew not whom to believe, nor where to look for a true friend. The French said they came to defend them from the English; the English said they came to defend them from the French; and between the two powers they were wasting away, and their homes disappearing before them. "The kings of France and England," said Teedyuscung, "have settled this land so as to coop us up as if in a pen. This very ground that is under me was my land and inheritance, and is taken from me by fraud." Such being the feeling of the natives, and success being of late nearly balanced between the two European powers, no wonder that they hung doubting, and knew not which way to turn. The French wished the eastern Delawares to move west, so as to bring them within their influence;‡ and the British tried to persuade them to prevail on their western brethren to leave their new allies and be at peace.

In 1758, the condition of affairs being as stated, and Forbes'

*Many treaties were made between 1753 and 1758, which amounted to little or nothing. See Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. vii. p. 97. Sparks' Franklin, vol. iii. pp. 436 450, 471. Proud's Pennsylvania, vol. ii. app.; Friendly Association's Address, and Post's, Journals. There were two Easton treaties; one with the Penn-sylvania Delawares, in 1756, the other with all the Indians in 1758. See, also, in Proud's Pennsylvania, vol. ii. p. 331, an inquiry into the causes of quarrel with the Indians, and extracts from treaties, &c.

†Sparks' Franklin, vol. vii. p. 125.

‡Heckewelder's Narrative, p. 53.

army on the eve of starting for Fort Du Quesne, and the French being also disheartened by the British success elsewhere, and their force at Du Quesne weak, it was determined to make an effort to draw the western Indians over, and thereby still further to weaken the force that would oppose General Forbes. It was no easy matter, however, to find a true and trustworthy man, whose courage, skill, ability, knowledge, and physical power, would fit him for such a mission. He was to pass through a wilderness filled with doubtful friends, into a country filled with open enemies. The whole French interest would be against him, and the Indians of the Ohio were little to be trusted. Every stream on his way had been dyed with blood, every hill-side had rung with the death-yell, and grown red in the light of burning huts. The man who was last chosen was a Moravian, who had lived among the savages seventeen years, and married among them; his name Christian Frederic Post. Of his journey, sufferings, and doings, we have his own journal, though Heckewelder tells us, that those parts which redound most to his own credit, he omitted when printing it. He left Philadelphia upon the 15th of July, 1758; and, against the protestations of Teedyuscung, who said he would surely lose his life, proceeded up the Susquehanna, passing "many plantations deserted and laid waste." Upon the 7th of August, he came to the Allegheny, opposite French Creek, and was forced to pass under the very eyes of the garrison of Fort Venango, but was not molested. From Venango he went to "Kushkushkee," which was on or near Big Beaver Creek. "This place," he says, "contained ninety houses and two hundred able warriors." At this place Post had much talk with the chiefs, who seemed well disposed, but somewhat afraid of the French. The great conference, however, it was determined, should be held opposite Fort Du Quesne, where there were Indians of eight nations. The messenger was at first unwilling to go thither, fearing the French would seize him; but the savages said, "they would carry him in their bosom, he need fear nothing," and they well redeemed this promise. On the 24th of August, Post, with his Indian friends, reached the point opposite the Fort; and there immediately followed a series of speeches, explanations and agreements, for which we must refer to his Journal. At first he was received rather hardly by an old

and deaf Onondago, who claimed the land whereon they stood as belonging to the Six Nations; but a Delaware rebuked him in no very polite terms. "That man speaks not as a man," he said; "he endeavors to frighten us by saying this ground is his; he dreams; he and his father (the French) have certainly drank too much liquor; they are drunk; pray let them go to sleep till they are sober. You do not know what your own nation does at home, how much they have to say to the English. You are quite rotten. You stink. You do nothing but smoke your pipe here. Go to sleep with your father, and when you are sober we will speak to you."

It was clear that the Delawares, and indeed all the western Indians, were wavering in their affection for the French; and, though some opposition was made to a union with the colonists, the general feeling, produced by the prospect of a quick approach of Forbes' army, and by the truth and kindness of Post himself, was in favor of England. The Indians, however, complained bitterly of the disposition which the whites showed in claiming and seizing their lands. "Why did you not fight your battles at home or on the sea, instead of coming into our country to fight them?" they asked, again and again; and were mournful when they thought of the future. "*Your* heart is good," they said to Post, "*you* speak sincerely; but we know there is always a great number who wish to get rich; they have enough; look! we do not want to be rich, and take away what others have. The white people think we have no brains in our heads; that they are big, and we a little handful; but remember, when you hunt for a rattlesnake you cannot find it, and perhaps it will bite you before you see it." When the war of Pontiac came, this saying might have been justly remembered.

At length, having concluded a pretty definite peace, Post turned toward Philadelphia, setting out upon the 9th of September; and, after the greatest sufferings and perils from French scouts and Indians, reached the settlements uninjured.

While Post was engaged upon his dangerous mission, the van of Forbes' army was pressing slowly forward under the heats of August from Raystown, (Bedford,)* toward Loyalhanna, hewing their way as they went. Early in September,

* Sparks' Washington, ii. 312.

the General reached Raystown, whither he had also ordered Washington, who had till then been kept inactive among his sick troops at Fort Cumberland. Meantime two officers of the first Virginia regiment had gone separately, each with his party, to reconnoitre Fort du Quesne, and had brought accounts of its condition up to the 13th of August.* It being deemed desirable, however, to have fuller statements than they were able to give, a party of eight hundred men under Maj. Grant, with whom went Maj. Andrew Lewis of Virginia, was pushed forward to gain the desired information. Grant appears to have exceeded his orders, which were merely to obtain all the knowledge relative to the French which he could: and after having unwisely divided his force, he, with equal want of sagacity, brought on an engagement; having before him, perhaps, the vain hope that he should take the fort he was sent to examine. In the skirmish thus needlessly entered into, Grant's troops were thrown into confusion by their Indian foes. Lewis, who had been left two miles behind, hastening forward when he heard the sound of firearms, to relieve his comrades, was unable to check the rout which had commenced, and, together with his commanding officer, was taken prisoner. Indeed, the whole detachment would have shared their fate, had not Capt. Bullitt, with his fifty Virginians rescued them. Ordering his men to lower their arms, this able officer waited until the Indians, who thought the little band about to yield, were in full view, then giving the word, poured upon the enemy a deadly fire, which was instantly followed by a charge with bayonet, a proceeding so unlooked for and so fatal as to lead to the complete rout of the assailants. This conduct of the Virginians was much admired, and Washington received publicly the compliments of the Commander-in Chief on account of it.†

October had now arrived, and Washington was engaged in opening the road toward the Fork of the Ohio. On the 5th of November, he was still at Loyalhanna, where at one time the General thought of spending the winter; on the 15th, he was at Chesnut ridge, advancing from four to eight miles a day;

*See map in Sparks' Washington, ii.; also plate and account in Am. Pioneer, ii. 147.

†Sparks' Washington; ii. 313; note.—Butler's Kentucky, 2d edition, Introduction, xliv. —Marshall's Life of Washington, (edition 1804, Philadelphia,) ii. 66. This defeat occurred, September 21. Washington commanded all the Virginia troops.

and in ten days more stood where Fort Du Quesne had been; the French having destroyed it, when they embarked for the lower posts on the Ohio the preceding day.

[Another great Indian council was held at Easton, Pa., (1758) in October, at which peace was concluded with the colonists. Here were the chiefs of the "Six Nations," (the Tuscaroras having joined the confederacy in 1715,) and their allies. Post, the Moravian, was sent back with this treaty, with the messengers to the West, within five weeks after his return.*] He followed after Gen. Forbes, from whom he received messages to the various tribes, with which he once more sought their chiefs; and was again very instrumental in preventing any junction of the Indians with the French. Indeed, but for Post's mission, there would in all probability have been gathered a strong force of western savages to waylay Forbes and defend Fort Du Quesne; in which case, so adverse was the season and the way, so wearied the men, and so badly managed the whole business, that there would have been great danger of a second "Braddock's field;" so that our humble Moravian friend played no unimportant part in securing again to his British Majesty the key to western America.

With the fall of Fort Du Quesne, all direct contest between the French and British in the West ceased. From that time, Canada was the only scene of operations, though garrisons for a while remained in the forts on French Creek. In 1759, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Niagara, and at length Quebec itself yielded to the English; and, on the 8th of September, 1760, Montreal, Detroit, and all Canada were given up by Vaudreuil, the French governor.

But the French had not been the only dwellers in western America; and when they were gone, the colonists still saw before them clouds of dark and jealous warriors. Indeed, no sooner were the Delawares quiet in the north, than the Cherokees, who had been assisting Virginia against her foes, were roused to war by the thoughtless and cruel conduct of the frontier men, who shot several of that tribe, because they took some horses which they found running at large in the woods.

*See a note in Burk's "History of Virginia," vol. iii, p. 239. American Pioneer, i. 244, taken from the Annual Register for 1759, p. 191. The Iroquois were angry at the prominence of Teedyuscung in this treaty.

The ill-feeling bred by this act was eagerly fostered by the French in Louisiana; and, while Amherst and Wolfe were pushing the war into Canada, the frontiers of Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia, were writhing under the horrors of Indian invasion. This Cherokee war continued through 1760, and into 1761, but was terminated in the summer of the last-named year by Colonel Grant. We should be glad, did it come within our province, to enter somewhat at large into the events of it, as then came forward two of the most remarkable chiefs of that day, the Great Warrior and the Little Carpenter (Attakullakulla); but we must first refer our readers to the second volume of Thatcher's "Indian Biography."

Along the frontiers of Pennsylvania and northern Virginia, the old plantations had been, one by one, reoccupied since 1758, and settlers were slowly pushing further into the Indian country, and traders were once more bearing their burdens over the mountains, and finding a way into the wigwams of the natives, who rested, watching silently, but narrowly, the course of their English defenders and allies. For it was, professedly, in the character of defenders, that Braddock and Forbes had come into the West;* and, while every British finger itched for the lands as well as the furs of the wild men, with mistaken hypocrisy they would have persuaded them that the treasure and the life of England had been given to preserve her old allies, the Six Nations, and their dependents, the Delawares and Shawanese, from French aggression. But the savages knew whom they had to deal with, and looked at every step of the cultivator with jealousy and hate.

In 1760, the Ohio Company once more prepared to pursue their old plan, and sent to England for such orders and instructions to the Virginia government as would enable them to do so.† During the summer of that year, also, General Monkton, by a treaty at Fort Pitt, obtained leave to build posts within the wild lands, each post having ground enough about it to raise corn and vegetables for the use of the garrison.‡ Nor, if we can credit one writer, were the settlements of the

*Sparks' Franklin, vol. iv. p. 328.—Post's Journal shows how full of jealousy the Indians were; see there also Forbes' letter, sent by him.

†Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. p. 482.—Plain Facts, p. 120, where a letter from the Company, dated September 9th, 1761, is given.

‡Dated August 20th. Plain Facts, pp. 55, 56.

Ohio Company, and the forts, the only inroads upon the hunting grounds of the savages; for he says, that in 1757, by the books of the Secretary of Virginia, three millions of acres had been granted west of the mountains. Indeed, we know that in 1758 she tried by law to encourage settlements in the West; and the report of John Blair, Clerk of the Virginia Council, in 1768 or 1769, states that most of the grants beyond the mountains were made before August, 1754.* At any rate, it is clear that the Indians early began to murmur; for, in 1762, Bouquet issued his proclamation from Fort Pitt, saying that the treaty of Easton, in 1758, secured to the red men all lands west of the mountains as hunting-grounds; wherefore he forbids all settlements, and orders the arrest of the traders and settlers who were spreading discontent and fear among the Ohio Indians.†

But if the Ohio Indians were early ill-disposed to the English, much more was this the case among the Lake tribes, who had known only the French, and were strongly attached to them: the Ottaways, Wyandots and Chippeways. The first visit which they received from the British was after the surrender of Vaudreuil, when Major Robert Rogers was sent to take charge of Detroit.‡ He left Montreal on the 13th of September, 1760, and on the 8th of October, reached Presqu'-Ile, where Bouquet then commanded. Thence he went slowly up Lake Erie to Detroit, which place he summoned to yield itself on the 19th of November. It was, if we mistake not, while waiting for an answer to this summons, that he was visited by the great Ottawa chieftain, Pontiac, who demanded how the English dared enter his country; to which the answer was given, that they came not to take the country, but to open a free way of trade, and to put out the French, who stopped their trade. This answer, together with other moderate and kindly words, spoken by Rogers, seemed to lull the rising fears of the savages, and Pontiac promised him his protection.

Beleter, meantime, who commanded at Detroit, had not yielded; nay, word was brought to Rogers on the 24th, that

* Contest in North America, by an Impartial Hand, p. 36.—Secret Journals, vol. iii. p. 187.—Plain Facts. Appendix.

† Plain Facts, p. 56.—See Heckewelder's Narrative, p. 64.

‡ See his Journal, London, 1765. Also, his Concise Account of North America. London. 1765.

his messenger had been confined, and a flag-pole erected, with a wooden head upon it, to represent Britain, on which stood a crow picking the eyes out, as emblematic of the success of France. In a few days, however, the commander heard of the fate of the lower posts, and, as his Indians did not stand by him, on the 29th he yielded. Rogers remained at Detroit until December 23d, under the personal protection of Pontiac, to whose presence he probably owed his safety. From Detroit the Major went to the Maumee, and thence across the present State of Ohio to Fort Pitt; and his Journal of this overland trip is the first we have of such an one in that region. His route was nearly that given by Hutchins,* in Bouquet's "Expedition," as the common one from Sandusky to the Fork of the Ohio. It went from Fort Sandusky, where Sandusky City now is, crossed the Huron river, then called Bald Eagle Creek, to "Mohickon John's Town," upon what we know as Mohicon Creek, the northern branch of White Woman's River, and thence crossed to Beaver's Town, a Delaware town on the west side of the "Maskongam Creek," opposite "a fine river," which from Hutchins' map, we presume was Sandy Creek. At Beaver's Town were one hundred and eighty warriors, and not less than three thousand acres of cleared land. From there the track went up Sandy Creek and across to the Big Beaver, and up the Ohio, through Logstown, to Fort Pitt, which place Rogers reached January 23d, 1760, precisely one month having passed while he was upon the way.

In the spring of the year following Rogers' visit, (1761,) Alexander Henry, an English trader, went to Michillimackinac for purposes of business, and he found everywhere the strongest feeling against the English, who had done nothing by word or act to conciliate the Indians. Even then there were threats of reprisals and war. Having by means of a Canadian dress, managed to reach Michillimackinac in safety, he was there discovered, and was waited on by an Indian chief, who was, in the opinion of Thatcher, Pontiac himself. This chief, after conveying to him the idea, that their French father would soon awake and utterly destroy his enemies, continued:

"Englishman! Although you have conquered the French,

* Thomas Hutchins, afterwards Geographer of the United States, was, in 1764, assistant engineer in Bouquet's expedition.

you have not conquered us! We are not your slaves! These lakes, these woods, these mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread, and pork, and beef. But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us upon these broad lakes and in these mountains."

He then spoke of the fact that no treaty had been made with them, no presents sent them, and while he announced their intention to allow Henry to trade unmolested, and to regard him as a brother, he declared, that with his king the red men were still at war.*

Such were the feelings of the north-western savages immediately after the English took possession of their lands; and these feelings were in all probability fostered and increased by the Canadians and French. Distrust of the British was general; and, as the war between France and England still went on in other lands, there was hope among the Canadians, perhaps, that the French power might be restored in America. However this may have been, it is clear that disaffection spread rapidly in the West, though of the details of the years from 1759 to 1763 we know hardly anything.

Upon the 10th of February, 1763, the treaty of Paris was concluded, and peace between the European powers restored. Of that treaty we give the essential provisions bearing upon our subject.

Art. 4. "His most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to Nova Scotia or Acadia in all its parts, and guarantees the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: moreover, his most Christian Majesty cedes and guarantees to his said Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence; and, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty or otherwise, which the most Christian King and crown of France have had, till now, over the said countries, islands, lands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants; so that the most Christian

* Travels of Alexander Henry in Canada, from 1760 to 1776. New York, 1809.—Thatcher's Indian Biography, vol. ii. pp. 75, *et seq.*

King, cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guarantee under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned.

ART. 7. "In order to establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subjects of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and those of his most Christian Majesty in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose, the most Christian King cedes, in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses or ought to possess on the left side of the river Mississippi, with the exception of the town of New Orleans, and of the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France; it being well understood that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length from its source to the sea; and expressly, that part which is between the said island of New Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nations shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever."

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN CONSPIRACY, TREATIES, AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE WEST, FROM 1763 TO 1774.

Indian Conspiracy under Pontiac—Stratagem at Detroit Defeated—Massacre at Mackinac—Treaty of Detroit—Settlement of St. Louis and transfer of Louisiana—Treaty of Fort Stanwix—Expedition of Col. Croghan—Dr. Walker's Company—Col. James Smith's Expedition to Kentucky—Daniel Boone's Exploration—Emigration to Kentucky and Mississippi.

Again, men began to think seriously of the West. Pamphlets were published upon the advantages of settlements on the Ohio; Colonel Mercer was chosen to represent the old Company in England, and try to have their affairs made straight, for there were counter-claims by the soldiers who had enlisted, in 1754, under Dinwiddie's proclamation; and on all hands there were preparations for movement. But, even at that moment, there existed through the whole West a conspiracy or agreement among the Indians, from Lake Michigan to the frontiers of North Carolina, by which they were, with one accord, with one spirit, to fall upon the whole line of British posts and strike every white man dead. Chippeways, Ottoways, Wyandotts, Miamis, Shawanese, Delawares, and Mingoes, for the time, laid by their old hostile feelings, and united under Pontiac in this great enterprise. The voice of that sagacious and noble man was heard in the distant North, crying, "Why, says the Great Spirit, do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country and take the land I have given you? Drive them from it! Drive them! When you are in distress, I will help you."

That voice was heard, but not by the whites. The unsuspecting traders journeyed from village to village; the soldiers in the forts shrunk from the sun of early summer, and dozed away the day; the frontier settler, singing in fancied security, sowed his crop, or, watching the sunset through the girdled trees, mused upon one more peaceful harvest, and told his children of the horrors of the ten years' war, now,—thank God! over. From the Alleghenies to the Mississippi the trees

had leaved, and all was calm life and joy. But, through that great country, even then, bands of sullen red men were journeying from the central valleys to the lakes and the eastern hills. Bands of Chippeways gathered about Michillimackinac. Ottaways filled the woods near Detroit. The Maumee post, Presqu'Ile, Niagara, Pitt, Ligonier, and every English fort was hemmed in by mingled tribes, who felt that the great battle drew nigh which was to determine their fate and the possession of their noble lands! At last the day came. The traders everywhere were seized, their goods taken from them, and more than one hundred of them put to death. Nine British forts yielded instantly, and the savages drank, "scooped up in the hollow of joined hands," the blood of many a Briton. The border streams of Pennsylvania and Virginia ran red again. "We hear," says a letter for Fort Pitt, "of scalping every hour." In Western Virginia, more than twenty thousand people were driven from their homes.

[The forts, or rather trading posts, were those of Green Bay, St. Joseph, Ouiatenon, Miamis, Sandusky, Presqu'Ile, Lebœuf, Venango, and Michillimackinac. Three others, Niagara, Pitt, and Detroit, were attacked but not taken. The master spirit of this enterprise was Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, who resided near Detroit. He was one of those heroic men who stamp their own character on their country and the age. No American Savage has shown a more marked character, in forming great and comprehensive plans, or in executing them with energy and boldness. He had been friendly and liberal with the French, but he disliked the British, though, as a matter of policy, he professed friendship at first. After Canada and its dependencies had surrendered to the British arms, in 1760, General Amherst of Montreal, dispatched Major R. Rogers with a considerable force, to take possession of Detroit and Mackinac. These were the first English troops that ever penetrated that region.

Drawing near to Detroit, they received a message from Pontiac, informing Major Rogers that their chief was master of the country they had entered. The commander was introduced to the great chief, who condescended to smoke the pipe of peace and make a treaty.

One of the speeches of Pontiac we here insert as illustrative of the character of that man:

"Englishmen! It is to you that I speak—and I demand your attention. Englishmen! You know that the French King is our father. He promised to be such, and we, in return, promised to be his children—this promise we have kept.

"Englishmen! It is you that have made war with this, our father. You are his enemy—how then could you have the boldness to venture among us, his children? You know that his enemies are ours!

"Englishmen! We are informed that our father, the King of France, is old and infirm; and that, being fatigued with making war upon your nation, he has fallen asleep. During his sleep you have taken advantage of him, and possessed yourselves of Canada. But his nap is almost at an end—I think I hear him already stirring, and inquiring for his children, the Indians—and when he does awake, what must become of you? He will destroy you utterly!"

After deceiving the British by a treaty, Pontiac laid the plan of a sudden and cotemporaneous attack upon all the British forts and trading posts on the northern lakes.

He sent runners with a "talk" and a belt of wampum, which he pretended had been sent him by the King of France, to the Indian tribes along the line of frontier, by which means he brought into a conspiracy the Miamis, the Ottawas, the Chippewas, the Wyandots, the Potawatamies, the Missisaugas, the Shawanoes, the Saukies, the Ottagamies, and the Winnebagoes. His measures were taken with so much secrecy that the storm burst on each garrison in the month of May, before the English had learned the plans of their enemy, or had made any preparation for defence.

Fort Pitt and Niagara, being regular fortifications, were successfully defended, and Detroit was saved by detection of the stratagem.

This post was attempted by Pontiac in person, who, with a number of braves, presented himself at the gate on the 8th of May, and desired to speak with the commanding officer. This was Maj. Gladwyn, who, unsuspicious of treachery, and believing he desired to trade, and that "the Indians desired to take their new father, the King of England, by the hand," gave his consent, and the council was to be held next day in the fort.

The plan of Pontiac was to gain admittance into the fort, with a number of his braves, who had cut short their guns so as to be concealed under their blankets, and at a signal he would give, they were to massacre the officers, throw open

the gates, admit the other Indians, and complete the destruction of the garrison.

An Indian woman, who had been employed by the commandant to make moccasins, out of a curiously wrought elk skin, betrayed the conspirators. Next morning the garrison was under arms, the guards were doubled, and the officers armed with swords and pistols. Pontiac, on his arrival, enquired of the British commandant the cause of this unusual display, and received for answer, it was necessary to keep his young men from being idle. The council opened, the speech of Pontiac was bold and menacing, and his voice and gesticulations vehement. When he was about to give his men the signal, the drums beat the charge, the guards levelled their muskets, the officers drew their swords, and Pontiac, though a brave man, was disconcerted. Major Gladwyn approached the chief, turned aside his blanket, discovered the shortened gun, exposed his plan, reproached him for his treachery, and ordered him and his braves to leave the fort. The garrison in the fort consisted of 122 men, officers included, besides some forty traders and engagees who resided in the fort.

As the Indians retired they gave a yell, and discharged their guns at the garrison. They also murdered an aged English woman and her two sons, and a discharged sergeant and his family in the vicinity. A furious attack was made upon the fort for several days, and repeated attempts made by the Indians to gain possession. At one time they filled a cart with combustibles and ran it against the pickets to set them on fire. For several months the English were blockaded and their supplies cut off. There was great difficulty in sending aid to Detroit from the Southern posts. Niagara and Fort Pitt had become reduced to great distress, and the latter was finally relieved by Colonel Bouquet, who penetrated the wilderness of Pennsylvania by Bedford and Fort Ligonier, with 300 men and forty horses, loaded with provisions.

The post of Michillimackinac was attacked, entered, and seventy of the garrison killed and scalped, on the 4th of June, the same year. The garrison consisted of ninety men, besides two subaltern officers, under the command of Major Etherington. Sometime previous, this officer had received intelligence of the hostility of the Indians, but he would not believe it. Besides the garrison, there were within the limits of the stock-

ade, about thirty cabins, inhabited by as many French families. Among the traders at this post was Mr. Alexander Henry, who, after a narrow escape from the massacre, wrote a narrative of the events in the Northwest at this period, which is reliable history. We give the substance of his account of the attack on this post, with copious references.

"On the 4th of June, the morning was sultry, and the Chippeways projected a game of ball called *Baggatiway*, with the Sacks, for a high wager, and they gave an invitation to the British officers, to be present. This game is played with a bat and ball; the bat being about four feet long, curved, and ending in a sort of racket. Two posts were planted in the ground, a half mile or more apart, and the issue of the game consisted in striking the ball beyond either post.

On the ground, midway between the posts, the ball is placed. The Indians being divided into two parties, played with great animation and much noise and confusion. In the heat of the contest the ball was frequently, as if by accident, sent over the pickets into the fort, and the commandant, with the subalterns and a part of the soldiers, went out to witness the game. When the ball was sent within the pickets, numbers of both parties ran within the fort, until the artifice was repeated several times, and the British thrown off their guard, not suspecting treachery. At this crisis, the ball was again thrown over the pickets, and the Indians, in great numbers rushed in, as if to recover the ball, but with arms concealed, and commenced a furious attack on the garrison. In a short time they had possession of the fort. About seventy, including the commander, several officers and traders, and the garrison and servants, were killed and scalped. The remainder, being saved as prisoners, were taken to Montreal, where they were redeemed. Carver says, "the Indians had the humanity to spare the lives of the greatest part of the garrison and traders." The Indians numbered nearly 400 braves."*]

It was now nearly autumn, and the confederated tribes had

*For further particulars of Pontiac, the stratagem at Detroit, massacre at Mackinac, and events of 1763, the reader is referred to the following authorities. Carver's *Travels*, p. 13, Philadelphia edition, 1796. Henry's *Narrative*. Drake's *Captivities*, pp. 289, 292. Drake's *Book of the Indians*, book v, art. Pontiak, pp. 52, 53. Holmes' *Annals*, vol. ii, p. 121. Sparks' *Washington*, vol. ii, map at p. 38. Day's *Historical Collections* of Pennsylvania, 681. Thatcher's *Indian Biography*, vol. ii, p. 83. Lanman's *History of Michigan*, pp. 121, 124. Dillon's *Indiana*, vol. i, pp. 82, 83. Brown's *Illinois*, pp. pp. 192. 204.

failed to take the three most important fortresses in the West, Detroit, Pitt, and Niagara. Many of them became disheartened; others wished to return home for the winter; others had satisfied their longings for revenge. United merely by the hope of striking and immediate success, they fell from one another when that success did not come; jealousies and old enmities revived; the league was broken; and Pontiac was left alone or with few followers.

In October, also, a step was taken by the British government, in part, for the purpose of quieting the fears and suspicions of the red men, which did much, probably, toward destroying their alliance; a proclamation was issued containing the following paragraphs and prohibitions:

And, whereas, it is just and reasonable, and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies, that the several nations or tribes of Indians with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their hunting grounds; we do, therefore, with the advice of our privy council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no Governor or Commander-in-chief, in any of our colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as, also that no Governor or Commander-in-chief of our other colonies or plantations in America, do presume for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey, or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west or northwest; or upon any lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians or any of them.

And we do further declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, for the present, as aforesaid, to reserve under our sovereignty, protection, and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the land and territories not included within the limits of our said three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company; as also all the lands and territories lying to the westward of the sources of the rivers which fall into the sea from the west and northwest as aforesaid; and we do hereby strictly forbid, on pain of our displeasure, all our loving subjects from making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession

of any of the lands above reserved, without our special leave and license for that purpose first obtained.

And we do further strictly enjoin and require all persons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any lands within the countries above described, or upon any other lands, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are still reserved to the said Indians, as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements.

And whereas, great frauds and abuses have been committed in the purchasing lands from the Indians, to the great prejudice of our interests, and to the great dissatisfaction of the Indians; in order, therefore, to prevent such irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of our justice and determined resolution to remove all reasonable cause of discontent, we do, with the advice of our privy council, strictly enjoin and require that no private person do presume to make any purchase from the said Indians, of any lands reserved to the said Indians, within those parts of our colonies where we have thought proper to allow settlement; but that, if at any time, any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said lands, the same shall be purchased only for us, in our name, at some public meeting or assembly of the said Indians, to be held for that purpose, by the Governor or Commander-in-chief of our colony, respectively, within which they shall lie: and in case they shall lie within the limits of any proprietaries, conformable to such directions and instructions as we or they shall think proper to give for that purpose: and we do, by the advice of our privy council, declare and enjoin, that the trade with the said Indians shall be free and open to all our subjects whatever: *Provided*, That every person who may incline to trade with the said Indians, do take out a license, for carrying on such trade, from the Governor or Commander-in-chief of any of our colonies, respectively, where such person shall reside; and also give security to observe such regulations as we shall, at any time, think fit, by ourselves or commissaries, to be appointed for this purpose, to direct and appoint, for the benefit of the said trade; and we do hereby authorize, enjoin, and require the Governors and Commanders-in-chief of all our colonies, respectively, as well those under our immediate government as those under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant such licenses without fee or reward, taking especial care to insert therein a condition that such license shall be void, and the security forfeited, in case the person to whom the same is granted shall refuse or neglect to observe such regulations as we shall think proper to prescribe as aforesaid.

To assist the effect of this proclamation, it was determined to make two movements in the spring and summer of 1764; General Bradstreet being ordered into the country upon Lake Erie, and Bouquet into that upon the Ohio. The former moved to Niagara early in the summer, and there in June, accompanied by Sir William Johnson, held a grand council with twenty or more tribes, all of whom sued for peace; and, upon the 8th of August, reached Detroit, where, about the 21st of that month, a definite treaty was made with the Indians. Among the provisions of this treaty were the following: *

1. All prisoners in the hands of the Indians were to be given up.

2. All claims to the Posts and Forts of the English in the West were to be abandoned; and leave given to erect such other forts as might be needed to protect the traders, &c. Around each fort as much land was ceded as a "Cannon-shot" would fly over.

3. If any Indian killed an Englishman he was to be tried by English law, the Jury one-half Indians.

4. Six hostages were given by the Indians for the true fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty.†

[During the period of the Indian conspiracy under Pontiac, and the negotiations for peace, a series of events were opening in another quarter, of which, British authorities took no notice. We allude to the settlement of St. Louis, and the progress of civilization along the Mississippi. The lead business commenced, under Philip Francis Renault, in 1720, and was prosecuted at various periods, and the trade with the Indians in peltry was conducted by individual enterprise. But in 1763, *Pierre Ligueste Laclede*, an enterprising trader, obtained a grant from M. D'Abadie, director general of Louisiana, with "the necessary powers to trade with the Indians of the Missouri, and those west of the Mississippi, above the Missouri, as far north as the river St. Peters."

*Annual Register, 1764.—(State Papers, 151.)

†Henry's Narrative (New York edition, 1809, pp. 185, 186. Henry was with Bradstreet. The Annual Register of 1764, (State Papers, p. 181, says the treaty was made at Presqu'Ile, (Erie.) Mr. Harvey, of Erie, (quoted by Day in his Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 314, says the same. Others have named the Maumee, where a truce was agreed to, August 6th. (See Henry.) There may have been two treaties, one at Detroit with the Ottawas, &c., and one at Erie with the Ohio Indians.

Laclede organized a company under the firm of "Laclede, Maxan & Co.," fitted out an expedition, and started from New Orleans on the third day of August, 1763, and reached Ste. Genevieve, (then a small village on the bank of the Mississippi) on the 3d of November, just three months after his departure. Finding no place in which to store his goods, he proceeded to Fort Chartres, then under command of M. St. Ange de Belle Rive. He left this point early in February, 1764, with the men he brought from New Orleans, with a reinforcement from Ste. Genevieve, Fort Chartres and Kaskaskia, and stopped a short time at Cahokia, then called "*Notre Dame des Kahokias*," and engaged several families to accompany him to his projected settlement. On the *fifteenth of February*, the party landed on the west bank of the Mississippi, on the spot now occupied by the city of St. Louis, and commenced cutting down the trees, and erecting cabins for the accommodation of his goods and men. He laid off a village plat, with narrow streets, which he named ST. LOUIS, in honor of Louis XV. of France.

At that time a skirt of tall timber lined the bank of the river, free from undergrowth, which extended back to a line about the range of Eighth street. In the rear was an extensive prairie. The first cabins were erected near the river and Market street. No "Bloody Island," or "Duncan's Island," then existed. Directly opposite the Old Market square, the river was narrow and deep, and until about the commencement of the present century, persons could be distinctly heard from the opposite shore. Opposite Duncan's Island and South St. Louis was an island, covered with heavy timber and separated from the Illinois shore by a slough. Many persons are now living (1850) who recollect the only ferry from Illinois to St. Louis, passed from Cahokia, below this island, and landed on the Missouri shore near the site of the United States Arsenal.

It deserves note that at this period, Louisiana belonged to Spain, and the Illinois country, the northwest and Canada, to Great Britain.

By a secret treaty, signed on the third of November, 1762, between the French and Spanish kings, the former ceded to the latter the part of the province of Louisiana, which lay on the western side of the Mississippi river, including the island and city of New Orleans, on the eastern side, but it

was not until the 21st of April, 1764, that the governor, M. D'Abadie, received orders from Louis XV. to proclaim this change to the colony.

The governor was so deeply distressed at these orders, that it caused his death.*

The administration remained in the hands of the French under Aubri, the successor of M. D'Abadie. The colonists had a great aversion to the Spanish government, and when the Court of Madrid sent, as Captain General, Don Antonio D'Ulloa, a man of prudence and discretion, he could not openly exercise his authority. The colonists sent deputies to Versailles for permission from the King to remain subjects of France. Louis XV. declared the cession was irrevocable.

The Spanish general, Don Alexander O'Reilly, was appointed as the successor of D'Ulloa in 1769, with special power to compel subjection, with three thousand soldiers. The colonists at New Orleans attempted to prevent his landing, and it was only by the influence of the French magistrates, who saw the hopelessness of a violent contest with the crown of Spain, unaided by their former government, that he obtained possession. O'Reilly was a tyrant and barbarian, and ruled only by superior force. Six principal citizens were condemned and shot by his orders! †

For our authority, concerning the appearance of the site of St. Louis and the aspect of the river, we are indebted to the late Auguste Chouteau, Sen., and several other inhabitants of St. Louis, who were living thirty years since.

We cannot well give the Annals of St. Louis, of Missouri, and of Illinois, with the correctness and particularity desirable, in the body of the work, prepared by Mr Perkins, without trenching on the narrative of events that transpired in other parts of the West at the same period. Our readers will find the whole in the Appendix.]

Bouquet, meanwhile, collected troops at Fort Pitt, and in the autumn marched across from Big Beaver to the upper Muskingum, and thence to the point where the White Woman's river comes into the main stream. There, upon the 9th of November, he concluded a peace with the Delawares and Shawanese, and received from them two hundred and six pris-

*Marbois' History of Louisiana, p. 136.

†Ibid. Also, Martin's History of Louisiana, vol. ii. p. 7.

oners, eighty-one men and one hundred and twenty-five women and children. He also received, from the Shawanese, hostages for the delivery of some captives, who could not be brought to the Muskingum at that time. These hostages escaped, but the savages were of good faith, and upon the 9th of May, 1765, the remaining whites were given up to George Croghan, the deputy of Sir William Johnson, at Fort Pitt.* Many anecdotes are related in the account of the delivery of the captives to Bouquet, going to show that strong attachments had been formed between them and their captors; and West's pencil has illustrated the scene of their delivery. But we have little faith in the representations of either writer or painter.†

Pontiac, the leading spirit in the past struggle, finding his attempts to save his country and his race at that time hopeless, left his tribe and went into the West, and for some years after was living among the Illinois, and in St. Louis, attempting, but in vain, to bring about a new union and new war. He was in the end killed by a Kaskaskia Indian. So far as we can form a judgment of this chieftain, he was, in point of talent, nobleness of spirit, honor, and devotion, the superior of any red man of whom we have an account. His plan of extermination was most masterly; his execution of it equal to its conception. But for the treachery of one of his followers, he would have taken Detroit early in May. His whole force might then have been directed in one mass, first upon Niagara, and then upon Pitt, and in all probability both posts would have fallen.‡ Even disappointed as he was at Detroit, had the Six Nations, with their dependent allies, the Delawares and Shawanese, been true to him, the British might have been long kept beyond the mountains; but the Iroquois, —close upon the colonies, old allies of England, very greatly

*See, however, American Archives, fourth series, i. 1015, where the good faith of the Shawanese is disputed.

† "An Historical Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the year 1764, under the command of Henry Bouquet, Esquire, &c. Published from Authentic Documents, by a Lover of his Country. London, 1766. This volume was first printed in Philadelphia.

‡Thatcher's Indian Biography, vol. ii. Our knowledge of Pontiac and his war is very imited. We hope something more may come to light yet. Nicollet in his Report, (p. 81,) gives some particulars from one who knew Pontiac. His death was revenged by the Northern nations, who nearly exterminated the Illinois.

under the influence of Sir William Johnson, and disposed, as they ever proved themselves, to claim and sell, but not to defend the West,—were for peace after the King's proclamation. Indeed, the Mohawks and leading tribes were from the first with the British; so that, after the success of Bradstreet and Bouquet, there was no difficulty in concluding a treaty with all the Western Indians; and late in April, 1765, Sir William Johnson, at the German Flats, held a conference with the various nations, and settled a definite peace.* At this meeting, two propositions were made; the one to fix some boundary line, west of which the Europeans should not go; and the savages named, as this line, the Ohio or Allegheny and Susquehanna; but no definite agreement was made, Johnson not being empowered to act. The other proposal was, that the Indians should grant to the traders, who had suffered in 1763, a tract of land in compensation for the injuries then done them, and to this the red men agreed.†

[After the peace of 1763, Col. George Croghan, a commissioner under Sir William Johnson, was sent to explore the country adjacent to the Ohio river, to conciliate the Indians. His Journal may be found in the "American Monthly Journal of Geology and Natural Science," published in Philadelphia in 1831–'32, vol. i. p. 257; and in the Appendix to Butler's "History of Kentucky," (second edition.)

Accompanied by the deputies of the Senecas, Shawanese, and Delawares, Col. Croghan left Pittsburgh, May 15th, 1765, with two batteaux, proceeded down the Ohio river, and on the 6th of June reached the mouth of the Wabash. From this point he dispatched two Indian runners with letters to Lord Frazer, a British officer, who had been sent from Fort Pitt to take possession of Illinois, and to M. St. Ange, the French commandant at Fort Chartres.

On the 8th, at daybreak, his party was attacked "by a party of Indians, consisting of eighty warriors of the Kickapoos and Musquatimes," (probably Musquakies.) They killed two white men and three Indians of his party, wounded the commander, and made him and "all the white men prisoners," after plundering them of all they possessed. One of the Shawanese, who, being wounded, had concealed him-

*Plain Facts, p. 60.

†Ibid.—Butler's History of Kentucky, second edition, p. 479, *et. seq.*

self in the bushes, finding the hostile party were from Illinois, came forward, gave them an Indian talk, and threatened them with the vengeance of the Shawanese nation. This alarmed them, and they set off with their prisoners to their towns on the Ouiatenon, up the Wabash. Passing through Vincennes, he found a village of eighty or ninety French families. The Colonel represents the French as inimical to him and the British, and as sharing the plunder with the Indians. He gives a description of the country and the fertility of the soil with creditable accuracy. He visited the Twigtwee and several other Indian villages, passed by the present site of Fort Wayne, thence down the Maumee to Lake Erie and round to Detroit, which he reached on the 16th of August.

On the 26th of September he set out from Detroit, passed along the north shore of Lake Erie in a birch canoe, and reached Niagara on the 8th of October. At the close of his Journal is a list of Indian tribes, their localities, and their hunting grounds, from New York to Mississippi.]

Mr. Perkins observes: So stood matters in the West during this year, 1765. All beyond the Alleghenies, with the exception of a few forts, was a wilderness, until the Wabash was reached, where dwelt a few French, with some fellow countrymen, not far from them, upon the Illinois and Kaskaskia. The Indians, a few years since, undisputed owners of the prairies and broad vales, now held them by sufferance, having been twice conquered by the arms of England. They, of course, felt both hatred and fear; and, while they despaired of holding their lands, and looked forward to unknown evils, the deepest and most abiding spirit of revenge was roused within them. They had seen the British coming to take their hunting-grounds upon the strength of a treaty they knew not of. They had been forced to admit British troops into their country; and, though now nominally protected from settlers, that promised protection would be but an incentive to passion, in case it was not in good faith extended to them.

And it was not in good faith extended to them by either individuals or governments. During the year that succeeded the treaty of German Flats, settlers crossed the mountains and took possession of lands in western Virginia, and along the Monongahela. The Indians, having received no pay for these lands, murmured, and once more a border war was

feared. General Gage, commander of the King's forces, was applied to, probably through Sir William Johnson, and issued his orders for the removal of the settlers; but they defied his commands and his power, and remained where they were.* And not only were frontier men thus passing the line tacitly urged on, but Sir William himself was even then meditating a step which would have produced, had it been taken, a general Indian war again. This was the purchase and settlement of an immense tract south of the Ohio river, where an independent colony was to be formed. How early this plan was conceived we do not learn, but from Franklin's letters, we find that it was in contemplation in the spring of 1766.† At this time Franklin was in London, and was written to by his son, Governor Franklin, of New Jersey, with regard to the proposed colony. The plan seems to have been, to buy of the Six Nations the lands south of the Ohio, a purchase which it was not doubted Sir William might make, and then to procure from the King a grant of as much territory as the Company, which it was intended to form, would require. Governor Franklin, accordingly, forwarded to his father an application for a grant, together with a letter from Sir William, recommending the plan to the ministry; all of which was duly communicated to the proper department. But at that time there were various interests bearing upon this plan of Franklin. The old Ohio Company was still suing, through its agent, Colonel George Mercer, for a perfection of the original grant. The soldiers claiming under Dinwiddie's proclamation had their tale of rights and grievances. Individuals, to whom grants had been made by Virginia, wished them completed. General Lyman, from Connecticut, we believe, was soliciting a new grant similar to that now asked by Franklin; and the ministers themselves were divided as to the policy and propriety of establishing any settlements so far in the interior—Shelburne being in favor of the new colony—Hillsborough opposed to it.

The Company was organized, however, and the nominally leading man therein being Mr. Thomas Walpole, a London banker of eminence, it was known as the Walpole Company. Franklin continued privately to make friends among the min-

*Plain Facts, p. 65.

†Sparks' Franklin, vol. iv. p. 233, *et. seq.*

istry, and to press upon them the policy of making large settlements in the West; and, as the old way of managing the Indians by superintendents was just then in bad odor, in consequence of the expense attending it, the cabinet council so far approved the new plan as to present it for examination to the Board of Trade, with members of which Franklin had also been privately conversing.

This was in the autumn of 1767. But, before any conclusion was come to, it was necessary to arrange definitely that boundary line, which had been vaguely talked of in 1765, and with respect to which Sir William Johnson had written to the ministry, who had mislaid his letters, and given him no instructions. The necessity of arranging this boundary was also kept in the mind by the continued and growing irritation of the Indians, who found themselves invaded from every side. This irritation became so great during the autumn of 1767, that Gage wrote to the Governor of Pennsylvania on the subject. The Governor communicated his letter to the Assembly on the 5th of January, 1768, and representations were at once sent to England, expressing the necessity of having the Indian line fixed. Franklin, the father, all this time, was urging the same necessity upon the ministers in England; and about Christmas of 1767, Sir William's letters on the subject having been found, orders were sent him to complete the proposed purchase from the Six Nations, and settle all differences. But the project for a colony was for the time dropped, a new administration coming in which was not that way disposed.

Sir William Johnson having received, early in the spring, the orders from England relative to a new treaty with the Indians, at once took steps to secure a full attendance.* Notice was given to the various colonial governments, to the Six Nations, the Delawares, and the Shawanese, and a congress was appointed to meet at Fort Stanwix during the following October, (1768). It met upon the 24th of that month, and was attended by representatives from New Jersey, Virginia, and Pennsylvania; by Sir William and his deputies; by the agents of those traders who had suffered in the war of 1763; and by deputies from all the Six Nations, the Dela-

*For an account of this long-lost treaty see Plain Facts, pp. 65—104, or Butler's Kentucky, 2nd edition, pp. 472—488.

wares and the Shawanese. The first point to be settled was the boundary line which was to determine the Indian lands of the West from that time forward; and this line the Indians, upon the 1st of November, stated should begin on the Ohio, at the mouth of the Cherokee (or Tennessee) river; thence go up the Ohio and Allegheny to Kittaning; thence across to the Susquehanna, &c.; whereby the whole country south of the Ohio and Allegheny, *to which the Six Nations had any claim*, was transferred to the British. One deed for a part of this land, was made on the 3d of November to William Trent, attorney for twenty-two traders, whose goods had been destroyed by the Indians in 1763. The tract conveyed by this was between the Kanawha and Monongahela, and was by the traders named Indiana. Two days afterwards a deed for the remaining western lands was made to the King, and the price agreed on paid down.* These deeds were made upon the express agreement that no claim should ever be based upon previous treaties, those of Lancaster, Logstown, &c.; and they were signed by the chiefs of the Six Nations, for themselves, their allies and dependents, the Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes of Ohio, and others; but the Shawanese and Delaware deputies present did not sign them.

[On the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in a great measure, rests the title by purchase to Kentucky, Western Virginia, and Western Pennsylvania, and the authority of the Six Nations to sell this country rests on their claim by conquest.]

But besides the claim of the Iroquois and the north-west Indians to Kentucky, it was also claimed by the Cherokees; and it is worthy of remembrance that the treaty of Lochabar, made in October, 1770, two years after the Stanwix treaty, recognized a title in the southern Indians to all the country west of a line drawn from a point six miles east of Big or Long Island in Holston river, to the mouth of the Great Kanawha;† although, as we have just stated, their rights to all the lands north and east of the Kentucky river was purchased by Colonel Donaldson, either for the king, Virginia, or himself—it is impossible to say which.‡

*There were also given two deeds of lands in the interior of Pennsylvania, one to Croghan, and the other to the proprietaries of that colony.

†Butler, 2nd ed. Introduction, li.

‡Hall's Sketches, ii. 248.

But the grant of the great northern confederacy was made. The white man could now quiet his conscience when driving the native from his forest home, and feel sure that an army would back his pretensions. A new company was at once organized in Virginia, called the "Mississippi Company," and a petition sent to the king for two millions and a half of acres in the West. Among the signers of this were Francis Lightfoot Lee, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington and Arthur Lee. The gentleman last named was the agent for the petitioners in England. This application was referred to the Board of Trade on the 9th of March, 1769, and after that we hear nothing of it.*

The Board of Trade, however, was again called on to report upon the application of the Walpole Company, and Lord Hillsborough, the President, reported against it. This called out Franklin's celebrated "Ohio Settlement," a paper written with so much ability, that the King's Council put by the official report, and granted the petition, a step which mortified the noble lord so much that he resigned his official station.† The petition now needed only the royal sanction, which was not given until August 14th, 1772; but in 1770, the Ohio Company was merged in Walpole's, and the claims of the soldiers of 1756 being acknowledged both by the new Company and by government, all claims were quieted. Nothing was ever done, however, under the grant to Walpole, the Revolution soon coming upon America.‡ After the Revolution, Mr. Walpole and his associates petitioned Congress respecting their lands, called by them "Vandalia," but could get no help from that body. What was finally done by Virginia with the claims of this and other companies, we do not find written, but presume their lands were all looked on as forfeited.

During the ten years in which Franklin, Pownall, and their friends were trying to get the great western land company into operation, actual settlers were crossing the mountains all too rapidly; for the Ohio Indians "viewed the settlements with an uneasy and jealous eye," and "did not scruple to say, that they must be compensated for their right, if people set-

* Plain Facts, p. 69.—Butler's Kentucky, 475.

† Sparks' Franklin, vol. 4, p. 392.

‡ Sparks' Washington, vol. ii, p. 483, *et seq.*—Plain Facts, p. 149.

tled thereon, notwithstanding the cession by the Six Nations."* It has been said, also, that Lord Dunmore, then Governor of Virginia, authorized surveys and settlements on the western lands, notwithstanding the proclamation of 1763; but Mr. Sparks gives us a letter from him, in which this is expressly denied.† However, surveys did go down even to the Falls of the Ohio, and the whole region south of the Ohio was filling with white men.

Among the foremost speculators in western lands at that time was George Washington. He had always regarded the proclamation of 1763 as a mere temporary expedient to quiet the savages, and being better acquainted with the value of western lands than most of those who could command means, he early began to buy beyond the mountains. His agent in selecting lands was Col. Crawford, afterwards burnt by the Ohio Indians. In September, 1767, we find Washington writing to Crawford on this subject, and looking forward to the occupation of the western territory; in 1770 he crossed the mountains, going down the Ohio to the mouth of the great Kanawha; and in 1773, being entitled, under the King's proclamation of 1763, (which gave a bounty to officers and soldiers who had served in the French war,) to ten thousand acres of land, he became deeply interested in the country beyond the mountains, and had some correspondence respecting the importation of settlers from Europe. Indeed, had not the Revolutionary war been just then on the eve of breaking out, Washington would, in all probability, have become the leading settler of the West, and all our history, perhaps, have been changed.‡

But while in England, and along the Atlantic, men were talking of peopling the West south of the river Ohio, a few obscure individuals, unknown to Walpole, to Franklin, and to Washington, were taking those steps which actually resulted in its settlement; and to these we next turn.

* Washington's "Journal to the West, in 1770." Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. p. 531.

† *Ibid*, p. 378.

‡ Sparks' Washington, vol. ii. pp. 346–7. He had patents for 32,373 acres; 9157 on the Ohio, between the Kanawhas, with a river front of 13 1-2 miles; 23,216 acres on the great Kanhawa, with a river front of forty miles. Besides these lands, he owned, fifteen miles below Wheeling, 587 acres, with a front of two and a half miles. He considered the land worth $3 33 per acre.—Sparks' Washington, xii, 264, 317.

Notwithstanding the fact that so much attention had been given to the settlement of the West, even before the French war, it does not appear that any Europeans, either French or English, had, at the time the treaty of Fort Stanwix was made, thoroughly examined that most lovely region near the Kentucky river, which is the finest portion, perhaps, of the whole Ohio valley. This may be accounted for by the non-residence of the Indians in that district; a district which they retained as a hunting ground. Owing to this, the traders, who were the first explorers, were led to direct their steps northward, up the Miami and Scioto valleys, and were quite familiar with the country between the Ohio and the Lakes, at a period when the interior of the territory south of the river was wholly unknown to them. While, therefore, the impression which many have had, that the entire valley was unknown to the English colonists before Boone's time, is clearly erroneous, it is equally clear that the centre of Kentucky, which he and his comrades explored during their first visit, had not before that time, been examined by the whites to any considerable extent.

[Here it is necessary to call the attention of the reader to another series of events, that opened the way for the exploration and settlement of Kentucky and Tennessee.

About the year 1758, Dr. Thomas Walker, from Albemarle county, Va., who had been previously employed as an agent among the Cherokees on the Holston river, from 1750, was appointed commissioner to take certain Cherokee chiefs to England. Dr. Walker had explored the mountain vallies of Southwestern Virginia and East Tennessee. While in England, he organized a company to settle the wild lands in Western Virginia and Carolina, of which the Duke of Cumberland was patron. He returned to America in the capacity of general agent. Dr. Walker subsequently explored the country; gave the name of his patron to *Cumberland* river, and the range of mountains that give origin to the head branches. He also explored the upper parts of the Kentucky river, and gave to it the name of *Louisa*, in honor of the Duchess of Cumberland, which name it bore for some years. He was at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and had no small influence in the purchase of Western Virginia and Eastern Kentucky from the Six Nations.

In March, 1769, Col. Joseph Martin, of Albemarle county, and twenty other persons, started to form a settlement in Powell's valley; having received a written pledge from Dr. Walker, of a grant of 21,000 acres of land, on condition that they reached the valley and made a settlement, before another company (commanded by Messrs. Kirkleys) gained possession. The party reached the valley on the 1st of April, after great effort and suffering, and commenced their improvements on the 3d, and thus gained each their thousand acres. The valley, the river, and the adjacent mountain, were named from a hunter who first explored the country and marked his name on a tree.

Colonel Joseph Martin was subsequently an agent among the Cherokees, and the father of the late Colonel William Martin, of Smith county, Tennessee, in whose possession we found papers, and a letter from his father, dated May 9, 1769, containing the foregoing facts. The explorations of Dr. Walker, and Col. Martin, and the settlement of Powell's valley, prepared the way for further progress westward.]*

The next explorer of Kentucky and Tennessee, was Col. James Smith. Mr. Smith had been taken prisoner by the Indians, near Bedford, Pa., in 1755, and was with them four and a half years. In 1764, he was a lieutenant in General Bouquet's campaign against the Indians, and a colonel in the continental service in 1778.

During the summer of 1766, with four white men and a mulatto slave, he made an exploration across the mountains to the Cumberland, and then to the Tennessee rivers, to examine the country in view of future settlements.

Stone's river, a branch of the Cumberland, was so named from Mr. Uriah Stone, one of the party. They explored the country on each of the rivers, until they reached the mouth of the Tennessee, where Paducah now stands. Col. Smith, having stuck a piece of cane in his foot, was unable to travel, his companions left him and the boy to aid him, and proceeded to the Illinois country. He reached Carolina on his

*Mr. Butler (*History of Kentucky*, p. 18,) mentions Dr. Walker's explorations as in 1747. Stipp's Miscellany, p. 9, says 1750; which date is confirmed by facts in Holmes' Annals, ii. 304, note. Marshall, vol i. p. 7, says 1758. In the London edition of Washington's Journal, printed in 1754, there is a map on which is marked 'Walker's Settlement, 1750," upon the Cumberland river. There is no discrepancy in these dates, for Dr. Walker was engaged several years in his explorations and Indian agency.—Ed.

return, in October, 1767, having been eleven months in the wilderness In a few days he reached Conecocheague valley, where his family resided.*

The next persons who entered this region were traders; coming, not from Virginia and Pennsylvania by the river, but from North Carolina by the Cumberland Gap. These traders probably sought, in the first instance, the Cherokees and other southern Indians, with whom they had dealings from a very early period; but appear afterward to have journeyed northward upon what was called the Warrior's road, an Indian path leading from the Cumberland ford along the broken country, lying upon the eastern branch of the Kentucky river, and so across the Licking toward the mouth of the Scioto.† This path formed the line of communication between the northern and southern Indians; and somewhere along its course, John Finley, doubtless in company with others, was engaged, in 1767, in trading with the red men; we presume, with those from north of the Ohio, who met him there with the skins procured during their hunting expedition in that central and choice region. Upon Finley's return to North Carolina, he met with Daniel Boone, to whom he described the country he had visited.

Daniel Boone was born in Bucks county, Pa., in the month of February, 1735, being the sixth of eleven children. His father moved to Berks county when Daniel was a small boy, where, in a frontier settlement, he attended school, and where in boyhood he received those impressions that were so fully displayed in after life. From childhood, he delighted to range the woods, watch the wild animals, and contemplate the beauties of uncultivated nature. In woodcraft, his education was complete. No Indian could poise the rifle, find his way through the trackless forest, or hunt the wild game better than Daniel Boone.

Few men ever possessed that combination of boldness, caution, hardihood, strength, patience, perseverance and love of solitude that marked his character. With these qualities he was kind-hearted, humane, good-tempered, and devoid of malice. He never manifested the temper of the misanthrope

*Smith's Life, in *"Incidents of Border Life,"* p. 64. Haywood's *History of Tennessee*, page 35.

† See map in Filson's Kentucky.

or evinced any dissatisfaction with social or domestic life. He had a natural sense of justice and equity between man and man, and felt, through his whole life, repugnance to the technical forms of law, and the conventional regulations of society and of government, unless they were in strict accordance with his instinctive sense of right.

When Daniel Boone was in the 18th year of his age, his father removed from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, and settled on the Yadkin, in the northwestern part of that State. Here he married, and for several years, labored on a farm; hunting at the proper season. About 1762, he was leader of a company of hunters from the Yadkin, who ranged through the vallies on the waters of the Holston, in the southwestern part of Virginia. In 1764, we find him, with another company of hunters, on the Rock Castle, a branch of Cumberland river, within the present boundaries of Kentucky, employed, as he stated, by a party of land speculators to ascertain and report concerning the country in that quarter.*

The oppression of the governors of the colony, and the members of the Council and of the Assembly, who were English or Scotch adventurers, produced great dissatisfaction with the laboring classes, and drove many to seek their fortunes in the wilds of the West. At the same time Richard Henderson, the Harts and others, were projecting a purchase of the fertile lands of the West, and encouraged the hunters to explore the country.

On the return of Finley, as already stated, arrangements were made for an exploring party to examine the rich vales of the Kentucky, of which Boone was the leader; and he alone was in the confidence of the speculators. His companions were John Finley, John Stewart, Joseph Holden, James Moncey, and William Cool. They left the Yadkin settlement, and Boone his family, on the first of May, and after much fatigue and exposure to severe rains, reached the waters of Red river, one of the main branches of the Kentucky, on the 7th of June. In this region the party reconnoitered the country, and hunted, until December. At that period, the explorers divided themselves into parties, that *they might have a wider range of observation*. Boone had for his companion, Mr. Stewart. Of

*Haywood's *History of Tennessee*, pp. 32, 35.

Finlay, and the rest of the party, we hear nothing more. Of their adventures history is silent.

Boone and Stewart were soon taken by a party of Indians, from whom they made their escape after several days' detention. Early in January, 1770, Squire Boone, a brother of Daniel, and another adventurer, arrived from North Carolina, with supplies of ammunition, and intelligence from his family. Shortly after this event, Stewart, while hunting, was killed by the Indians, and the man who came with Squire Boone got lost in the woods and perished. The two brothers, thus left alone, pursued their hunting along the banks of the main Kentucky river.

When spring opened Squire returned to the Yadkin for supplies, while Daniel explored the country along Salt and Green rivers. On the last of July Squire returned, and they engaged in exploring the country on the waters of Cumberland river, and hunting in that region until March, 1771. They then returned by Kentucky river, and the Cumberland Gap, to the settlements on the Yadkin.

During the same period, another exploring and hunting party of about twenty men, left North Carolina and Western Virginia, for the country of Tennessee. They passed through Cumberland Gap into what is now called Wayne county, Kentucky, and, subsequently, moved in a southwestern direction, along the waters of Roaring river and Caney fork, and returned in April, 1770, after an absence of ten months.

The same year another party of ten hunters built two boats and two trapping canoes, loaded them with peltry, venison, bears' meat and oil, and made a voyage down the Cumberland, Ohio and Mississippi rivers, to Natchez, where they disposed of their cargo.

In 1771, Casper Mansco, who had twice visited the valley of the Cumberland, came out again in company with several other persons. They traversed the country along the Cumberland river to the region north of Nashville, and into the "barrens" of Kentucky. From the period of their absence they were called the "Long-hunters."* These several explorations excited the attention of multitudes in the colonies

* For authorities and further events in detail, the reader is referred to Haywood's *History of Tennessee:* Butler's *History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*; and *"Life of Daniel Boone,"* by the editor, in Dr. Sparks' *American Biography*, vol. xxiii.

south of the Potomac, and turned their thoughts to a home in the "Far West."]

During the same eventful period, (1770), there came into Western Virginia, no less noted a person than George Washington. His attention, as we have before said, had been turned to the lands along the Ohio, at a very early period; he had himself large claims, as well as far-reaching plans of settlement, and he wished with his own eyes, to examine the Western lands, especially those about the mouth of the Kanawha. From the journal of his expedition, published by Mr. Sparks, in the Appendix to the second volume of his Washington papers, we learn some valuable facts in reference to the position of affairs in the Ohio valley at that time. We learn, for instance, that the Virginians were rapidly surveying and settling the lands south of the river as far down as the Kanawhas; and that the Indians, notwithstanding the treaty of Fort Stanwix, were jealous and angry at this constant invasion of their hunting-grounds.

This jealousy and anger were not suffered to cool during the years next succeeding, and when Thomas Bullitt and his party descended the Ohio in the summer of 1773, he found, as related above, that no settlements would be tolerated south of the river, unless the Indian hunting-grounds were left undisturbed. To leave them undisturbed was, however, no part of the plan of these white men. This very party, which Bullitt led, and in which were the two McAfees, Hancock, Taylor, Drennon and others, separated, and while part went up the Kentucky river, explored the banks, and made important surveys, including the valley in which Frankfort stands, the remainder went on to the Falls, and laid out, on behalf of John Campbell and John Connolly, the plat of Louisville. All this took place in the summer of 1773; and in the autumn of that year, or early the next, John Floyd, the deputy of Colonel William Preston, the surveyor of Fincastle county, Virginia, in which it was claimed that Kentucky was comprehended, also crossed the mountains; while General Thompson, of Pennsylvania, made surveys upon the north fork of the Licking.* Nor did the projects of the English colonists stop with

*Marshall, i 11.—Butler, second edition, 20. American State Papers, xv. 583.—Gen. Thompson was surveying for the Pennsylvania soldiers under the proclamation of 1763, and a permit from the Council of Virginia in 1774.

the settlement of Kentucky. In 1773, General Lyman, with a number of military adventurers, went to Natchez, and laid out several townships in that vicinity; to which point emigration set so strongly, that we are told, four hundred families passed down the Ohio, on their way thither, during six weeks of the summer of that year.*

[Anxious as was Boone to remove his family to the fertile region of Kentucky, it was not until 1773, that he sold his farm on the Yadkin, and, with five other families, took up the line of march westward. The company started on the 25th of September, and were joined by others in Powell's valley, making the number of forty men, besides women and children. As they approached the last mountain barrier, on the 16th of October, seven young men, who had charge of the cattle, being five or six miles in the rear, were attacked by a party of Indians. Six were slain, amongst whom was Boone's eldest son James, and the seventh, though wounded, made his escape. The cattle were dispersed in the woods.

This calamity so disheartened the emigrants, that they gave up the expedition and returned to Clinch river.]

* Holmes' Annals, ii. 183;—from original MSS. For a history of Natches, see Western Messenger, September and November, 1838: it is by Mann Butler. See also Ellicott's Journal, (Philadelphia, 1803,) p. 129, &c.

CHAPTER V.

ANNALS OF 1774 AND 1775.

Settlement of Wheeling—Connolly seizes Fort Pitt—Murder of Logan's Family—Dunmore's War—Battle of Point Pleasant—Transylvania Land Company—Settlement of Kentucky—First Political Convention in the West—Indians in Alliance with the British.

For a time the settlement of Kentucky and the West was delayed; for though James Harrod, in the spring or early summer of 1774, penetrated the wilderness, and built his cabin, (the first log-hut reared in the valley of the Kentucky,) where the town which bears his name now stands, he could not long stay there; the sounds of coming war reached even his solitude, and forced him to rejoin his companions, and aid in repelling the infuriated savages. Notwithstanding the treaty of Fort Stanwix, the western Indians, as we have seen, were in no degree disposed to yield their lands without a struggle. Wide-spread dissatisfaction prevailed among the Shawanese and Mingoes, which was fostered probably by the French traders who still visited the tribes of the north-west. Evidence of the feeling which prevailed, is given by Washington in his Journal of 1770, and has been already referred to. And from that time forward almost every event was calculated still more to excite and embitter the children of the forest. In 1770, Ebenezer, Silas and Jonathan Zane, settled at Wheeling; during that year the Boones, as we have related, were exploring the interior of Kentucky; and after them came the McAfees, Bullitt, Floyd, Hancock, Taylor, and their companions. The savages saw their best grounds occupied or threatened with occupation; but still they remembered the war of 1763, and the terrible power of Britain, and the oldest and wisest of the sufferers were disposed rather to submit to what seemed inevitable than to throw themselves away in a vain effort to withstand the whites. Hopeless hatred toward the invaders filled the breasts of the natives, therefore, at the period immediately preceding the war of 1774; a hatred needing only a few acts of violence to kindle it into rage and thirst for human blood.

And such acts were not wanting; in addition to the murder of several single Indians by the frontier men,—in 1772, five families of the natives on the Little Kanawha, were killed, in revenge for the death of a white family on Gauley River, although no evidence existed to prove who had committed the last-named outrage.* And when 1774 came, a series of events, of which we can present but a faint outline, led to excessive exasperation on both sides. Pennsylvania and Virginia laid equal claim to Pittsburgh and the adjoining country. In the war of 1754, doubt had existed as to which colony the fork of the Ohio was situated in, and the Old Dominion having been forward in the defence of the contested territory, while her northern neighbor had been very backward in doing anything in its favor, the Virginians felt a certain claim upon the "Key of the West." This feeling showed itself before 1763, and by 1773 appears to have attained a very decided character. Early in 1774, Lord Dunmore, prompted very probably by Colonel Croghan, and his nephew, Dr. John Connolly, who had lived at Fort Pitt, and was an intriguing and ambitious man, determined, by strong measures, to assert the claims of Virginia upon Pittsburgh and its vicinity, and dispatched Connolly, with a captain's commission, and with power to take possession of the country upon the Monongahela, in the name of the king. The Doctor issued his proclamation to the people, in the neighborhood of Redstone and Pittsburgh, calling upon them to meet on the 24th or 25th of January, 1774, in order to be embodied as Virginia militia. Arthur St. Clair, who then represented the Proprietors of Pennsylvania in the West, was at Pittsburgh at the time, and arrested Connolly before the meeting took place. The people who had seen the proclamation, however, came together, and though they were dispersed without attempting any outbreak in favor of the Virginian side of the dispute, which it was very much feared they would do,—they did not break up without drunkenness and riot, and among other things *fired their guns at the town occupied by friendly Indians* across the river, hurting no one, but exciting the fear and suspicion of the red men.

Connolly, soon after, was for a short time released by the sheriff, upon the promise to return to the law's custody, which

*Withers' Border Warfare, 106. Monette's History of the Mississippi Valley, vol. i page 369.

promise he broke however, and having collected a band of followers, on the 28th of March, came again to Pittsburgh, still asserting the claim of Virginia to the government. Then commenced a series of contests, outrages and complaints, which were too extensive and complicated to be described within our limited space. The end of the matter was this, that Connolly, in Lord Dunmore's name, and by his authority, took and kept possession of Fort Pitt; and as it had been dismantled and nearly destroyed, by royal orders, rebuilt it, and named it Fort Dunmore. Meantime, in a most unjustifiable and tyrannical manner, he arrested both private men and magistrates, and kept some of them in confinement, until Lord Dunmore ordered their release. Knowing that these measures were calculated to lead to active and violent measures against himself by the Pennsylvanians, he took great precautions, and went to considerable expense to protect his own party from surprise. These expenses, it is not improbable, he feared the Virginia General Assembly would object to, although his noble patron might allow them; and it is not *impossible* that he intentionally fostered, as St. Clair distinctly intimated in his letters to the Pennsylvania authorities, the growing jealousy between the whites and natives, in order to make their quarrels serve as a color to his profuse expenditures. At any rate, it appears that on the 21st of April, Connolly wrote to the settlers along the Ohio, that the Shawanese were not to be trusted, and that they (they whites) ought to be prepared to revenge any wrong done them. This letter came into the hands of Captain Michael Cresap, who was looking up lands near Wheeling, and who appears to have possessed the true frontier Indian-hatred. Five days before its date, a canoe, belonging to William Butler, a leading Pittsburgh trader, had been attacked by three Cherokees, and one white man had been killed. This happened not far from Wheeling, and became known there of course; while about the same time the report was general that the Indians were stealing the traders' horses. When, therefore, immediately after Connolly's letter had been circulated, the news came to that settlement, that some Indians were coming down the Ohio in a boat, Cresap, in revenge for the murder by the Cherokees, and, as he afterwards said, in obedience to the direction of the commandant at Pittsburgh, contained in the letter referred to, determined to attack them.

They were, as it chanced, two friendly Indians, who, with two whites, had been dispatched by William Butler, when he heard that his first messengers were stopped, to attend to his peltries down the river, in the Shawanese country.* The project of Cresap, (and here we continue in the words of Dr. Doddridge,) "was vehemently opposed by Col. Zane, the proprietor of the place. He stated to the Captain that the killing of those Indians, would inevitably bring on a war, in which much innocent blood would be shed, and that the act in itself would be an atrocious murder, and a disgrace to his name forever. His good counsel was lost. The party went up the river. On being asked, at their return, what had become of the Indians? they coolly answered that "they had fallen overboard into the river!" Their canoe, on being examined, was found bloody, and pierced with bullets. This was the first blood which was shed in this war,* and terrible was the vengeance which followed.

In the evening of the same day, the party hearing that there was an encampment of Indians at the mouth of Captina, went down the river to the place, attacked the Indians and killed several of them. In this affair one of Cresap's party was severely wounded.

The massacre at Captina and that which took place at Baker's, about forty miles above Wheeling, a few days after that at Captina, were unquestionably the sole causes of the war, 1774. The last was perpetrated by thirty-two men, under the command of Daniel Greathouse. The whole number killed at this place, and on the river opposite to it, was twelve, besides several wounded. This horrid massacre was effected by a hypocritical stratagem, which reflects the deepest dishonor on the memory of those who were agents in it.

The report of the murders committed on the Indians near Wheeling, induced a belief that they would immediately commence hostilities, and this apprehension furnished the pretext for the murder above related. The ostensible object for raising the party under Greathouse, was that of defending the family of Baker, whose house was opposite to a large encampment of Indians, at the mouth of Big Yellow Creek. The party were concealed in ambuscade, while their commander went over the river, under the mask of friendship, to the Indian camp, to ascertain their number; while there, an Indian woman advised him to return home speedily, saying

* For the above facts relative to Connolly's conduct, &c., see American Archives, fourth series, i. 252 to 288, 435, 774, 459, 467, 470, 484, &c. It was *said* that Dunmore thanked Cresap for what he did; American Archives, fourth series, i. 506; but no *proof* exists, we believe, of his having done so.

* The murder at Balltown took place in 1772.

that the Indians were drinking, and angry on account of the murder of their people down the river, and might do him some mischief. On his return to his party he reported that the Indians were too strong for an open attack. He returned to Baker's and requested him to give any Indians who might come over, in the course of the day, as much rum as they might call for, and get as many of them drunk as he possibly could. The plan succeeded. Several Indian men, with two women, came over the river to Baker's, who had previously been in the habit of selling rum to the Indians. The men drank freely and became intoxicated. In this state they were all killed by Greathouse, and a few of his party. I say a few of his party, for it is but justice to state, that not more than five or six of the whole number had any participation in the slaughter at the house. The rest protested against it, as an atrocious murder. From their number, being by far the majority, they might have prevented the deed; but alas! they did not. A little Indian girl alone was saved from the slaughter, by the humanity of some one of the party, whose name is not now known.

The Indians in the camps, hearing the firing at the house, sent a canoe with two men in it to enquire what had happened. These two Indians were both shot down, as soon as they landed on the beach. A second and larger canoe was then manned with a number of Indians in arms; but in attempting to reach the shore, some distance below the house, were received by a well directed fire from the party, which killed the greater number of them, and compelled the survivors to return. A great number of shots were exchanged across the river, but without damage to the white party, not one of whom was even wounded. The Indian men who were murdered were all scalped.

The woman who gave the friendly advice to the commander of the party, when in the Indian camp, was amongst the slain at Baker's house.

The massacres of the Indians at Captina and Yellow Creek, comprehended the whole of the family of the famous, but unfortunate Logan.*

This account by Doddridge is confirmed by the evidence of Colonel Zane, whose deposition is given by Jefferson; but as it differs somewhat from that of George Rogers Clark, who was also present, we give part of the letter written by the last named pioneer relative to the matter, dated June 17, 1798.

This country was explored in 1773. A resolution was formed to make a settlement the spring following, and the mouth of the Little Kanawha appointed the place of general

* See Doddridge's Notes, p. 220

rendezvous, in order to descend the river from thence in a body. Early in the spring the Indians had done some mischief. Reports from their towns were alarming, which deterred many. About eighty or ninety men only arrived at the appointed rendezvous, where we lay some days.

A small party of hunters, that lay about ten miles below us, were fired upon by the Indians, whom the hunters beat back, and returned to camp. This and many other circumstances led us to believe, that the Indians were determined on war. The whole party was enrolled and determined to execute their project of forming a settlement in Kentucky, as we had every necessary store that could be thought of. An Indian town called the Horsehead Bottom, on the Scioto and near its mouth, lay nearly in our way. The determination was to cross the country and surprise it. Who was to command? was the question. There were but few among us that had experience in Indian warfare, and they were such as we did not choose to be commanded by. We knew of Capt. Cresap being on the river about fifteen miles above us, with some hands, settling a plantation; and that he had concluded to follow us to Kentucky as soon as he had fixed there his people. We also knew that he had been experienced in a former war. He was proposed; and it was unanimously agreed to send for him to command the party. Messengers were dispatched, and in half an hour returned with Cresap. He had heard of our resolution by some of his hunters, that had fallen in with ours, and had set out to come to us.

We now thought our army, as we called it, complete, and the destruction of the Indians sure. A council was called, and, to our astonishment, our intended Commander-in-chief was the person that dissuaded us from the enterprise. He said that appearances were very suspicious, but there was no certainty of a war. That if we made the attempt proposed, he had no doubt of our success, but a war would, at any rate, be the result, and that we should be blamed for it, and perhaps justly. But if we were determined to proceed, he would lay aside all considerations, send to his camp for his people, and share our fortunes.

He was then asked what he would advise. His answer was, that we should return to Wheeling, as a convenient post, to hear what was going forward. That a few weeks would determine. As it was early in the spring, if we found the Indians were not disposed for war, we should have full time to return and make our establishment in Kentucky. This was adopted; and in two hours the whole were under way. As we ascended the river, we met Kill-buck, an Indian chief, with a small party. We had a long conference with him, but received little satisfaction as to the disposition of the Indians. It was observed that Cresap did not come to this conference,

but kept on the opposite side of the river. He said that he was afraid to trust himself with the Indians. That Kill-buck had frequently attempted to waylay his father, to kill him. That if he crossed the river, perhaps his fortitude might fail him, and that he might put Kill-buck to death. On our arrival at Wheeling, (the country being pretty well settled thereabouts,) the whole of the inhabitants appeared to be alarmed. They flocked to our camp from every direction; and all we could say could not keep them from under our wings. We offered to cover their neighborhood with scouts, until further information, if they would return to their plantations; but nothing would prevail. By this time we had got to be a formidable party. All the hunters, men without families, etc., in that quarter, had joined our party.

Our arrival at Wheeling was soon known at Pittsburgh. The whole of that country, at that time, being under the jurisdiction of Virginia, Dr. Connolly had been appointed by Dunmore Captain Commandant of the District which was called Waugusta. He, learning of us, sent a message addressed to the party, letting us know that a war was to be apprehended; and requesting that we would keep our position, for a few days, as messages had been sent to the Indians, and a few days would determine the doubt. The answer he got, was, that we had no inclination to quit our quarters for some time. That during our stay we should be careful that the enemy did not harrass the neighborhood that we lay in. But before this answer could reach Pittsburgh, he sent a second express, addressed to Capt. Cresap, as the most influential man amongst us; informing him that the messenges had returned from the Indians, that war was inevitable, and begging him to use his influence with the party, to get them to cover the country by scouts until the inhabitants could fortify themselves. The reception of this letter was the epoch of open hostilities with the Indians. A new post was planted, a council was called, and the letter read by Cresap, all the Indian traders being summoned on so important an occasion. Action was had, and war declared in the most solemn manner; and the same evening two scalps were brought into the camp.

The next day some canoes of Indians were discovered on the river, keeping the advantage of an island to cover themselves from our view. They were chased fifteen miles down the river, and driven ashore. A battle ensued; a few were wounded on both sides; one Indian only taken prisoner. On examining their canoes, we found a considerable quantity of ammunition and other warlike stores. On our return to camp, a resolution was adopted to march the next day, and attack Logan's camp on the Ohio, about thirty miles above us. We did march about five miles, and then halted to take some re-

freshments. Here the impropriety of executing the projected enterprise was argued. The conversation was brought forward by Cresap himself. It was generally agreed that those Indians had no hostile intentions—as they were hunting, and their party were composed of men, women, and children, with all their stuff with them. This we knew; as I myself and others present had been in their camp about four weeks past, on our descending the river from Pittsburgh. In short, every person seemed to detest the resolution we had set out with. We returned in the evening, decamped, and took the road to Redstone.

It was two days after this that Logan's Family were killed. And from the manner in which it was done, it was viewed as a horrid murder. From Logan's hearing of Cresap being at the head of this party on the river, it is no wonder that he supposed he had a hand in the destruction of his family.*

In relation to the murders by Greathouse, there is also a variance in the testimony. Henry Jolly, who was near b[illegible] and whose statement is published in an article by Dr. Hildreth, in Silliman's Journal for January, 1837, makes no mention of the visit of Greathouse to the Indian camp, but says that five men and one woman with a child came from the camp across to Baker's, that three of the five were made drunk, and that the whites finding the other two would not drink, persuaded them to fire at a mark, and when their guns were empty, shot them down; this done, they next murdered the woman, and tomahawked the three who were intoxicated. The Indians who had not crossed the Ohio, ascertaining what had taken place, attempted to escape by descending the river, and having passed Wheeling unobserved, landed at Pipe Creek, and it was then, according to Jolly, that Cresap's attack took place; he killed only one Indian.† But whatever may have been the precise facts in relation to the murder of Logan's family, they were at any rate of such a nature as to make all concerned, feel sure of an Indian war; and while those upon the frontier gathered hastily into the fortresses,‡ an express was sent to Williamsburgh to inform the Governor of the necessity of instant preparation. The Earl of Dunmore at once took the needful steps to organize forces; and

*Louisville Literary News Letter, quoted in Hesperian, February, 1839. p. 309.

†See Am. Pioneer, i. 12 to 24. Am. Archives, 4th Series, i. 467. See also Border Warfare, 112, note, where the discrepancies of evidence are [illegible], also Jacob's Life of Cresap.

‡Border Warfare, 114.

meanwhile in June, sent Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner to conduct into the settlements the surveyors and others who were lingering upon the banks of the Kentucky and Elkhorn, a duty which was ably and quickly performed. The unfortunate traders among the Indians, however, could not thus be rescued from the dangers which beset them. Some of them fell the first victims to the vengeance of the natives. One, near the town of White-Eyes, the Peace Chief of the Delawares, was murdered, cut to pieces, and the fragments of his body hung upon the bushes; the kindly chief gathered them together and buried them; the hatred of the murderers, however, led them to disinter and disperse the remains of their victim anew, but the kindness of the Delaware was as persevering as the hatred of his brethren, and again he collected the scattered limbs and in a secret place hid them.*

[The question, "who killed Logan's family," has been investigated, and every source of evidence exhausted. It is now certain the murder was not committed by Cresap and his party, though from circumstances Logan *thought so.* Those who desire to examine the subject further, are referred to the "American Pioneer," vol. i. pp. 7—24.]

It being, under the circumstances, deemed advisable, by the Virginians, to assume the offensive, as soon as it could be done, an army was gathered at Wheeling, which, some time in July, under Colonel McDonald, descended the Ohio to the mouth of Captina Creek, or as some say, Fish Creek, where it was proposed to march against the Indian town of Wappatomica, on the Muskingum. The march was successfully accomplished, and the Indians having been frustrated in an expected surprise of the invaders, sued for peace, and gave five of their chiefs as hostages. Two of them were set free, however, by Colonel McDonald, for the avowed purpose of calling the heads of the tribes together to ratify the treaty which was to put an end to warfare; but it being found that the natives were merely attempting to gain time and gather forces, the Virginians proceeded to destroy their towns and crops, and then retreated, carrying three of their chiefs with them as prisoners to Williamsburg.† But this invasion did nothing toward intimidating the red men.

*Heckewelder's Narrative, 132.

†Border Warfare, 115. Doddridge, 241. Am. Archives, 4th Series, i. 722.

The Delawares were anxious for peace; Sir William Johnson sent out to all his copper-colored flock, orders to keep still:* and even the Shawanese were prevailed on by their wiser leader, Cornstalk, to do all they could to preserve friendly relations:† indeed they went so far as to secure some wandering traders from the vengeance of the Mingoes, whose relatives had been slain at Yellow Creek and Captina, and sent them with their property safe to Pittsburgh.‡ But Logan, who had been turned by the murderers on the Ohio from a friend to a deadly foe of the whites, came suddenly upon the Monongahela settlements, and while the other Indians were hesitating as to their course, took his thirteen scalps in retaliation for the murder of his family and friends, and returning home, expressed himself satisfied, and ready to listen to the Long-Knives.§ But it was not, apparently, the wish of Dunmore or Connolly to meet the friendly spirit of the natives, and when, about the 10th of June, three of the Shawanese conducted the traders, who had been among them, safely to Pittsburgh, Connolly had even the meanness to attempt first to seize them, and when foiled in this by Colonel Croghan, his uncle, who had been alienated by his tyranny, he sent men to watch, waylay and kill them; and one account says that one of the three was slain.‖ Indeed, the character developed by this man, while commandant at fort Dunmore, was such as to excite universal detestation, and at last to draw down upon his patron the reproof of Lord Dartmouth.¶ He seized property, and imprisoned white men without warrant or propriety; and we may be assured, in many cases beside that just mentioned, treated the natives with an utter disregard of justice. It is not, then, surprising that Indian attacks occurred along the frontiers from June to September; nor, on the other hand, need we wonder that the Virginians (against whom, in distinction from the people of Pennsylvania, the war was carried on,) became more and more excited, and eager to repay the injuries received.

To put a stop to these devastations, two large bodies of troops were gathering in Virginia; the one from the southern and western part of the State, under General Andrew

* Am. Archives, 4th Series, i. 282 to 288.
† Do. do. ‡Do. do. §Do. 428.
‖Do. 449. ¶Do. 774.

Lewis, met at Camp Union, now Lewisburg, Greenbriar county, near the far-famed White Sulphur Springs;—the other from the northern and eastern counties, was to be under the command of Dunmore himself, and descending the Ohio from Fort Pitt, was to meet Lewis' army at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. The force under Lewis, amounting to eleven hundred men, commenced its march upon the 6th and 12th of September, and upon the 6th of October reached the spot agreed upon. As Lord Dunmore was not there, and as other troops were to follow down the Kanawha under Colonel Christian, General Lewis dispatched runners toward Pittsburgh to inform the Commander-in-chief of his arrival, and proceeded to encamp at the point where the two rivers meet. Here he remained until the 9th of October, when dispatches from the Governor reached him, informing him that the plan of the campaign was altered; that he (Dunmore) meant to proceed directly against the Shawanese towns of the Scioto, and Lewis was ordered at once to cross the Ohio and meet the other army before those towns. But on the very day when this movement should have been executed, (October 10th,) the Indians in force, headed by the able and brave Chief of the Shawanese, Cornstalk, appeared before the army of Virginians, determined then and there to avenge past wrongs and cripple vitally the power of the invaders. Delawares, Iroquois, Wyandots, and Shawanese, under their most noted Chiefs, among whom was Logan, formed the army opposed to that of Lewis, and with both the struggle of that day was one of life or death. Soon after sunrise the presence of the savages was discovered; General Lewis ordered out his brother, Colonel Chas. Lewis, and Colonel Fleming, to reconnoitre the ground where they had been seen; this at once brought on the engagement. In a short time Col. Lewis was killed, and Colonel Fleming disabled; the troops, thus left without Commanders, wavered, but Colonel Field with his regiment coming to the rescue, they again stood firm;—about noon Colonel Field was killed, and Captain Evan Shelby, (father of Isaac Shelby, Governor of Kentucky in after time, and who was then Lieutenant in his father's company,) took the command; and the battle still continued. It was now drawing toward evening, and yet the contest raged without decided success for either party, when General Lewis ordered a body of men

to gain the flank of the enemy by means of Crooked Creek, a small stream which runs into the Kanawha about four hundred yards above its mouth. This was successfully done, and the result was the retreat of the Indians across the Ohio.*

[The loss on the part of the Virginians in this battle was seventy-five men killed, and one hundred and forty wounded —about one-fifth of their entire number.

Among the slain were Colonels Charles Lewis and John Field; Captains Buford, Morrow, Wood, Cundiff, Wilson and Robert McClanahan; and Lieuts. Allen, Goldsby and Dillon, "with some other subalterns. The loss of the enemy could not be fully ascertained, as, until they are driven from the field, they carry off their dead. Next morning Col. Christian explored the battle-ground, and found twenty-one Indians lying dead, and subsequently twelve others concealed by brush and logs.†"].

Lord Dunmore, meanwhile, had descended the river from Fort Pitt, and was, at the time he sent word to Lewis of his change of plans, at the mouth of the Hocking, where he built a block-house, called Fort Gower, and remained until after the battle at the Point.‡ Thence he marched on towards the Scioto, while Lewis and the remains of the army under his command, strengthened by the troops under Colonel Christian, pressed forward in the same direction, elated by the hope of annihilating the Indian towns, and punishing the inhabitants for all they had done. But before reaching the enemy's country Dunmore was visited by the Chiefs asking for peace;§ he listened to their request, and appointing a place where a treaty should be held, sent orders to Lewis to stop his march against the Shawanese towns; which orders, however, that officer did not obey, nor was it till the Governor visited his camp on Congo Creek, near Westfall, that he would agree to give up an attempt upon the village of Old Chillicothe, which stood where Westfall now is.‖ After this visit by Dunmore, General Lewis felt himself bound, though unwillingly, to prepare for a bloodless retreat.

* Border Warfare, 125. Doddridge, 230. American Pioneer, i. 381. Letters in American Archives, fourth series, i. 808-18, &c. Thatcher's Lives of Indians, ii. 168.

† Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia, pp. 361—364.

‡ Border Warfare, 133.

§ With them was one Elliott, probably Matthew Elliott, so noted in 1790 to 1795.—American Pioneer, i. 18.

‖ Whittlesey's Discourse, 1840—p. 24.

The Commander-in-chief, however, remained for a time at Camp Charlotte, upon Sippo Creek, about eight miles from the town of Westfall, on the Scioto.* There we met Cornstalk, who, being satisfied of the futility of any further struggle, was determined to make peace, and arranged with the Governor the preliminaries of a treaty; and from this point Crawford was sent against a town of the Mingoes, who still continued hostile, and took several prisoners, who were carried to Virginia, and were still in confinement in February, 1775.†

[It was at this time and place, (Pickaway county, Ohio,) that Logan made his famous speech, and not at Camp Charlotte, as Mr. Jefferson supposed (for he would not go there.) This and many other facts are sustained by the testimony of John Gibson, Esq., an Associate Judge of Alleghany county, given at Pittsburgh by affidavit, April 4th, 1800.

These and other documents may be found in an "Appendix" to Mr. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, Boston edition, 1832.]

Many of the Virginians were dissatisfied with the treaty, as no effectual blow had been struck. The supposition is, the Governor of Virginia foresaw the contest between England and her Colonies, and desired to gain the friendship of the Indians.

When Lord Dunmore retired from the West, he left one hundred men at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, a few more at Pittsburgh, and another corps at Wheeling, then called Fort Fincastle. These were dismissed as the prospect of war ceased. Lord Dunmore agreed to return to Pittsburgh in the spring, meet the Indians and form a definite peace; but the commencement of the revolt of the Colonies prevented. The Mingoes were not parties to the treaty at Camp Charlotte.‡ The Shawanese agreed not to hunt south of the Ohio river, nor molest travellers.§ The frontier men were much incensed against Lord Dunmore for this treaty, but not the inhabitants of Old Virginia.‖

[During "Dunmore's War," as these series of hostilities

* American Pioneer, p. 331.

† American Archives, fourth series, i. 1222. Border Warfare, 137.—American Archives, fourth series, ii. 1189.

‡ Amer. Archives, ii. 1189.

§ Amer. Archives, fourth series, i. 1170.

‖ Amer. Archives, fourth series, ii. 170, 301.

were called, the militia was called out, and Daniel Boone was appointed by the Governor to the command of three contiguous garrisons on the frontier. James Harrod and several other pioneers of Kentucky were engaged as scouts. Of these last were Simon Girty, Simon Kenton, (under the fictitious name of Butler,) and others.

Boone, Harrod and others, on the return of peace, again turned their eyes to the fertile vallies and choice hunting grounds of Kentucky. A new Land Company, called the "Transylvania Company," was formed in North Carolina, through the agency of Richard Henderson, the Harts and others. This was one of the several companies formed about the same period to purchase lands of the Indians.* As the Cherokees claimed the country south of the Kentucky river, Henderson & Co. made several unsuccessful attempts at negotiation, when they employed Boone, who, as their confidential agent, had explored the country. The council was held at the Indian town of Watauga, on the south branch of Holston river, in March, 1775. Boone gave them the requisite information concerning the country, the rivers and other particulars. In consideration of the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling, the Indians transferred to the company two large districts of country, defined as follows:]

The first was defined as "Beginning on the Ohio river, at the mouth of the Cantuckey Chenoee, or what, by the English, is called Louisa river; from thence running up the said river, and the most northwardly fork of the same, to the head spring thereof; thence a south-east course to the top of the ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westwardly along the ridge of the said mountain, unto a point from which a northwest course will hit or strike the head spring of the most southwardly branch of Cumberland river, thence down said river, including all its waters, to the Ohio river, and up the said river, as it meanders, to the beginning."

The other deed comprised a tract "beginning on the Holston river, where the course of Powell's mountain strikes the same; thence up the said river, as it meanders, to where the Virginia line crosses the same; thence westwardly along the line run by Donaldson to a point six English miles eastward of the long island in said Holston river; thence a direct course towards the mouth of the Great Canaway, until it reaches the top ridge of Powell's mountain; thence westwardly along the

* See Patrick Henry's Deposition, in Hall's Sketches, i. 249.

said ridge to the place of beginning."* This transfer, however, was in opposition to the ancient and constant policy, both of England and Virginia, neither of which would recognize any private dealings for land with the natives; and as much of the region to be occupied by the Transylvania Company was believed to be within the bounds of the Old Dominion, Governor Dunmore, even before the bargain was completed, prepared his proclamation warning the world against "one Richard Henderson and other disorderly persons, who, under pretence of a purchase from the Indians, do set up a claim to the lands of the crown." This paper is dated but four days later than the treaty of Watauga.†

[Neither did the British, or any other European government, recognize the entire sovereignty of the Indians over this country, or the title as valid to any purchase made by subjects in their own right.

After a long period of litigation, the matter was settled by a compromise; the State of Virginia granted to the company a tract of land on Green river.

The Company, however, not aware of the defect of their title, proceeded to the survey and settlement of the tract in Kentucky, and Capt. Boone was employed to manage the enterprise. A road was explored and opened, and a fort erected at Boonesborough, under the command of Boone.]

Upon the 20th or 25th of March, an attack had been made upon those first invaders of the forests, in which two of their number were killed, and one or two others wounded: repulsed but not defeated, the savages watched their opportunity, and again attacked the little band; but being satisfied by these attempts,‡ that the leaders of the whites were their equals in forest warfare, the natives offered no further opposition to the march of the hunters, who proceeded to the Kentucky, and upon the 1st of April, 1775, began the erection of a fort upon the banks of that stream, sixty yards south of the river, at a salt-lick. This was Boonesboro'. This fort or station was

*Hall, i. 251. See also Butler, 504. Butler, instead of "Cantucky Chenoee" has "Kentucky Chenoca." See also Haywood's Tennessee. Life of Boone, by the Editor, in Sparks' Library of Amer. Biography, xiii. new series, p. 43, 45.

†American Archives, 4th series, 174.

‡See Boone's Narrative, and his letter in Hall's Sketches, i. 254. They do not agree entirely.

probably, when complete, about two hundred and fifty feet long by one hundred and fifty broad, and consisted of block-houses and pickets, the cabins of the settlers forming part of the defences;* it was, from neglect, not completed until June 14th, and the party, while engaged in its erection, appear to have been but little annoyed by the Indians, although one man was killed upon the 4th of April. To this station, while yet but half complete, Henderson and his companions came the 20th of April, following the road marked out by Boone.

[On the 13th of June, 1775, Mr. Henderson wrote a long letter from Boonesborough, Ky., to his associates in North Carolina, giving many particulars of the difficulties and the progress of this enterprise of which we can give only a brief summary. The letter may be found in "Sketches of the West," by James Hall, Esq., Appendix, volume second.

Henderson represents that "things wore a gloomy aspect;" —that on their journey out they met people returning, and in four days saw not less than one hundred persons, who had become alarmed at the hostile appearance of the Indians; that "arguments and persuasion were needless." Eight or ten were the only persons he could prevail on to proceed with the little company of about forty.

The panic was contagious. But on their arrival at Boonesborough, they found Captain Boone and his men wholly free from alarm, and with the fort nearly completed. The "plantations extend nearly two miles in length on the river, and up a creek." Here the people worked on "their different lots; some without their guns, and others without care."

We give an extract from the letter to show the condition of the country at that period.]

We are seated at the mouth of Otter Creek on the Kentucky, about 150 miles from the Ohio. To the West, about 50 miles from us, are two settlements, within six or seven miles one of the other. There were, some time ago, about 100 at the two places; though now, perhaps, not more than 60 or 70, as many of them are gone up the Ohio for their families, &c.; and some returned by the way we came, to Virginia and elsewhere. * * * On the opposite side of the river and north of us, about 40 miles, is a settlement on the crown lands, of about 19 persons; and lower down, towards the Ohio, on the same side, there are some

*See plan of the fort, Hall's Sketches, i.

other settlers, how many, or at what place, I can't exactly learn. There is also a party of about 10 or 12, with a surveyor, who is employed in searching through the country, and laying off officers' lands; they have been more than three weeks within ten miles of us, and will be several weeks longer ranging up and down the country. * * * Colonel Harrod, who governs the two first mentioned settlements, (and is a very good man for our purpose,) Colonel Floyd, (the surveyor) and myself, are under solemn engagements to communicate, with the utmost dispatch every piece of intelligence respecting danger or sign of Indians, to each other. In case of invasion of Indians, both the other parties are instantly to march and relieve the distressed, if possible. Add to this, that our country is so fertile, the growth of grass and herbage so tender and luxuriant, that it is almost impossible for man or dog to travel, without leaving such sign that you might, for many days, gallop a horse on the trail. To be serious, it is impossible for any number of people to pass through the woods without being tracked, and of course discovered, if Indians, for our hunters all go on horseback, and could not be deceived if they were to come on the trace of footmen. From these circumstances, I think myself in a great measure secure against a formidable attack; and a few skulkers could only kill one or two, which would not much affect the interest of the company. * * *

Upon the 23d of May, the persons then in the country, were called on by Henderson to send representatives to Boonesboro', to agree upon a form of government, and to make laws for the conduct of the inhabitants. From the journal of this primitive legislature, we find, that, besides Boonesboro', three settlements were represented, viz: Harrodsburgh, which had been founded by James Harrod in 1774, though afterwards for a time abandoned, in consequence of Dunmore's war; the Boiling Spring settlement, also headed by James Harrod, who had returned to the West early in 1775; and St. Asaph, in Lincoln county, where Benjamin Logan, who is said to have crossed the mountains with Henderson, was building himself a station; well known in the troubles with the Indians which soon followed.

The labors of this first of Western Legislatures were fruitless, as the Transylvania colony was soon transformed into the county of Kentucky, and yet some notice of them seems proper. There were present seventeen representatives; they met about fifty yards from the bank of the Kentucky, under the budding branches of a vast elm, while around their feet sprang

the native white clover, as a carpet for their hall of legislation. When God's blessing had been asked by the Rev. John Lythe, Colonel Henderson offered an address on behalf of the Proprietors, from which we select a few paragraphs illustrative of the spirit of the men and times.

"Our peculiar circumstances in this remote country, surrounded on all sides with difficulties, and equally subject to one common danger, which threatens our common overthrow, must, I think, in their effects, secure to us an union of interests, and consequently, that harmony in opinion, so essential to the forming good, wise, and wholesome laws. If any doubt remain amongst you with respect to the force or efficacy of whatever laws you now, or hereafter, make, be pleased to consider that all power is originally in the people; therefore, make it their interest, by impartial and beneficial laws, and you may be sure of their inclination to see them enforced. For it is not to be supposed that a people, anxious and desirous to have laws made,—who approve of the method of choosing delegates, or representatives, to meet in general Convention for that purpose, can want the necessary and concomitant virtue to carry them into execution. * *

Among the many objects that must present themselves for your consideration the first in order, must, from its importance, be that of establishing Courts of Justice, or tribunals for the punishment of such as may offend against the laws you are about to make. As this law will be the chief corner stone in the ground work or basis of our constitution, let us, in a particular manner, recommend the most dispassionate attention, while you take for your guide as much of the spirit and genius of the laws of England, as can be interwoven with those of this country.

Next to the establishment of courts or tribunals, as well for the punishment of public offenders as the recovering of just debts, that of establishing and regulating a militia, seems of the greatest importance; it is apparent, that without some wise institution, respecting our mutual defence, the different towns or settlements are every day exposed to the most imminent danger, and liable to be destroyed at the mere will of the savage Indians. Nothing, I am persuaded, but their entire ignorance of our weakness and want of order, has hitherto preserved us from the destructive and rapacious hands of cruelty, and given us an opportunity at this time, of forming secure defensive plans to be supported and carried into execution by the authority and sanction of a well digested law.

There are sundry other things, highly worthy your consideration, and demand redress; such as the wanton destruction of our game, the only support of life amongst many of us, and for want of which the country would be abandoned ere to-

morrow, and scarcely a probability remain of its ever becoming the habitation of any Christian people. This, together with the practice of many foreigners, who make a business of hunting in our country, killing, driving off, and lessening the number of wild cattle and other game, whilst the value of the skins and furs, is appropriated to the benefit of persons not concerned or interested in our settlement: these are evils, I say, that I am convinced cannot escape your notice and attention."*

[It should be kept in mind that this Convention was the first ever held in the wilds of the West, to form a government, and it is evident these backwoods Kentuckians had in their minds the elements of a republican representative government.]

To the address of Colonel Henderson, the representatives of this infant commonwealth replied, by stating their readiness to comply with the recommendations of the Proprietor, as being just and reasonable, and proceeded, with praiseworthy diligence, to pass the necessary acts. They were in session three working days, in which time they enacted the nine following laws;—one for establishing courts; one for punishing crimes; a third for regulating the militia; a fourth for punishing swearing and Sabbath-breaking; a fifth providing for writs of attachment; a sixth fixing fees; and three others for preserving the range, improving the breed of horses, and preserving game. In addition to these laws, this working House of Delegates prepared a compact, to be the basis of relationship between the people and owners of Transylvania: some of its leading articles were these:—

1st. That the election of Delegates in this Colony, be annual.

2d. That the Convention may adjourn and meet again on their own adjournment, provided, that in cases of great emergency the proprietors may call together the Delegates before the time adjourned to, and if a majority does not attend, they may dissolve them and call a new one.

3d. That, to prevent dissension and delay of business, one proprietor shall act for the whole, or some one delegated by them for that purpose, who shall always reside in the colony.

4th. That there be a perfect religious freedom and general toleration—Provided, that the propagators of any doctrine or tenets, widely tending to the subversion of our laws, shall, for such conduct, be amenable to, and punishable by, the civil courts.

*See Butler's Kentucky, p. 503.

5th. That the Judges of Superior or Supreme Courts be appointed by the proprietors, but be supported by the people, and to them answerable for their mal-conduct.

9th. That the Judges of the inferior Courts be recommended by the people, and approved of by the proprietors, and by them commissioned.

10th. That all civil and military officers be within the appointment of the proprietors.

11th. That the office of Surveyor General, belong to no person interested, or a partner in this purchase.

12th. That the legislative authority, after the strength and maturity of the colony will permit, consist of three branches, to wit: the delegates or representatives chosen by the people, a council not exceeding twelve men, possessed of landed estate, residing in the colony, and the proprietors.

17th. That the convention have the sole power of raising and appropriating all public monies, and electing their Treasurer.*

On the 27th of May this Legislature adjourned to meet again upon the first Thursday of the next September, though we do not learn that it ever did so.

From the time of the unpopular treaty of Camp Charlotte, the western people had been apprehensive of extensive injury to the American frontiers from the Indians, instigated by agents reaching them through Canada, whenever the expected outbreak with England took place. Nor was it long before the Americans in the North saw the dangers to be feared from the action of the Indians, influenced by the British; and early in April, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts wrote to the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, then a missionary among the Oneidas, informing him that, having heard that the English were trying to attach the Six Nations to their interest, it had been thought proper to ask the several tribes, through him, to stand neutral. Steps were also taken to secure the co-operation, if possible, of the Penobscot and Stockbridge Indians; the latter of whom replied, that, though they could never understand what the quarrel between the Provinces and old England was about, yet they would stand by the Americans. They also offered to "feel the mind" of the Iroquois, and try to bring them over.†

*See Butler's Kentucky, p. 514.

†Stone, vol. 1, pp. 55-58.—Sparks' Washington, vol. iii, pp. 495-496.

But the Iroquois were not to be easily won over by any means. Sir William Johnson, so long the King's agent among them, and to whom they looked with the confidence of children in a father, had died suddenly, in June, 1774, and the wild men had been left under the influence of Col. Guy Johnson, Sir William's son-in-law, who succeeded him as Superintendent, and of John Johnson, Sir William's son, who succeeded to his estates and honors. Both these men were tories; and their influence in favor of England was increased by that of the celebrated Joseph Brant. This trio, acting in conjunction with some of the rich old royalists along the Mohawk, opposed the whole movement of the Bostonians, the whole spirit of the Philadelphia Congress, and every attempt, open or secret, in favor of the rebels. Believing Mr. Kirkland to be little better than a Whig in disguise, and fearing that he might alienate the tribe in which he was, from their old faith, and, through them, influence the others, the Johnsons, while the war was still bloodless, made strong efforts to remove him from his position.

Nor were the fears of the Johnsons groundless, as is shown by the address of the Oneida Indians to the New England Governors, in which they state their intention of remaining neutral during so unnatural a quarrel as that just then commencing. But this intention the leading tribe of the great Indian confederacy meant to disturb, if possible. The idea was suggested, that Guy Johnson was in danger of being seized by the Bostonians, and an attempt was made to rally about him the savages as a body-guard; while he, on his part, wrote to the neighboring magistrates, holding out to them, as a terror, the excitement of the Indians, and the dangers to be feared from their rising, if he were seized, or their rights interfered with.

So stood matters in the Mohawk valley, during the month of May, 1775. The Johnsons were gathering a little army, which soon amounted to five hundred men; and the Revolutionary committees, resolute never to yield one hair's breadth, "never to submit to any arbitrary acts of any power under heaven," were denouncing Colonel Guy's conduct as "arbitrary, illegal, oppressive, and unwarrantable." "Watch him," wrote Washington to General Schuyler in June; and, even before the order was given, what with the Tryon county men

above him on the river, and the whole provincial force below him, he was likely to be well watched. Finding himself thus fettered, and feeling it to be time to take some decided step, the Superintendent, early in July, began to move westward, accompanied by his dependents and the great body of the Mohawk Indians, who remained firm in the British interests.* He moved first to Fort Stanwix, (afterwards Fort Schuyler, near the present town of Rome,) and then went on to Ontario, where he arrived early in July, and held a Congress with thirteen hundred and forty warriors, whose old attachment was then and there renewed. Joseph Brant, be it noted, during all this time, was acting as the Superintendent's Secretary.

All of the Six Nations, except the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, might now be deemed in alliance with the British. Those tribes, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Kirkland, were prevented from going with the others, and upon the 28th of June, at German Flats, gave to the Americans a pledge of neutrality.†

While the members of the Northern Confederacy were thus divided in their attachments, the Delawares of the upper Ohio were by no means unanimous in their opinions as to this puzzling family quarrel which was coming on; and Congress, having been informed on the first day of June, that the western Virginians stood in fear of the Indians, with whom Lord Dunmore, in his small way, was, as they thought, tampering,‡ it was determined to have a Congress called at Pittsburgh, to explain to the poor red men the causes of the sudden division of their old enemies, and try to persuade them to keep peace. This Congress did not meet, however, until October.§

Nor was it from the northern and western tribes only, that hostilities were feared. The Cherokees and their neighbors were much dreaded, and not without cause; as they were then less under the control of the whites, than either the Iroquois or Delawares, and might, in the hope of securing their freedom, be led to unite, in a warfare of extermination against the Carolinas. We find, accordingly, that early in July, Con-

*Stone, vol. i. p. 77

†Stone, vol. i. p. 81.

‡Old Journals, vol. i. p. 78.

§Heckewelder's Narrative, p. 136.

gress having determined to seek the alliance of the several Indian nations, three departments were formed;* a northern one, including the Six Nations and all north and east of them, to the charge of which General Schuyler, Oliver Wolcott, and three others, were appointed; a middle department, including the Western Indians, who were to be looked to by Messrs. Franklin, Henry, and Wilson; and a southern department, including all the tribes south of Kentucky, over which commissioners were to preside under the appointment of the South Carolina Council of Safety. These commissioners were to keep a close watch upon the nations in their several departments, and upon the King's Superintendents among them. These officers they were to seize, if they had reason to think them engaged in stirring up the natives against the colonies, and in all ways were to seek to keep those natives quiet and out of the contest. *Talks* were also prepared to send to the several tribes, in which an attempt was made to illustrate the relations between England and America, by comparing the last to a child ordered to carry a pack too heavy for its strength. The boy complains, and, for answer, the pack is made a little heavier. Again and again the poor urchin remonstrates, but the bad servants misrepresent the matter to the father, and the boy gets a still heavier burden, till at last, almost broken-backed, he throws off the load altogether, and says he will carry it no longer. This allegory was intended to make the matter clear to the pack-carrying red men, and, if we may judge from Heckewelder's account, it answered the purpose; for, he says, the Delawares reported the whole story very correctly. Indeed, he gives their report upon the 137th page of his "Narrative," which report agrees very well with the original speech, preserved to us in the Journals of the old Congress.†

The first conference held by the commissioners, was in the northern department, a grand Congress coming together at Albany in August. Of this Congress a full account may be found in Colonel Stone's first volume.‡ It did not, however,

*Old Journals, vol. i. p. 113, &c.

†Vol. i. p. 115. See also in Carey's Museum for January, 1789, p. 88 to 91, the speech to the Iroquois at Philadelphia, delivered July, 13th 1775; in this the pack-proverb is given fully and very well.

‡Pp. 94-105. Appendix iv. xxxi.

fully represent the Six Nations, and some, even of those who were present, immediately afterwards deserted to the British; so that the result was slight.

The next conference was held at Pittsburgh with the western Indians. This was in October, and was attended by the Delawares, Senecas, and, perhaps, some of the Shawanese. The Delaware nation were, as we have already said, divided in their views touching the Americans. One of their chieftains, Captain White-Eyes, a man of high character and clear mind, of courage such as became the leader of a race whose most common virtues were those of the wild man, and of a forbearance and kindness as unusual as fearlessness was frequent, among his people,—this true man was now, as always, in favor of peace; and his influence carried with him a strong party. But there were others, again, who longed for war, and wished to carry the whole nation over to the British interest. These were led by a cunning and able man, called Captain Pipe, who, without the energy, moral daring, and unclouded honesty of his opponent, had many qualities admirably suited to win and rule Indians. Between these two men there was a division from the beginning of the Revolution till the death of White-Eyes. At the Pittsburgh Conference, the Peace Chief, as he was called, was present, and there asserted his freedom of the Six Nations, who, through their emissaries present, tried to bend the Delawares, as they had been used to do. His bold denial of the claim of the Iroquois to rule his people, was seized upon by some of the War-Party, as a pretext for leaving the Muskingum, where White-Eyes lived, and withdrawing toward Lake Erie, into the more immediate vicinity of the English and their allies.

The Shawanese and their neighbors, meantime, had taken counsel with Guy Johnson at Oswego, and might be considered as in league with the king. Indeed, we can neither wonder at, nor blame these bewildered savages for leaguing themselves with any power *against* those actual occupants of their hunting-grounds, who are, here and there in Kentucky, building block-houses and clearing corn-fields. Against those block-houses and their builders, little bands of red men continually kept sallying forth, supplied with ammunition from Detroit and the other western posts, and incited to exertion by the well known stimulants of whisky and fine clothes.

However, it is hardly correct to say, that this was done in 1775, though the arrangements were, beyond doubt, made in that year, Col. Johnson having visited Montreal, immediately after the council with the Shawanese and others at Oswego, for the purpose of concluding with the British governor and general upon his future course.

But although the dangers of the posts, more immediately exposed to Indian invasions, were understood both East and West, it did not prevent emigration. In June, 1775, Boone had sought the settlements once more, in order to remove his family; and in the following September, with four females, the fearless mothers of Kentucky, re-crossed the mountains. These four women were, his own wife, Mrs. McGary, Mrs. Danton and Mrs. Hogan; their husbands and children came with them, and more than twenty men able to bear arms, were also of the party.

At the close of 1775, then, the country along the Kentucky was filling with emigrants, although doubt and dissatisfaction already existed as to Henderson's purchase, and especially as to holding lands of proprietors, and being governed by them: —many of the new settlers not being ignorant of the evils brought on Pennsylvania by means of the Proprietary rule. But hope was still predominant, and the characters of Harrod, Floyd, Logan and the Harts, were well calculated to inspire confidence.

North of the Ohio, during that year, little was doing of which any knowledge has reached us: but one settlement beyond the Belle Reviere deserves our notice.

Our readers will remember the calm and bold Moravian, Christian Frederick Post, who journeyed to the Big Beaver Creek in 1758, and won the Delawares to peace. This same man, in 1761, thinking the true faith might be planted among those western tribes, journeyed out to the Muskingum, and, on the banks of that stream, about a mile from Beaver's Town, built himself a house.* The next season, that is, in the spring of 1762, he again crossed the mountains in company with the well known Heckewelder, who went out as his assistant. The Indians having consented to his living among them, and teaching their children to read and write, Post prepared to clear a

* Heckewelder's Narrative, p. 59.

few acres whereon to raise corn. The chiefs hearing of this called him to them, and said they feared he had changed his mind, for, instead of teaching their children, he was clearing land; which, if he did, others might do, and then a fort be built to protect them, and then the land claimed, and they be driven off, as had always, they said, been the case. Post replied that a teacher must live, and, as he did not wish to be a burden to them, he proposed to raise his own food. This reply the Indians considered, and told him, that, as he claimed to be a minister of God, just as the French priests did, and as these latter looked fat and comely though they did not raise corn, it was probable that the Great Spirit would take care of him as he did of them, if he wished him to be his minister; so they could only give him a garden spot. This Captain Pipe stepped off for him, and with this he had to shift as well as he could.

These proceedings were in 1762, and while they show the perfect perception which the Indians had of their dangers, and of the English tactics, explain most clearly the causes of the next year's war.

Post continued to till his little garden spot and teach his Indian disciples through the summer of 1762, and in the autumn accompanied King Beaver to Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, where a fruitless treaty was concluded with the whites. Returning from this treaty in October, he met Heckewelder, who had been warned by his red friends to leave the country before war came, and was forced back upon the settlements.

From this time, until the autumn of 1767, no Moravians visited the West. Then, in the following spring, Zeisberger went to the Allegheny, and there established a mission, against the will, however, of the greater part of the savages, who saw nothing but evil in the white man's eye.* The fruits would not ripen, the deer would not stay, they said, where the white man came. But Zeisberger's was a fearless soul, and he worked on, despite threats and plots against his life; and not only held his place, but even converted some of the leading Indians. Among these was one who had come from the Big Beaver, for the purpose of refuting the Moravians; and this

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 98.

man being influential, the missionaries were in 1770 invited to come to Big Beaver, whither they went in April of that year, settling about twenty miles from its mouth. Nor did the kindness of the Indians stop here. The Delawares of the Muskingum, remembering perhaps what Post had done among them ten years before, invited the Christian Indians of Pennsylvania to come and live on their river; and in this invitation the Wyandots joined. The proposition was long considered, and at last agreed to; and, on the 3d of May, 1772, Zeisberger, with twenty-seven of his native disciples, founded Schoenbrun, upon the Muskingum,—the first true Christian settlement made within the present State of Ohio, and the beginning of that which was destroyed by the frontier men ten years afterward, in so cruel and cowardly a manner. To this settlement, in the course of the next year, the Christian Indians of the Susquehanna, and those of the Big Beaver, removed. Though endangered by the war of 1774, it was not injured, and, when our Revolution began, was the only point beyond Pittsburgh, north of the river, where the English were dwelling and laboring.*

It was towards the close of this last year of our colonial existence, 1775, that a plot was discovered, which involved some whose names have already appeared upon our pages, and which, if successful, would have influenced the fortunes of the West deeply. Dr. John Connolly, of Pittsburgh, (he, whom Washington had met and talked with in 1770, and with whom he had afterwards corresponded in relation to western lands, and who played so prominent a part as commandant of Pittsburgh, where he continued at least through 1774,)† was, from the outset of the revolutionary movements, a Tory; and being a man extensively acquainted with the West, a man of talent, and fearless withal, he naturally became a leader. This man, in 1775, planned a union of the north-western Indians with British troops, which combined forces were to be led, under his command, from Detroit, and after ravaging the few frontier settlements, were to join Lord Dunmore in eastern Virginia. To forward his plans, Connolly visited Boston to see General Gage; then having returned to

*See on the whole subject of the Moravian Missions; Heckewelder's account in American State Papers, vi. 379 to 391.

†American Archives, fourth series, i. 1179,

the south, in the fall of 1775, he left Lord Dunmore for the West, bearing one set of instructions upon his person, and another set, the true ones, most artfully concealed, under the direction of Lord Dunmore himself, in his saddle, secured by tin and waxed cloth. He and his comrades, had gone as far as Hagerstown, where they were arrested upon suspicion, and sent back to Frederick. There they were searched, and the papers upon Connolly's person were found, seized, and sent to Congress. Washington having been informed by one who was present when the genuine instructions were concealed as above stated, wrote twice on the subject to the proper authorities, in order to lead to their discovery, but we do not learn that they were ever found. Connolly himself was confined, and remained a close prisoner till 1781, complaining much of his hard lot, but finding few to pity him.*

[Dr. Connolly was one of the early explorers of Kentucky, and in 1770 proposed to establish a province, which would have included the Cumberland, or Shawanee river from a line drawn above the Fork to the Falls and the Ohio.† Afterwards he caused to be surveyed, patented, and advertised, in April, 1774, the ground on which Louisville was built.‡

Among the prominent pioneers and explorers of Kentucky, this year, was Simon Kenton, Colonel Benjamin Logan, John Floyd, William Whitley and George Rogers Clarke. Simon Kenton was a tall, robust, athletic man, and of great energy of character. He was a ranger and a spy in Dunmore's campaign against the Indians in 1774, and with two other men, came down the Ohio river in a canoe to the place where Augusta is now situated, and spent the season in hunting on the waters of the Licking. He became identified with the history of Kentucky, and the Indian wars of the north-west. He was taken prisoner by the Indians, and sentenced to be burnt, but was rescued by the notorious Simon Girty, after he was tied to the stake and the fire kindled around him. He

*American Archives, 4th series, iv. 617, where Connolly's commission and several letters are given; do. iii. 1660, where his examination is to be found; also, see index of both vols. See also Sparks' Washington, iii. 197, 211, 212, 269, 271. Border Warfare, 133. Old Journals, iii. 36, 121, 122, 125, 385. The whole story is in the report of the committee of Congress, old journals, iii. 121. See also Smyth's account of the affair in the 2nd vol. of his work, p. 243.

†Sparks' Washington, ii. 532.

‡Amer. Archives, fourth series. Western Garland, February, 1846, p. 98.

was with Col. G. R. Clarke in the Conquest of Illinois, and in Wayne's army in 1795. After the close of the Indian wars in the north-west, he settled in Ohio, where he sustained the character of a worthy citizen, and died a few years since with the faith of a sincere Christian.

Colonel Benjamin Logan lived in Kentucky and performed an important part in the annals of that Commonwealth.

One of those men whose name appears prominent in Kentucky history was Colonel John Floyd, a surveyor from eastern Virginia. His first exploration was made in 1774, but in 1775, he returned to pursue his vocation as a surveyor in locating land claims. His location was a few miles from Louisville, on Bear Grass creek, known to this day as "Floyd's Station."

The emigrants to the Transylvania colony continued to increase in number through the summer, so that on the first of November the white population in all the settlements in Kentucky amounted to three hundred persons, a majority of whom were effective men for the defence of the settlements. The whole quantity of land in cultivation was two hundred and thirty acres, planted in corn. The lands entered at the land office by individuals amounted to five hundred and sixty thousand acres.*

During the summer of 1775, Harrod's Station and Logan's Fort were established. A party of hunters and land explorers were encamped on a fertile and delightful tract of country on the head waters of the Elkhorn, when an emigrant from Virginia brought the news of the battle of Lexington, and the outbreak of the American revolution. The feelings of liberty and patriotism excited gave name to the encampment as the embryo of a future city, and *Lexington* exists in commemoration of the fact.† Louisville was a rendezvous for all those who came down the Ohio river in boats and canoes.

*Butler's Kentucky, Introduction, p. 68, 69.—Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, i. 397.

†Morehead's Address, p. 33.

CHAPTER VI.

ANNALS OF 1776 AND 1777.

Employment of Indians in the War—Pioneers to Kentucky—Capture and rescue of Girls—Petition of the Inhabitants—Efforts of George Rogers Clarke—Corn-stalk and Redbud killed—Troubles in Kentucky—Attack on Wheeling—Simon Girty and family.

In the annals of Kentucky, the year 1776 is remarkable, first, for the recognition by Virginia of the Transylvania colony, as a part of the Old Dominion; and secondly, for such a renewal of hostilities, as drove many, who had come to make the West their home, back over the mountains again. During the last six months of 1775, and the first half of 1776, the northern savages had in a great measure ceased their excursions against the invaders of their hunting-grounds. Not, however, because they had given up the contest; they were preparing, in connection with the British agents in the northwest, to act with deadly efficiency against the frontier stations. From an early period in the Revolutionary war, the use of the Indians had been contemplated by both parties to the struggle. It had been usual, in the contest between the French and English, as we have seen; and few seem to have deemed it possible to avoid alliances with the red men. There is cause to think that England took the first steps that were taken to enlist the Indians in the quarrel of mother and daughter. The first mention of the subject, which we meet with, is in the address of the Massachusetts Congress to the Iroquois, in April, 1775.* In that they say, that they hear that the British are exciting the savages against the colonies; and they ask the Six Nations to aid them or stand quiet.† And in the June following, when James Wood visited the Western tribes, and asked them to a council, which he did under the direction of the Virginia House of Burgesses, he found that Governor Carlton had been beforehand, and offered the alli-

* Sparks' Washington, vol. iii. p, 495.

† American Archives, fourth series, iv. 110.

ance of England.* It would seem, then, that even before the battle of Lexington, both parties had applied to the Indians, and sought an alliance. In the outset, therefore, both parties were of the same mind and pursued the same course. The Congress of the United Colonies, however, during 1775, and until the summer of 1776, *advocated merely the attempt to keep the Indians out of the contest entirely*, and instructed the Commissioners, appointed in the several departments, to do so. But England was of another mind. Promises and threats were both used to induce the savages to act with her,† though, at first, it would seem, to little purpose, even the Canada tribe of Caghnawagas having offered their aid to the Americans. When Britain, however, became victorious in the North, and particularly after the battle of the Cedars, in May, 1776, the wild men began to think of holding to her side, their policy being, in all quarrels of the whites, to stick to the strongest. Then it was, in June, 1776, that Congress resolved to do what *Washington had advised in the previous April*, that is, to employ the savages in active warfare. Upon the 29th of April, the Commander-in-chief wrote to Congress, saying, as the Indians would soon be engaged, either for or against, he would suggest that they be engaged for the colonies;‡ upon the 3d of May, the report on this was considered; upon the 25th of May, it was resolved to be highly expedient to engage the Indians for the American service; and, upon the 3d of June, the General was empowered to raise two thousand to be employed in Canada. Upon the 17th of June, Washington was authorized to employ them where he pleased, and to offer them rewards for prisoners; and upon the 8th of July, he was empowered to call out as many of the Nova Scotia and neighboring tribes as he saw fit.§

Such was the course of proceeding, on the part of the colonies, with regard to the employment of the Indians. The steps, at the time, were secret, but now the whole story is before the world. Not so, however, with regard to the acts of England; as to them, we have but few of the records placed within our reach. One thing, however, is known, namely, that, while the

*Sparks' Washington, vol. iii. p. 55. †Ibid., p. 55.

‡Sparks' Washington, vol. iii. p. 364. Also, v. 277, where the views of Burke, Governor Pownall, and others, are given.

§Secret Journals, vol. i. pp. 43–47.

colonies offered their allies of the woods rewards for *prisoners*, some of the British agents gave them money for *scalps**—a proceeding that cannot find any justification.

In accordance with the course of policy thus pursued, the north-western tribes, already angered by the constant invasions of their territory by the hunters of Virginia and Carolina, and easily accessible by the lakes, were soon enlisted on the side of England; and had a Pontiac been alive to lead them, might have done much mischief. As it was, during the summer of 1776, their straggling parties so filled the woods of Kentucky, that no one outside of a fort felt safe.

[Amongst other emigrants, the opening of spring brought to the country, were Colonel Richard Callaway (an intimate friend of Daniel Boone) and his family.

"On the 14th of July, Betsey Callaway, her sister Frances, and Jemima Boone, the two last about fourteen years of age, carelessly crossed the river opposite Boonesborough, in a canoe, at a late hour in the afternoon. The trees and shrubs on the opposite bank were thick, and came down to the water's edge; the girls, unconscious of danger, were playing and splashing the water with the paddles, until the canoe, floating with the current, drifted near the shore. Five stout Indians lay there concealed, one of whom, noiseless and stealthy as the serpent, crawled down the bank until he reached the rope that hung from the bow, turned its course up the stream, and in a direction to be hidden from the view of the fort. The loud shrieks of the captured girls were heard, but too late for their rescue. The canoe, their only means of crossing, was on the opposite shore, and none dared to risk the chance of swimming the river, under the impression that a large body of savages was concealed in the woods. Boone and Callaway were both absent, and night set in before their return and arrangements could be made for pursuit." We subjoin the narrative of Colonel Floyd, who was one of the party, remarking that this story was narrated to the writer by one of the captured party, in 1818, in terms substantially the same.]

Colonel Floyd says: "Next morning, by day-light, we were on their track; but they had entirely prevented our following them, by walking some distance apart through the thickest cane they could find. We observed their course, and on which side they had left their sign—and traveled upwards of thirty miles. We then supposed they would be less cautious in traveling, and made a turn to cross their trace; we had gone but a few miles when we found their tracks in a buffalo path—pursued and overtook them in going about ten miles,

* Jefferson's Writings, vol. i. p. 456.

just as they were kindling a fire to cook. Our study had been how to get the prisoners, without giving the Indians time to murder them after they discovered us. We saw each other nearly at the same time. Four of us fired, and all rushed on them, by which they were prevented from carrying anything away except one shot gun, without any ammunition. Mr. Boone and myself had each a pretty fair shot, as they began to move off. I am well convinced I shot one through the body. The one he shot dropped his gun—mine had none. The place was covered thick with cane, and being so much elated on recovering the three poor little heart-broken girls, we were prevented from making any further search. We sent the Indians off without their moccasins, and not one of them with so much as a knife or tomahawk."*

[Mr. Butler justly remarks, on this incident, "These are the unembellished circumstances of a transaction, which a lively and most interesting writer [Mr. Flint] has, through misinformation, historically disfigured into a beautiful romance." We add, that the romantic incidents told by Mr. Flint, and the oath sworn by Boone, and administered to his followers, are wholly fictitious.†]

But it was not destined that Kentucky should sink under her trials. It was during this very summer of 1776, indeed, that the corner-stone of her prosperity was laid, and the first step taken toward making her an independent commonwealth.

This was done by George Rogers Clark, truly her founder, and the most eminent of the early heroes of the West. He was born November 19, 1752, in Albemarle county, Virginia.‡ In early life, he had been, like Washington, a surveyor, and more lately had served in Dunmore's war. He first visited Kentucky in 1775,§ and held, apparently, at that time, the rank of major. Returning to Virginia, in the autumn of 1775, he prepared to move permanently to the West, in the following spring. Having done this early in 1776, Clark, whose views reached much farther than those of most of the Pioneers, set himself seriously to consider the condition

* Life of Boone, in Sparks' American Biography, xxiii. 59, 60—Butler's Kentucky, pages 32, 33.

† Flint's Life of Boone, p. 89.

‡ Clark's papers, in possession of L. C. Draper, in his own writing, give this date.

§ He was west of the mountains in 1772, as far as the Kanawha at least; see journal of Rev. David Jones in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 245. In 1774, he was on his way to Kentucky when Dunmore's war broke out. See *ante*.

and prospects of the young republic to which he had attached himself. Its advantages were too obvious to escape any eye; but the dangers of a colony, so far beyond the old lines of civilization, and unconnected with any of the elder provinces, while at the same time the title to it was in dispute, had not impressed all minds as they should. Clark knew that Virginia entirely denied the purchase of Henderson; he was sure, also, that the Virginia settlers would never be easy under a proprietary government, however founded; and saw already, with his quick eye, wide-spread dissatisfaction. One of two things he deemed the frontier settlements must be, either an acknowledged portion of Virginia,* and to be by her aided in their struggles,—or an independent commonwealth. These views had been partially formed in 1775, probably, for we find that by June 6th, 1776, they had attained sufficient currency to cause the gathering of a general meeting at Harrodsburg, to bring matters to an issue. Clark was not present at the commencement of the meeting. Had he been, there is reason to think, he would have procured the election of envoys authorised to lay the whole business before the Assembly of Virginia, and ask the admittance of Kentucky, by itself, into the number of her counties. As it was, he and Gabriel Jones were chosen members of the Virginia Assembly, and a petition was prepared to be laid before that body.

[The following is the substance: They stated they had become adventurers in the country from the advantageous reports of their friends who had explored it;—that they expected to obtain land in fee simple by an indefeasible title;—that the proprietors had advanced the price of the purchase money from twenty shillings to fifty shillings sterling per hundred acres, and "increased the fees of entry and surveying to an exorbitant price; that they had heard the lands bought of the Iroquois Indians at Fort Stanwix in 1768, included that part of Kentucky, and, therefore, doubted the validity of the purchase of the proprietors made from the Cherokees;—and they ask to be taken under the protection of the colony of Virginia, and that measures might be adopted to restore peace and harmony to the settlement. And they add, "If your honors apprehend that our case comes more properly before the honor-

* So far Fincastle county had been held to include Kentucky, but the inhabitants had no rights or protections as citizens of Virginia. Marshall, i. 47.

able, the General Congress, that you in your goodness recommend the same to your worthy delegates to espouse it as the cause of the Colony." This petition was signed by James Harrod and eighty-seven other men.*]

Clark knew perfectly well that the Legislature of his native State would not acknowledge the validity of the election of Delegates from the frontiers, but hoping, nevertheless, to effect his object, he and his companion took the southern route by the Cumberland Gap, and after suffering agonies from "scald feet," at length reached their destination only to learn that the Assembly had adjourned. This, of course, caused a delay in part of their proceedings, but the keen-witted soldier saw, that, before the Legislature met again, he might, by proper steps, effect much that he wished to; he lost no time, therefore, in waiting upon Patrick Henry, then Governor, and, explaining to him the capabilities, the dangers, the wishes and the necessities of the settlers in the far west,—asked for a supply of the first necessary of life, gunpowder. The Governor listened patiently and gave Clark a favorable letter to the Executive Council, being himself sick and unable to go with him to Williamsburg, the seat of government at that time. But the Council were very cautious, and while they would lend the powder, if Clark would be answerable for it, and pay for its transportation, they dared not, until the Assembly had recognized the Kentucky stations as within Virginia, do more. Clark presented, and again presented the impossibility of his conveying the powder to so great a distance, through a country swarming with foes. The Council listened patiently, but dared not run any risk. An order was issued for the powder on the terms proposed, but the inflexible pioneer would have none of it, and inclosing the order again to the Council told them that, since Virginia would not aid her children, they must look elsewhere,—that a land not worth defending, was not worth claiming, of course,—and so he bade them goodbye. These intimations were not to be overlooked, the whole matter was again weighed in the Council, and probably the Governor's advice taken, after which, upon the 23d of August, an order was issued for placing the ammunition required at Pittsburgh, subject to Major Clark's order, for the use of the inhabitants of "Kentucki."†

* See Hall's Sketches, ii. p. 236. † Butler, second edition, 488, gives the order.

One of his objects being thus in the main accomplished, Clark prepared himself to urge the suit of the Transylvania colonists before the Legislature, when it should meet in the fall, having first written to his friends at the west that powder was waiting them at Pittsburgh, which they must manage to get down the river. When the Assembly met, Messrs. Clark and Jones on the one hand, and Henderson and his friends on the other, proceeded to lay before it the whole question of proprietorship in the Kentucky purchase from the Cherokees. The contest must have been one of considerable severity, for it was not till December 7, 1776,* that the success of the Delegates appointed in June was made certain by the erection of the region in dispute, together with all that now forms the State of Kentucky, into a county of that name. His second great aim secured, (and he probably considered it so before the actual passage of the above law,) Clark and his associate were on the point of returning at once to the frontier by the southern route, as we presume, when they fortunately heard that their gunpowder was still at Pittsburgh. The truth was, that Clark's letter to his western friends had miscarried. At once the envoys determined to go back by way of the Ohio, and see their five hundred pounds of ammunition safe to the stations themselves. When they reached Pittsburgh they learned that many Indians, it was thought with hostile intentions, were lurking thereabouts, who would probably follow them down the river; but no time was to be lost, no matter what dangers threatened, so with seven boatmen the two Delegates embarked upon the Ohio, and succeeded in reaching safely Limestone Creek, where Maysville has been since built. Setting their boat adrift, lest it should attract attention, they concealed their treasure, as they best could, along the banks of the Creek, and started for Harrodsburg to procure a convoy. On the way they heard of Colonel Todd as being in the neighborhood with a band of men; Jones and five of the boatmen remained to join this party and return with it for the powder, while Clark and the other two pushed forward to the Kentucky. Jones and Todd, having met, turned their steps towards the Ohio, but were suddenly attacked on the 25th of December, near the Blue Licks, by a party of natives who had struck Clark's trail, were defeated,

* Morehead's Address, 50.—Butler says December 6th, in Chronology, p. 27.

and Jones with two others were killed.* Clark, however, reached Harrodsburg in safety, and a party was sent thence which brought the gunpowder to the forts.

The year 1776 might be said to have passed without any serious injury to the colonists from the various Indian tribes, although it was clear, that those tribes were to be looked on as engaged in the war, and that the majority of them were with the mother country. Through the West and North-west, where the agents of England could act to the greatest advantage, dissatisfaction spread rapidly. The nations nearest the Americans found themselves pressed upon and harrassed by the more distant bands, and through the whole winter of 1776–7, rumors were flying along the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, of coming troubles. Nor were the good people of New York less disturbed in their minds, the settlers upon the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna standing in continual dread of incursion.† No incursion, however, took place during the winter or spring of 1777; though the blow was delayed, why, we cannot well know, until Great Britain has magnanimity enough to unveil her past acts, and, acknowledging her follies and sins, to show the world the various steps to that union of the savages against her foes, which her noble Chatham denounced as a "disgrace," and "deep and deadly sin."

That blow was delayed, however; and, alas! was struck, at length, after, and, as if in retaliation for one of those violent acts of wrong, which must at times be expected from a frontier people. We refer to the murder of Cornstalk, the leading chieftain of the Scioto Shawanese; a man, whose energy, courage and good sense, place him among the very foremost of the native heroes of this land.‡ This truly great man, who was himself for peace, but who found all his neighbors, and even those of his own tribe, stirred up to war by the agents of England, went over to the American fort at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, in order to talk the matter over with Captain Arbuckle, who commanded there, and with whom he was acquainted. This was early in the summer of 1777. The Americans, knowing the Shawanese to be inclining to the enemy, thought it would be a

*Clark's Journal in Morehead, 161. Also Clark's Account in Dillon's Indiana, 128 to 130.
†See Stone, vol, i. p. 191.—Doddridge's Indian Wars, &c.
‡Journal of the Old Congress.—Stone, &c

good plan to retain Cornstalk and Redhawk, a younger chief of note, who was with him, and make them hostages for the good conduct of their people. The old warrior, accordingly, after he had finished his statement of the position he was in, and the necessity under which he and his friends would be of "going with the stream," unless the Long-Knives could protect them, found that, in seeking counsel and safety, he had walked into a trap, and was fast there. However, he folded his arms, and, with Indian calmness, waited the issue. The day went by. The next morning came, and from the opposite shore was heard an Indian hail, known to be from Ellinipsco, the son of Cornstalk. The Americans brought him also into their toils as a hostage, and were thankful that they had thus secured to themselves peace;—as if iniquity and deception ever secured that first condition of all good! Another day rolled by, and the three captives sat waiting what time would bring. On the third day, two savages, who were unknown to the whites, shot one of the white hunters toward evening. Instantly the dead man's comrades raised the cry, "Kill the red dogs in the fort." Arbuckle tried to stop them, but they were men of blood, and their wrath was up. The Captain's own life was threatened if he offered any hindrance. They rushed to the house where the captives were confined; Cornstalk met them at the door, and fell, pierced with seven bullets; his son and Redhawk died also, less calmly than their veteran companion, and more painfully. From that hour peace was not to be hoped for.*

But this treachery, closed by murder, on the part of the Americans, in no degree caused, or excuses the after-steps of the British agents; for almost at the moment when Cornstalk was dying upon the banks of the Ohio, there was a Congress gathering at Oswego, under the eye of Colonel Johnson, "to eat the flesh and drink the blood of a Bostonian;" in other words, to arrange finally the measures which should be taken against the devoted rebels by Christian brethren and their heathen allies.†

In Kentucky, meanwhile, Indian hostilities had been unceasing.

[Colonel Clark in his Diary gives various details, but our space will not permit more than a brief abstract.

*Doddridge, 237.—Withers' Border Warfare, 151. †Stone, vol. i. p. 186.

On the 6th of March, Thomas Stores and William Ray were killed at the Shawanee Spring. On the 28th, a large party of Indians attacked persons outside the fort and killed several. On the 7th of April, forty or fifty Indians attacked Boonesborough, killed and scalped Daniel Goodman, and wounded several persons. During all of the summer months the Indians were troublesome, attacked the forts, and not a week passed without loss of life.*]

At times, the stations were assailed by large bodies of savages; at times, single settlers were picked off by single skulking foes. The horses and cattle were driven away; the corn fields remained uncultivated; the numbers of the whites became fewer and fewer, and from the older settlements little or no aid came to the frontier stations, until Col. Bowman, in August, 1777, came from Virginia with one hundred men. It was a time of suffering and distress through all the colonies, which was in most of them bravely borne; but none suffered more, or showed more courage and fortitude, than the settlers of the West. Their conduct has excited less admiration out of their own section than that of Marion, and men like him, because their struggles had less apparent connection with the great cause of American independence. But, who shall say, what would have become of the resistance of the colonies, had England been able to pour from Canada her troops upon the rear of the rebels, assisted, as she would have been, by all the Indian nations? It may have been the contests before the stations of Kentucky, and Clark's bold incursions into Illilinois and against Vincennes, which turned the oft-tottering fortunes of the great struggle.

But, however we may think on this point, we cannot doubt the picturesque and touching character of many incidents of western history during the years from 1777 to 1780. Time has not yet so mellowed their features as to give them an air of romance precisely; but the essence of romance is in them. In illustration, we will mention one or two of these incidents, familiar enough in the West, but still worthy of repetition.

One of the eminent men of Kentucky, in those and later times, was General James Ray. While yet a boy, he had proved himself able to outrun the best of the Indian warriors; and it was when but seventeen years of age, that he performed

*See Clark's Diary in Morehead's Address, p. 162.

the service for a distressed garrison, of which we are about to speak. It was the winter of 1776–7, a winter of starvation. Ray lived at Harrodsburg, which, like the other stations, was destitute of corn. There was game enough in the woods around, but there were also Indians, more than enough, and had the sound of a gun been heard in the neighborhood of a station, it would have insured the death of the one who discharged it. Under these circumstances, Ray resolved to hunt at a distance. There was one horse left of a drove of forty, which Major McGary had brought to the West; an old horse, faithful and strong, but not fitted to run the gauntlet through the forest. Ray took this solitary nag, and before day-dawn, day by day, and week by week, rode noiselessly along the runs and rivers until he was far enough to hunt with safety; then he killed his game, and by night, or in the dusk of the evening, retraced his steps. And thus the garrison lived by the daring labors of this stripling of seventeen. Older hunters tried his plan, and were discovered; but he, by his sagacity, boldness, care and skill, safely pursued his disinterested and dangerous employment, and succeeded in constantly avoiding the perils that beset him. We do not think that Boone, or any one, ever showed more perfectly the qualities of a superior woodsman than did Ray through that winter.

If any one did, however, it was surely Benjamin Logan, in the spring of that same year. Logan, as we have seen, crossed the mountains with Henderson, in 1775, and was of course one of the oldest settlers. In May, 1777, the fort at which Logan lived, was surrounded by Indians, more than a hundred in number; and so silently had they made their approach, that the first notice which the garrison had of their presence was a discharge of firearms upon some men who were guarding the women as they milked the cows outside the station. One was killed, a second mortally wounded, and a third, named Harrison, disabled. This poor man, unable to aid himself, lay in sight of the fort, where his wife, who saw his condition, was begging some one to go to his relief. But to attempt such a thing seemed madness; for whoever ventured from either side into the open ground, where Harrison lay writhing and groaning, would instantly become a target for all the sharp-shooters of the opposite party. For some moments Logan stood it pretty well; he

tried to persuade himself, and the poor woman, who was pleading to him, that his duty required him to remain within the walls and let the savages complete their bloody work. But such a heart as his was too warm to be long restrained by arguments and judicious expediency; and suddenly, turning to his men, he cried, "Come, boys, who's the man to help me in with Harrison?" There were brave men there, but to run into certain death in order to save a man, whom, after all, they could not save,—it was asking too much; and all shook their heads and shrunk back from the mad proposal. "Not one! not one of you help a poor fellow to save his scalp?" "Why, what's the good, Captain? to let the red rascals kill us won't help Harrison?" At last, one, half inspired by Logan's impetuous courage, agreed to go; he could die but once, he said, and was about as ready then, as he should ever be. The gate was slightly opened, and the two doomed men stepped out; instantly a tempest of rifle balls opened upon them, and Logan's companion rapidly reasoning himself into the belief that he was not so ready to die as he had believed, bolted back into the station. Not so his noble-hearted leader. Alone, through that tempest, he sprang forward to where the wounded man lay, and while his hat, hunting-shirt, and hair were cut and torn by the ceaseless shower, he lifted his comrade like a child in his arms, and regained the fort without a scratch.

But this rescue of a fellow-being, though worthy of record in immortal verse, was nothing compared with what this same Benjamin Logan did soon after. The Indians continued their siege; still they made no impression, but the garrison were running short of powder and ball, and none could be procured except by crossing the mountains. To do this, the neighboring forest must be passed, thronging with Indians, and a journey of some hundreds of miles accomplished, along a path, every portion of which might be waylaid, and at least the fort must be re-entered with the articles so much needed. Surely, if ever an enterprise seemed hopeless, it was this one, and yet the thing must be tried. Logan pondered the matter carefully; he calculated the distance, not less than four hundred miles and back; he estimated the aid from other quarters; and in the silence of night asked wisdom and guidance from God. Nor did he ask in vain; wisdom was given him.

At night, with two picked companions, he stole from the station, every breath hushed. The summer leaves were thick above them, and with the profoundest care and skill, Logan guided his followers from tree to tree, from run to run, unseen by the savages, who dreamed not, probably, of so dangerous an undertaking. Quickly, but most cautiously, pushing eastward, walking forty or fifty miles a day, the three woodsmen passed onward till the Cumberland range was in sight; then, avoiding the Gap, which they supposed would be watched by Indians, over those rugged hills, where man had never climbed before, they forced their way with untiring energy and a rapidity to us, degenerate as we are, inconceivable. The mountains crossed, and the valley of the Holston reached, Logan procured his ammunition, and then turned alone on his homeward track, leaving his two companions, with full directions, to follow him more slowly with the lead and powder. He returned before them, because he wished to revive the hopes of his little garrison in the wilderness, numbering, as it did, in his absence, only ten men, and they without the means of defence. He feared they would yield, if he delayed an hour; so, back, like a chamois, he sped, over those broken and precipitous ranges, and actually reached and re-entered his fort in ten days from the time he left it, safe and full of hope. Such a spirit would have made even women dare and do every thing, and by his influence the siege was still resisted till the ammunition came safe to hand. From May till September that little band was thus beset: then Colonel Bowman relieved them. In the midst of that summer, as George Rogers Clark's journal has it, "Lieutenant Linn was married—great merriment!" This was at Harrodsburg, near by Logan's station. Such was the frontier life!

It was a trying year, 1777, for those little forts in the wilderness. At the close of it, three settlements only existed in the interior. Harrodsburg, Boonesborough, and Logan's;* and, of these three, the whole military population was but one hundred and two in number!

Nor was it in Kentucky alone that the Indians were busy. Through the spring and summer constant attacks were made upon the settlements in the neighborhood of Wheeling. At this point, as we have already said, the Zanes had settled in 1770,

*See Butler, Marshall, McClung, &c.

and here, in 1774, Connolly, or the settlers, by his direction, had built a fort called Fort Fincastle,* the name of the western county of Virginia. In this a body of men was left by Lord Dunmore, when he made his treaty with the Shawanese,† and through the whole of 1775 and 1776 it was occupied by more or fewer soldiers; indeed, in those times all men were soldiers, and hostility from the Indians daily anticipated. This fort, in 1776, was called, in honor of the eloquent governor of Virginia, Fort Henry,‡ and was the central point between Fort Pitt and the works at the mouth of Kanawha. In the early autumn of 1777, word from friendly Indians, perhaps the Christian Delawares, of the Muskingum, or perhaps from Isaac Zane, the brother of the Wheeling settlers,§ reached General Hand, who commanded at Fort Pitt, informing him that a large body of the north-western Indians was preparing to attack the posts of the Upper Ohio. This news was quickly spread abroad, and all were watching where the blow would come. On the evening of September 26, smoke was seen by those near Wheeling, down the river, and was supposed to proceed from the burning of the block-house at Grave Creek, and the people of the vicinity taking the alarm, betook themselves to the fort. Within its walls were forty-two fighting men, of various ages and gifts: These were well supplied with guns, both rifles and muskets, but had only a scanty supply of gunpowder, as the event proved. The night of the 26th passed without alarm, but when, very early upon the 27th, two men, who were sent out for horses, in order to alarm the settlements near by, had proceeded some distance from the fort, they met a party of six savages, by whom one of them was shot. The commandant of the post, Col. Shepherd, learning from the survivor that there were but six of the assailants, sent a party of fifteen men to see to them. These were suffered to march after the six, who seem to have been merely a decoy, until they were within the Indian lines, when, suddenly, in front, behind, and on every side, the painted warriors showed themselves. The little band fought bravely against incalculable

*George R. Clark is said to have planted it. (American Pioneer, ii. 393.)

† American Archives, 4th series, ii. 1139.

‡ American Pioneer, ii. 304.

§ Isaac Zane was with the Wyandots from the time he was nine years old. American State Papers, xvi, 93--121.

odds, but of the fifteen, three only escaped, and they by means of the brush and logs which were in the corn field, where the skirmish took place. As soon as the position of the first band was seen at the fort, thirteen others rushed to their assistance, and shared their fate. Then, and it was not yet sunrise, the whole body of Indians, disposed in somewhat martial order, appeared regularly to invest the devoted fort. There were nearly four hundred of them, and of the defenders but twelve men and boys; unless, indeed, we count women, *than whom, as we shall see, none were braver or calmer within the walls of that little fortress.*

The Indians were led by Simon Girty, who was acting as an agent for the British in the attempt to secure the aid of a part, at any rate, of the frontier men, in the Revolutionary struggle.

Fort Henry stood immediately upon the bank of the Ohio, about a quarter of a mile above the mouth of Wheeling Creek; between it and the steep river hill, which every traveler in the West is acquainted with, were twenty or thirty log huts. When Girty, then, as we have said, led his red troops against the fort, he at once took possession of the houses of the village as a safe and ready-made line of attack, and from the window of one of the cabins called upon the little garrison to surrender to King George, and promised absolution to all who would do so. Col. Shepherd answered at once that they would neither desert nor yield; and when Girty recommenced his eloquence, a shot from some impatient listener suddenly stopped his mouth. Then commenced the siege. It was just sunrise in the valley, through which the quiet river flowed as peacefully as if war was never known. A calm, warm, bright September day—one of those days most lovely among the many pleasant ones of a year in the Ohio valley. And from sunrise till noon, and from noon till night of that day, the hundreds of besiegers and units of besieged about and within Fort Henry, ceased not to load and discharge musket or rifle till it was too hot to hold. About noon the fire of the assailants slackened, and then, as powder was scarce in the fort, and it was remembered that a keg was concealed in the house of Ebenezer Zane, some sixty yards distant, it was determined to make an effort to obtain it. When the question "Who will go?" was proposed, however, so many competitors appeared

that time was wasted in adjusting claims to what was almost sure death. The rest of the story we must let Mr. George S. McKiernan, from whom we take our whole account nearly, tell in his own words:

At this crisis, a young lady, the sister of Ebenezer and Silas Zane, came forward and desired that she might be permitted to execute the service. This proposition seemed so extravagant that it met with a peremptory refusal; but she instantly renewed her petition in terms of redoubled earnestness, and all the remonstrances of the Colonel and her relatives failed to dissuade her from her heroic purpose. It was finally represented to her that either of the young men, on account of his superior fleetness and familiarity with scenes of danger, would be more likely than herself to do the work successfully. She replied that the danger which would attend the enterprise was the identical reason that induced her to offer her services, for, as the garrison was very weak, no soldier's life should be placed in needless jeopardy, and that, if she were to fall, the loss would not be felt. Her petition was ultimately granted, and the gate opened for her to pass out. The opening of the gate arrested the attention of several Indians who were straggling through the village. It was noticed that their eyes were upon her as she crossed the open space to reach her brother's house; but seized, perhaps with a sudden freak of clemency, or believing that a woman's life was not worth a load of gunpowder, or influenced by some other unexplained motive, they permitted her to pass without molestation. When she reappeared with the powder in her arms, the Indians suspecting, no doubt, the character of her burden, elevated their firelocks and discharged a volley at her as she swiftly glided towards the gate; but the balls flew wide of the mark and the fearless girl reached the fort in safety with her prize.*

The allies of Britain, finding rifles powerless when used against well-built block-houses and pickets, determined upon trying an extemporary cannon, and having bound a hollow maple with chains, having bored a touch hole, and plugged up one end, they loaded it liberally and leveled it at the gate of the impregnable castle. It was now evening, and the disappointed Wyandots gathered about their artillery, longing to see its loading of stones open to them the door of the American citadel. The match was applied; bursting into a thousand pieces, the cannon of Girty tore, maimed, and killed his copper-colored kinsfolk, but hurt no one else.†

* See American Pioneer, vol. ii. p, 309.

† This incident, and the heroic act of Elizabeth Zane, are placed by Withers in the siege of Fort Henry in 1782, (Border Warfare, 263–264.) We follow the writer in the Pioneer, who is represented as an accurate man; Withers was not always so.

During that night many of the assailants withdrew disheartened. On the morning of the 28th, fifteen men came from Cross Creek to the aid of Fort Henry, and forty-one from Short Creek. Of these all entered the fort except Major McColloch, the leader of the Short Creek volunteers. He was separated from his men, and at the mercy of the natives, and here again we prefer to use the words of Mr. McKiernan:

From the very commencement of the war, his reputation as an Indian hunter was as great, if not greater, than that of any white man on the north-western border. He had participated in so many rencounters that almost every warrior possessed a knowledge of his person. Among the Indians his name was a word of terror; they cherished against him feelings of the most phrenzied hatred, and there was not a Mingo or Wyandot chief before Fort Henry who would not have given the lives of twenty of his warriors to secure to himself the living body of Major McColloch. When, therefore, the man, whom they had long marked out as the first object of their vengeance, appeared in their midst, they made almost superhuman efforts to acquire possession of his person. The fleetness of McColloch's well-trained steed was scarcely greater than that of his enemies, who, with flying strides, moved on in pursuit. At length the hunter reached the top of the hill, and, turning to the left, darted along the ridge with the intention of making the best of his way to Short Creek. A ride of a few hundred yards in that direction brought him suddenly in contact with a party of Indians who were returning to their camp from a marauding excursion to Mason's Bottom, on the eastern side of the hill. This party, being too formidable in numbers to encounter single-handed, the Major turned his horse about and rode over his own trace, in the hope of discovering some other avenue to escape. A few paces only of his countermarch had been made, when he found himself confronted by his original pursuers, who had, by this time, gained the top of the ridge, and a third party was discovered pressing up the hill directly on his right. He was now completely hemmed in on three sides, and the fourth was almost a perpendicular precipice of one hundred and fifty feet descent, with Wheeling Creek at its base. The imminence of his danger allowed him but little time to reflect upon his situation. In an instant he decided upon his course. Supporting his rifle in his left hand and carefully adjusting his reins with the other, he urged his horse to the brink of the bluff, and then made the leap which decided his fate. In the next moment the noble steed, still bearing his intrepid rider in safety, was at the foot of the precipice. McColloch immediately dashed across the creek, and was soon beyond the reach of the Indians.*

* American Pioneer, vol. ii. p. 312.

Finding all attempts to take the fort fruitless, the Indians killed all the stock, including more than three hundred cattle, burned houses and fences, and destroyed every article of furniture.

Of the forty-two men who had been in the fort, twenty-five were killed, *all outside of the walls;* of the savages, probably one hundred perished.*

[The Zanes, and a number of other families, came from the South branch of the Potomac, and located themselves on the site of Wheeling, in 1769. Of the number were Capt. Joseph Ogle and his brother Jacob Ogle. The latter was mortally wounded in the siege of Fort Henry, and the former, with twelve men, went out to the rescue of Captain Mason, who had been dispatched with fourteen men, by Colonel Shepherd, to drive the Indians from the corn-field, where they were secreted.

The self-devoted band under Captain Ogle, in their eagerness to relieve their fellow-soldiers under Mason, fell into an ambuscade, and two-thirds of their number were slain on the spot. The fort now contained but thirteen men and boys, with a large number of women and children, when Girty and his four hundred Indians entered the village and called on them to surrender. Captain Ogle escaped in the brush wood, ran to the nearest settlement, rallied Major McColloch, and the men of Short Creek, and accompanied them next morning to the fort. In this manner the garrison was saved.

Captain Ogle, in 1785, emigrated to the Illinois country, where he was one of its bravest defenders, and has left a numerous posterit .†

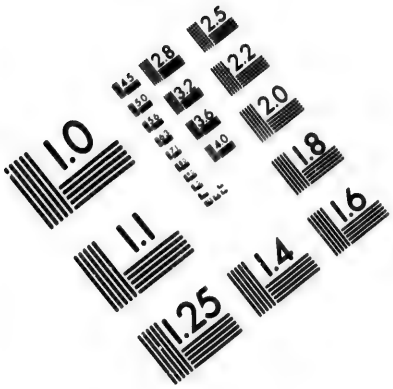
As Simon Girty will figure in the Annals as a leader in the marauding enterprises of the Indians, and as a partisan of the British, it will be interesting to the reader to have some particulars of his history and that of his family and associates. We copy from the life of Boone, in the Library of American Biography, vol. xxiii.

"Amongst the Indians north-west of the Ohio, were two

* See Withers' Border Warfare, 160. American Pioneer, ii. 302–314–339. The usual date of the attack is September 1. Mr. McKiernan gives good authority for his dates, which we follow.

† How's Virginia, pp. 409–413. See Appendix, Illinois.





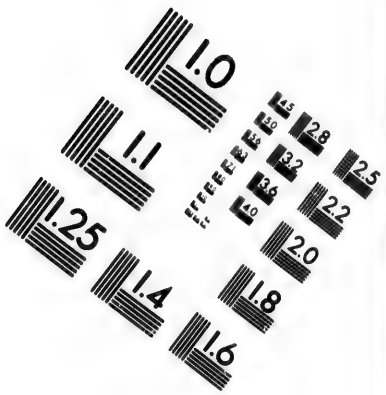
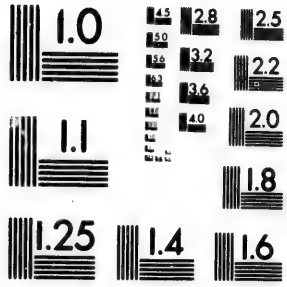
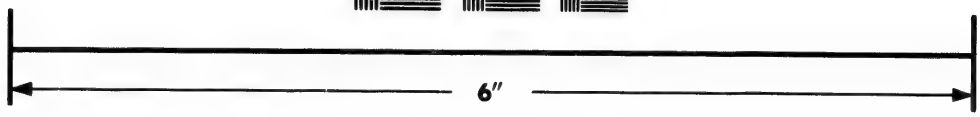
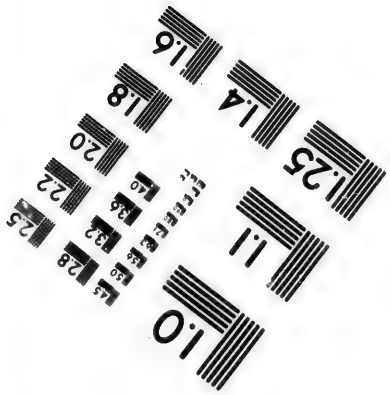
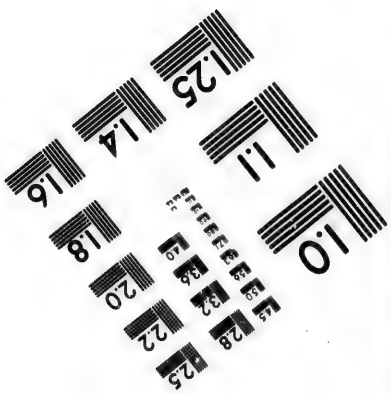


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white men of the names of McKee and Girty, whose agency and influence were most disastrous to the frontier settlements. Colonel McKee was the official agent of the British government, and obtained great influence over the tribes of the north-west, and had an infamous notoriety for the atrocities committed under his sanction, and the success of his intrigues. His name must ever remain associated with the darkest deeds recorded in the annals of the West. Doubtless, the barbarities committed on the defenceless inhabitants, and even on prisoners in his presence and by his sanction, have been exaggerated by rumor, and magnified by the resentment of those who have suffered by his cruelties; yet enough appears of known official conduct, attested by American officers of high station, and by witnesses of unimpeachable character, to blast his reputation, and cause his name to be held in abhorrence."

Simon Girty was a native of Pennsylvania, a soldier and spy under Lord Dunmore, and a companion of Simon Kenton in the campaign of 1774. He had three brothers, George, James and Thomas. Girty, their father, was an emigrant from Ireland, and settled in Pennsylvania, where he became idle, thriftless, and intemperate. He was killed by Indians, according to some accounts, but according to others, by his wife's seducer, who subsequently married her. In 1755, their home was attacked by the Indians, burnt, and the whole family taken prisoners. The husband and step-father was burnt at the stake in their presence, and the mother and four brothers scattered among the north-western tribes.

Thomas made his escape, fell in with General Armstrong, and got back to Western Pennsylvania, where he settled and lived a worthy citizen to the close of his life, which took place in 1820, in the ninetieth year of his age.

George was adopted by the Delawares, and lived with them until his death. He became a perfect savage, and to consummate cunning he added fearless intrepidity. He fought in the battles of Point Pleasant, Blue Licks and Sandusky. He was beastly intemperate in the latter part of his life, and died about 1818, on the Maumee of the Lake.

James fell into the hands of the Shawanese, who adopted him as a son, and trained him in all the arts of savage warfare. His repeated visits to Kentucky as the leader of marauding parties, were a terrible scourge to the people, for he was bloodthirsty, cruel, ferocious and hard-hearted. Many of his barbarous deeds were attributed to his brother Simon.

Yet this monster was caressed by Elliott and Proctor in the war of 1812.

The family were exchanged in 1758, at Gen. Forbes' treaty, but only the mother and Simon returned.

Simon had been adopted by the Senecas, and became an expert hunter, and after his return, was for a time in Western Pennsylvania. He left that region at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, being a decided tory. He joined the Indians and often led their marauding parties. His residence was at Sandusky, where he kept a trading-house. Here he witnessed the burning of Colonel Crawford, and there is some evidence, that he made an unsuccessful effort to save his life.

Here he saved the life of Simon Kenton, after he was tied to the stake, for they were fellow soldiers in Dunmore's war, and "shared the same blanket." His friendship to the Indians and British, and his hatred to the United States, continued through life.

When intoxicated, which was frequent, he was violent and abusive, and spared neither friend or foe. During the last ten years of his life he suffered much from rheumatism. He was in the war of 1812, was at Proctor's defeat on the river Thames, and was killed by Col. Johnson's mounted men."*

* American Pioneer, ii. 302–314. Incidents of Border Life, p. 133. Howe's Virginia, pp. 409–413.

CHAPTER VII.

CONQUEST OF ILLINOIS.

Proposition of Col. Clark to the Governor of Virginia—Private instructions by the Council—Raises troops in the West—Expedition to the Illinois country—Kaskaskia and Cahokia taken—Post Vincent surrendered—Indian Treaties—Vincennes retaken by Colonel Hamilton—Col. Clark's Expedition to Vincennes and success—Hamilton a prisoner and sent to Virginia—The results to the United States.

But, notwithstanding the dangers and difficulties which surrounded them during 1777, the pioneers of the West held steadily to their purposes, and those of Kentucky being now a component part of the citizens of Virginia, proceeded to exercise their civil privileges, and, in April, elected John Todd and Richard Callaway, burgesses to represent them in the Assembly of the parent State. Early in the following September, the first court was held at Harrodsburg; and Col. Bowman, who, as we have mentioned, had arrived from the settlements in August, was placed at the head of a regular military organization which had been commenced the March previous. Thus, within herself, feeble as she was, Kentucky was organizing; and George Rogers Clark, her chief spirit, he that had represented her beyond the mountains the year before, was meditating another trip to Williamsburg, for the purpose of urging a bolder and more decided measure than any yet proposed. He understood the whole game of the British. He saw that it was through their possession of Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, and the other western posts—which gave them easy and constant access to the Indian tribes of the north-west—that the British hoped to effect such an union of the wild men as would annihilate the frontier fortresses. He knew that the Delawares were divided in feeling, and the Shawanese but imperfectly united in favor of England, ever since the murder of Cornstalk. He was convinced, that could the British in the north-west be defeated and expelled, the natives might be easily awed or bribed into neutrality; and by spies sent for the purpose, and who were absent from April

20, to June 22d, he had satisfied himself that an enterprise against the Illinois settlements might easily succeed. Having made up his mind, on the 1st of October, he left Harrodsburg for the East, and reached the capital of Virginia, November the 5th. Opening his mind to no one, he watched with care the state of feeling among those in power, waiting the proper moment to present his scheme. Fortunately, while he was upon his road, on the 17th of October, Burgoyne had surrendered, and hope was again predominant in the American councils. When, therefore, the Western soldier, upon the 10th of December, broke the subject of his proposed expedition against the forts on the far distant Mississippi, to Patrick Henry, who was still governor, he met with a favorable hearing; and, though doubts and fears arose by degrees, yet so well digested were his plans, that he was able to meet each objection, and remove every seeming impossibility. Already the necessity of securing the western posts had been presented to the consideration of Congress; as early as April 29, 1776, the committee on Indian Affairs were instructed to report upon the possibility of taking Detroit;* and, again, upon the 20th of November, 1777, a report was made to that body, in which this necessity was urged, and also the need that existed, of taking some measure to prevent the spirit of disaffection from spreading among the frontier inhabitants.† Three Commissioners, also, were chosen to go to Fort Pitt, for the purpose of enquiring into the causes of the frontier difficulties, and doing what could be done, to secure all the whites to the American cause, to cultivate the friendship of the Shawanese and Delawares, and to concert with General Hand, some measures for pushing the war westward, so as to obtain possession of Detroit and other posts. General Washington was also requested to send Colonel William Crawford, an old pioneer, to take active command in the West; and he accordingly left head quarters upon the 25th. All this ended in nothing, but it proved the correctness of Clark's views, and aided, we may suppose, in convincing those who ruled in the Ancient Dominion, that their glory and interest, as well as the safety of the whole frontier country, were deeply involved in the success of the bold plan of the founder of Kentucky.

* Secret Journals, i. 43.

† Old Journals, vol. ii. p. 340.

[We purposely omit the annals of the early settlements of Illinois, that we may give them in consecutive order, with many facts in detail in our Appendix.]

Clark, having satisfied the Virginia leaders of the feasibility of his plan, received, on the 2d of January, two sets of instructions—the one open, authorising him to enlist seven companies to go to Kentucky, subject to his orders, and to serve for three months from their arrival in the West; the other set secret, and drawn as follows:

VIRGINIA: Sct. In Council, Williamsburg, Jan. 2d., 1778.

Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark:

You are to proceed, with all convenient speed, to raise seven companies of soldiers, to consist of fifty men each, officered in the usual manner, and armed most properly for the enterprize; and with this force attack the British force at Kaskasky.

It is conjectured, that there are many pieces of cannon and military stores, to considerable amount at that place; the taking and preservation of which, would be a valuable acquisition to the State. If you are so fortunate, therefore, as to succeed in your expedition, you will take every possible measure to secure the artillery and stores, and whatever may advantage the State.

For the transportation of the troops, provisions, &c., down the Ohio, you are to apply to the commanding officer at Fort Pitt, for boats; and, during the whole transaction, you are to take especial care to keep the true destination of your force secret: its success depends upon this. Orders are, therefore, given to Capt. Smith to secure the two men from Kaskasky. Similar conduct will be proper in similar cases.

It is earnestly desired that you show humanity to such British subjects, and other persons, as fall in your hands. If the white inhabitants at that post and neighborhood, will give undoubted evidence of their attachment to this State, (for it is certain they live within its limits,) by taking the test prescribed by law, and by every other way and means in their power, let them be treated as fellow-citizens, and their persons and property duly secured. Assistance and protection against all enemies whatever, shall be afforded them; and the Commonwealth of Virginia is pledged to accomplish it. But, if these people will not accede to these reasonable demands, they must feel the miseries of war, under the direction of that humanity that has hitherto distinguished Americans, and which, it is expected, you will ever consider as the rule of your conduct, and from which you are, in no instance, to depart.

The corps you are to command, are to receive the pay and allowance of militia, and to act under the laws and regulations of this State, now in force, as militia. The inhabitants at this post will be informed by you, that in case they accede to the offers of becoming citizens of this Commonwealth, a proper garrison will be maintained among them, and every attention bestowed to render their commerce beneficial; the fairest prospects being opened to the dominions of both France and Spain.

It is in contemplation to establish a post near the mouth of the Ohio. Cannon will be wanted to fortify it. Part of those at Kaskasky will be easily brought thither, or otherwise secured, as circumstances will make necessary.

You are to apply to General Hand, at Pittsburgh, for powder and lead, necessary for this expedition. If he can't supply it, the person who has that which Captain Lynn brought from New Orleans can. Lead was sent to Hampshire by my orders, and that may be delivered you. Wishing you success, I am, Sir, your humble servant,* P. HENRY.

With these instructions, and twelve hundred pounds in the depreciated currency of the time, Colonel Clark, (for such was now his title,) on the 4th of February, started for Pittsburgh. It had been thought best to raise the troops needed, beyond the mountains, as the colonies were in want of all the soldiers they could muster east of the Alleghanies, to defend themselves against the British forces. Clark, therefore, proposed to enlist men about Pittsburgh, while Major W. B. Smith, for the same purpose, went to the Holston, and other officers to other points. None, however, succeeded as they hoped to; at Pittsburgh, Clark found great opposition to the intention of carrying men away to defend the outposts in Kentucky, while their own citadel and the whole region about it, were threatened by the savage allies of England; and Smith, though he nominally succeeded in raising four companies, was unable, essentially, to aid his superior officer after all. With three companies and several private adventurers, Clark, at length, commenced his descent of the Ohio, which he navigated as far as the Falls, where he took possession of, and fortified, Corn Island, opposite to the spot now occupied by Louisville. At this place, he appointed Colonel Bowman to meet him with such recruits as had reached Kentucky by the southern route, and as many men as could be spared from the stations. Here also, he announced to the men, their real destination.

*See Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 489.

[He was joined on Corn Island by Captain Bowman, and a company from Kentucky, under Captain Dillard. His principal officers were Captains Bowman, Helm, Harrod, Montgomery and Dillard; and he daily expected a reinforcement from the Holston country, under Major Smith, which failed. He now disclosed to his troops that their point of destination was Kaskaskia, in the Illinois country. The project met the enthusiastic approbation of his men, except the company from Kentucky under Captain Dillard; a large part of which, with the Lieutenant, on the morning appointed for starting, the worthy Captain had the mortification to find, had waded the river and deserted. They were pursued in the morning, overtaken in the woods, about twenty miles from the Falls, eight taken back, and the rest, wandered about in the woods for some weeks, where they suffered greater deprivations and hardships than their comrades who had gone on the expedition, before they got shelter in a fort.*]

Having waited until his arrangements were all completed, and those chosen, who were to be of the invading party, on the 24th of June, during a total eclipse of the sun, with four companies he left his position and fell down the river. His plan was to follow the Ohio as far as the fort known as Fort Massac, and thence to go by land direct to Kaskaskia. His troops took no other baggage than they could carry in the Indian fashion, and, for his success, he trusted entirely to surprise. If he failed, his plan was to cross the Mississippi, and throw himself into the Spanish settlements on the west of that river. Before he commenced his march, he received two pieces of information of which he made good use at the proper time, by means of which, he conquered the West without bloodshed. One of these important items was the alliance of France with the colonies; this, at once, made the American side popular with the French and Indians of Illinois and the lakes; France having never lost her hold upon her ancient subjects and allies, and England having never secured their confidence. The other item was, that the inhabitants of Kaskaskia, and other old towns, had been led by the British to believe that the Long Knives, or Virginians, were the most fierce, cruel, and blood-thirsty savages that ever scalped a foe. With this impression on their minds, Clark saw that proper

*Clark's Journal—Butler's Kentucky. p. 49.

management would readily dispose them to submit from fear, if surprised, and then to become friendly from gratitude, when treated with unlooked for clemency.

[Near the mouth of the Tennessee river, he found John Duff, with a party of hunters, who had recently come from Kaskaskia, and who could give him important information. They reported that M. Rocheblave was the commander; that the militia, (chiefly French citizens) were kept in good discipline; that spies were stationed along the Mississippi; that a rumor had reached Kaskaskia that the "Long-Knives"* had projected an attack, and that the hunters and Indians had received orders to keep watch, and report if any American troops were coming that way. The fort near the town was kept in order as a place of retreat if the village was attacked, but it had no regular garrison. The hunters offered to return with Clark, and one John Saunders was employed as a guide.

The party landed near the old site of Fort Massac, and secured their boats in the mouth of a small creek. Heavy rains had fallen, succeeded by hot, sultry weather. Their route lay through a wilderness without a path. Cypress swamps, ponds, and deep, muddy, sluggish streams had to be forded. Their success depended on a secret and rapid march through the woods and prairies. For most part of the route, the game on which they relied for subsistence was scarce, and to send out hunting parties would expose them to discovery. On the prairies, a July sun beat on them and water was scarce. The distance, as they traveled, was over one hundred miles. On the third day the guide got so bewildered that he could not direct their course. A suspicion arose amongst the men that he designed to betray them, and they earnestly demanded that he should be put to death! He begged that under a guard he might go a short distance into the prairie and try to find his course. In an hour or two, the poor fellow exclaimed, "I know that point of timber," and pointed out the direction of Kaskaskia. It was on the *Fourth of July*, 1778, that this party of invaders, with their garments torn and soiled, and their beards of three weeks' growth, approached the town, and secreted themselves among the hills east of the Kaskaskia river. Clark sent forward his spies to

*The Indians and French of Illinois, called the New Englanders "*Bostonais*," and the Virginians "*Long-Knives*."

watch the proceedings of the people, and after dark put his troops in motion and took possession of a house, where a family lived, about three quarters of a mile above town. Here they found boats and canoes. The troops were divided into three parties, two of which were ordered to cross the river, while the other, under the immediate command of Col. Clark, took possession of the Fort.

Kaskaskia then contained about two hundred and fifty houses. Persons who could speak the French language, were ordered to pass through the streets and make proclamation, that all the inhabitants must keep within their houses, under penalty of being shot down in the streets.

The few British officers, who had visited these French colonies since the commencement of the rebellion of their Atlantic colonies, as they termed the Revolution, had told the most exaggerated stories about the brutality and ferocity of the "Long-Knives;"—that they would not only take the property of the people, but would butcher, in a most horrible manner, men, women and children! The policy of these stories was to excite in the minds of these simple-hearted French people the most fearful apprehensions against the colonists, that they might be watchful and be prepared for a determined resistance, should any attempt be made on these remote posts. These stories were a stimulus to the French traders to supply the Indians with guns, ammunition and scalping-knives, to aid their depredations on the settlements of Kentucky.

Colonel Clark gained this intelligence from the hunters, and in his Journal says, "I was determined to improve upon this, if I was fortunate enough to get them into my possession; as I conceived the greater the shock I could give them at first, the more sensibly would they feel my lenity, and become more valuable friends."*

Few men have had a quicker and keener sagacity than Clark. His plan was to produce a terrible panic and then capture the town without bloodshed, and well did he succeed.

The two parties, having crossed the river, entered the quiet and unsuspecting village at both extremes, yelling in the most furious manner, while those who made the proclamation in French, ordered the people into their houses on pain

*Clark's Journal in Dillon's Indians, i. p. 137.

of instant death. In a moment, men, women and children were screaming, "*les long Couteaux!—les long Couteaux!*" *the Long-Knives!—the Long-Knives!*

In about two hours after the surprise of the town, the inhabitants had all surrendered and delivered up their arms to the conqueror. Not a drop of blood had been shed, though the victory was complete. The whole management displayed in a most admirable manner, what the French style *ruse de guerre*, the policy of war. M. Rocheblave, the Governor, was taken in his chamber; but his public papers and documents were admirably concealed or destroyed by his wife.

Throughout the night the Virginia troops were ordered to patrol the streets, with yells and whoopings after the Indian fashion, which, though exceedingly alarming to the conquered inhabitants, was a stratagem of Clark to accomplish his purposes.

One of the richest and most distinguished citizens of Kaskaskia at that period, was M. Cerre, said by Col. Clark to have been a most bitter enemy to the Americans. In this, probably, he was misinformed. None of the French families in Illinois were particularly friendly to the government of Great Britain. But, probably, M. Cerre had partaken of the feelings of his townsmen concerning the "Long-Knives." He had long been a successful trader, but had left the place before the arrival of the Americans, and was then at St. Louis on his way to Quebec.

The commander at once determined to bring him and all his influence to the side of the American interest. Accordingly he took possession of his house and extensive stock of merchandize and placed a guard over the property. Another stratagem was to prevent all intercourse between his own men and the citizens, and to admit none of the latter to his presence except by positive command for them to appear before him; or, apparently, in great condescension, when urgently solicited, to grant audience to some humble petitioner. By this course of policy he contrived, at first, to confirm all the worst suspicions the British had instilled into the minds of the simple villagers, of the ferocity of the "Long-Knives," and, then, by undeceiving them to produce a revulsion of feelings, and gain their unlimited confidence. In this he was completely successful. The town was in possession of an enemy,

the inhabitants had been taught were the most ferocious and brutal of all men, and of whom they entertained the most horrible apprehensions, and all intercourse was strictly prohibited between each other, and the conquerors. After five days the troops were removed to the outskirts of the town, and the citizens were permitted to walk in the streets. But finding them engaged in conversation, one with another, Col. Clark ordered some of the officers to be put in irons, without assigning a single reason, or permitting a word of defence. This singular display of despotic power in the conqueror, did not spring from a cruel disposition, or a disregard to the principles of liberty, but it was the course of policy he had marked out to gain his object.

Of all commanders, perhaps, Col. Clark had the readiest and clearest insight into human nature. The effect of this stretch of military power, at first, was to fill the inhabitants with consternation and dismay.

After some time M. Gibault, the parish priest, got permission to wait on Colonel Clark, with five or six elderly gentlemen.

If the inhabitants of the town were filled with astonishment at the suddenness of their captivity, these men were far more astonished at the personal appearance of Clark and his soldiers.

Their clothes were dirty and torn (for they had no change of apparel)—their beards of three and four weeks' growth, and, as Clark states in his Journal, they looked more frightful and disgusting than savages.

Some minutes passed before the deputation could speak, and then they felt at a loss whom they should address as commandant, for they saw no difference in the personal appearance between the chieftain and his men.

Finally, the priest, in the most submissive tone and posture, remarked, that the inhabitants expected to be separated, perhaps never to meet again, and they begged through him, as a great favor from their conqueror, to be permitted to assemble in the church, offer up their prayers to God for their souls, and take leave of each other!

The commander observed, with apparent carelessness, that the Americans did not trouble themselves about the religion of others, but left every man to worship God as he pleased, that

they might go to church if they wished, but on no account must a single person leave the town. All further conversation was repelled, and they were sent away, rather abruptly, that the alarm might be raised to the highest pitch.

The whole population assembled in the church, as for the last time, mournfully chaunted their prayers, and bid each other farewell—never expecting to meet again in this world! But so much did they regard this as a favor, that the priest and deputation returned from the church to the lodgings of Col. Clark, and in the name of the people expressed thanks for the indulgence they had received. They then begged leave to address their conqueror upon their separation and their lives. They claimed not to know the origin or nature of the contest between Great Britain and the colonies. What they had done had been in subjection to the British commanders, whom they were constrained to obey. They were willing to submit to the loss of all their property as the fate of war, but they begged they might not be separated from their families, and that clothes and provisions might be allowed them barely sufficient for their present necessities.

Col. Clark had now gained the object of his artful manœuvre. He saw their fears were raised to the highest pitch, and he abruptly thus addressed them :—

"Who do you take me to be? Do you think we are savages—that we intend to massacre you all? Do you think Americans will strip women and children, and take the bread out of their mouths? My countrymen," said the gallant Colonel, "never make war upon the innocent! It was to protect our own wives and children that we have penetrated this wilderness, to subdue these British posts, from whence the savages are supplied with arms and ammunition to murder us. We do not war against Frenchmen. The King of France, your former master, is our ally. His ships and soldiers are fighting for the Americans. The French are our firm friends. Go, and enjoy your religion and worship when you please. Retain your property—and now please to inform all your citizens from me that they are quite at liberty to conduct themselves as usual, and dismiss all apprehensions of alarm. We are your friends, and come to deliver you from the British."

This speech produced a revulsion of feelings better im-

gined than described. The news soon spread throughout the village, the bell rang a merry peal, the people, with the priest, again assembled in the church, *Te Deum* was loudly sung, and the most uproarious joy prevailed throughout the night. The people were now allowed all the liberty they could desire. All now cheerfully acknowledged Col. Clark as the commandant of the country.

An expedition was now planned against Cahokia, and Maj. Bowman with his detachment, mounted on French ponies, was ordered to surprise that post. Several Kaskaskia gentlemen offered their services to proceed ahead, notify the Cahokians of the change of government, and prepare them to give the Americans a cordial reception. The plan was entirely successful, and the post was subjugated without the disaster of a battle. Indeed, there were not a dozen British soldiers in the garrison.

In all their intercourse with the citizens, Col. Clark instructed his men to speak of a large army encamped at the Falls of the Ohio, which would soon overrun and subjugate all the British posts in the West, and that Post Vincent would be invaded by a detachment from this army. He soon learned from the French that Governor Abbott was gone to Detroit, and that the defence was left with the citizens, who were mostly French. M. Gibault, the priest, readily undertook an embassy to the Post, and to bring over the people to the American interests without the trouble and expense of an invasion. This was also successful, and in a few days the American Flag was displayed on the fort, and Captain Helm appointed to the command, much to the surprise and consternation of the neighboring Indians.

M. Gibault and party, with several gentlemen from Vincennes, returned to Kaskaskia about the first of August with the joyful intelligence.

The reduction of these posts was the period of the enlistment of the men, and Colonel Clark was at a loss to know how to act, as his instructions were vague and general. To abandon the country now, was to loose the immense advantages gained, and the commander, never at a loss for expedients, opened a new enlistment, and engaged his own men on a new establishment, and he issued commissions for French officers in the country to command a company of

the inhabitants. He then established a garrison at Cahokia, commanded by Capt. Bowman; and another at Kaskaskia, commanded by Capt. Williams. Capt. William Linn took charge of a party that was to be discharged when they arrived at the Falls, (Louisville) and orders were sent to remove the station from Corn Island, and erect a fort on the main land, and a stockade fort was erected.

Capt. John Montgomery, in charge of M. Rocheblave, the late British commander, and as bearer of dispatches, was sent with a corps of men to Virginia.

For the command of Post Vincent, he chose Capt. Leonard Helm, in whom he reposed great confidence. Capt. Helm had much knowledge and experience in Indian character, and Col. Clark appointed him agent for Indian affairs in the department of the Wabash. About the middle of August, he went out to take possession of his new command.

At that period, an Indian of the Piankashaw tribe that had their principal village near Vincennes, possessed great influence among his people. He was known by the name of "Big Gate," or "Big Door," and called by the Indians, "The Grand Door to the Wabash," because nothing could be done by the Indian confederacy on the Wabash without his approbation. His father, who had been known as "Tobacco," or, more commonly, "Old Tobac," sent him "a spirited compliment by Priest Gibault, who had influence with these Indians. Big Door returned it. Next followed a regular "talk," with a belt of wampum.

Captain Helm arrived safe at Vincennes, and was received with acclamation by the people, and soon sent the "talk" and the wampum to the Grand Door. These Indians had been under British influence, and had done no small mischief to the frontier settlements. The proud and pompous chief was taken with the courtesy of the shrewd Captain, and sent him a message that he was glad to see one of the Big Knife chiefs in town; that here he joined the English against the Big Knives, but he long thought they "looked a little gloomy;" that he must consult his counsellors, take time to deliberate, and hoped the Captain of the Big Knives would be patient. After several days of very constant and ceremonious proceedings, the Captain was invited to council by Old Tobac, who played quite a subordinate part to his son.

After the customary display of Indian eloquence, about the sky having been dark, and the clouds now had been brushed away, the Grand Door announced "that his ideas were quite changed"—and the Big Knives was in the right,"—"and that he would tell all the red people on the Wabash to bloody the land no more for the English."

"He jumped up, struck his breast, called himself a man and a warrior, said that he was now a Big Knife, and took Capt. Helm by the hand. His example was followed by all present."*

This was a most fortunate alliance, for, in a short time, all the tribes along the Wabash, as high as the Ouiatenon, came to Post Vincennes and followed the example of the Great Door chief, and the interests of the British lost ground daily in all the villages south of lake Michigan.

The French citizens at the different posts, enlisted warmly in the American cause.

Captain Montgomery reached Williamsburg, then the seat of government in the "Old Dominion," with Mr. Rocheblave, the Governor of Illinois, a prisoner of war, and the dispatches of Colonel Clark, announcing that the British posts were captured, and the vast territory of the north-west subjugated. Only four persons had known the real destination of Clark when he left the seat of government at the commencement of the year. These were the Governor, Patrick Henry, and his confidential counsellors, Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe and George Mason. They had assumed a fearful responsibility in giving him private instructions, authorising an attack on these remote British posts. The degree of success was beyond the expectations of the most sanguine.

In October, the House of Burgesses created the county of Illinois, and appointed John Todd, Esq., then of Kentucky, Lieutenant Colonel and Civil commandant. The act, which we have in manuscript, with the seal of the Commonwealth, contained the following provisions:

All the citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia, "who are already settled, or shall hereafter settle, on the *western side of the Ohio*, shall be included in a distinct county which shall be called *Illinois county:* and the Governor of this Commonwealth, with the advice of the Council, may appoint a

* Journal of Clark, in Dillon's Indiana, p. 144.

county Lieutenant, or Commandant-in-chief, in that county, during pleasure, who shall appoint and commission so many deputy Commandants, militia and officers, and Commissaries, as he shall think proper, in the different districts, during pleasure, all of whom, before they enter into office, shall take the oath of fidelity to this Commonwealth, and the oath of office, according to the form of their own religion. And all civil officers to which the inhabitants have been accustomed, necessary to the preservation of peace, and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of citizens in their respective districts, to be convened for that purpose, by the county Lieutenant or Commandant, or his deputy, and shall be commissioned by the said county Lieutenant, or Commandant-in-chief.

In November, the Legislature passed the following complimentary resolution to Clark and his men :

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES,
Monday, the 23d Nov. 1778.

Whereas, authentic information has been received, that Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark, with a body of Virginia militia, has reduced the British posts in the western part of this Commonwealth, on the river Mississippi, and its branches, whereby great advantage may accrue to the common cause of America, as well as to this Commonwealth in particular :

Resolved, That the thanks of this House are justly due to the said Colonel Clark, and the brave officers and men under his command, for their extraordinary resolution and perseverance, in so hazardous an enterprize, and for their important services thereby rendered their country.*

Test, E. RANDOLPH, C. H. D.

[After organizing a civil government, and providing for an election of magistrates by the people, Col. Clark directed his attention to the subjugation of the Indian tribes. In this he displayed the same tact and shrewdness, the same daring, and his acts were crowned with the same success as in the conquest with the British posts.

He always reprobated the policy of inviting and urging the Indians to hold treaties, and maintained that such a course was founded upon a mistaken view of their character. He supposed they always interpreted such overtures from the government as an evidence of the fear and conscious weakness of the whites. Hence, he avoided every intimation that he de-

*See Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 490.

sired peace, and assumed a line of conduct that would appear that he meant to exterminate them at once. He always waited for them to apply and beg for a treaty.

These and other measures, which displayed great penetration into Indian character, were completely successful. No commander ever subjugated as many warlike tribes, in so short a time, and at so little expense of life.

His management of the Indians presents a wide field of historical research which the limits of these Annals compel us to leave unexplored.]

His meetings with them were opened at Cahokia, in September, and his principles of action being never to court them, never to load them with presents, never to seem to fear them, though always to show respect to courage and ability, and to speak in the most direct manner possible,—he waited for the natives to make the first advances and offer peace. When they had done so, and thrown away the bloody wampum sent them by the British, Clark coldly told them he would answer them the next day, and, meanwhile, cautioned them against shaking hands with the Americans, as peace was not yet concluded; it will be time to give hands, when the heart can be given too, he said. The next day the Indians came to hear the answer of the Big Knife, which we give entire, as taken by Mr. Butler and Mr. Dillon, from Clark's own notes.

"Men and warriors: pay attention to my words. You informed me yesterday, that the Great Spirit had brought us together, and that you hope, that as he was good, it would be for good. I have also the same hope, and expect that each party will strictly adhere to whatever may be agreed upon, whether it shall be peace or war, and henceforward, prove ourselves worthy of the attention of the Great Spirit. I am a man and a warrior, not a counsellor; I carry war in my right hand, and in my left, peace. I am sent by the Great Council of the Big Knife, and their friends, to take possession of all the towns possessed by the English in this country, and to watch the motions of the Red people: to bloody the paths of those who attempt to stop the course of the river; but to clear the roads for us to those that desire to be in peace; that the women and children may walk in them without meeting any thing to strike their feet against. I am ordered to call upon the Great Fire for warriors enough to darken the land, and that the Red people may hear no sound, but of birds who live on blood. I know there is a mist before your eyes; I will dispel the clouds, that you may clearly see the causes of the war between the

Big Knife and the English; then you may judge for yourselves, which party is in the right; and if you are warriors, as you profess yourselves to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the party, which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship, and not show yourselves to be squaws.

"The Big Knife is very much like the Red people, they don't know how to make blankets, and powder, and cloth; they buy these things from the English, from whom they are sprung. They live by making corn, hunting and trade, as you and your neighbors, the French, do. But the Big Knife, daily getting more numerous, like the trees in the woods, the land became poor, and the hunting scarce; and having but little to trade with, the women began to cry at seeing their children naked, and tried to learn how to make clothes for themselves; some made blankets for their husbands and children; and the men learned to make guns and powder. In this way we did not want to buy so much from the English; they then got mad with us, and sent strong garrisons through our country, (as you see they have done among you on the lakes, and among the French,) they would not let our women spin, nor our men make powder, nor let us trade with any body else. The English said, we should buy every thing from them, and since we had got saucy, we should give two bucks for a blanket, which we used to get for one; we should do as they pleased, and they killed some of our people, to make the rest fear them. This is the truth, and the real cause of the war between the English and us; which did not take place for some time after this treatment. But our women become cold and hungry, and continued to cry; our young men got lost for want of counsel to put them in the right path. The whole land was dark, the old men held down their heads for shame, because they could not see the sun, and thus there was mourning for many years over the land. At last the Great Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a great council fire, that never goes out, at a place called Philadelphia; he then stuck down a post, and put a war tomahawk by it, and went away. The sun immediately broke out, the sky was blue again, and the old men held up their heads, and assembled at the fire; they took up the hatchet, sharpened it, and put it into the hands of our young men, ordering them to strike the English as long as they could find one on this side of the great waters. The young men immediately struck the war post, and blood was shed: in this way the war began, and the English were driven from one place to another, until they got weak, and then they hired you red people to fight for them. The Great Spirit got angry at this, and caused your old Father, the French king, and other great nations, to join the Big Knife, and fight with them against all their enemies. So the English have become like a deer in the woods; and you may see that it is the Great Spirit, that has caused your waters

to be troubled; because you have fought for the people he was mad with. If your women and children should now cry, you must blame yourselves for it, and not the Big Knife. You can now judge who is in the right; I have already told you who I am; here is a bloody belt, and a white one, take which you please. Behave like men, and don't let your being surrounded by the Big Knife, cause you to take up the one belt with your hands, while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path, you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends, the English; we will then try like warriors, who can put the most stumbling blocks in each other's way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. If, on the other hand, you should take the path of peace, and be received as brothers to the Big Knife, with their friends, the French, should you then listen to bad birds, that may be flying through the land, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men; but as creatures with two tongues, that ought to be destroyed without listening to any thing you might say. As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer before you have taken time to counsel. We will, therefore, part this evening, and when the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men, with one heart and one tongue."*

This speech produced the desired effect, and upon the following day, the "Red people" and the "Big Knife," united hearts and hands both. In all these proceedings, there is no question that, directly and indirectly, the alliance of the United States with France was very instrumental in producing a friendly feeling among the Indians, who had never lost their old regard toward their first Great Father.

But, though it was Clark's general rule not to court the savages, there were some particular chieftains so powerful as to induce him to invite them to meet him, and learn the merits of the quarrel between the colonies and England. Among these was Black Bird, one of the lake chiefs; he came at the invitation of the American leader, and, dispensing with the usual formulas of the Indian negotiation, sat down with Col. Clark in a common sense way, and talked and listened, questioned and considered, until he was satisfied that the rebels had the right of the matter; after which he became, and remained a firm friend of the Big Knives.

While the negotiations between the conqueror of Kaskaskia and the natives were going forward, an incident occurred,

* See Butler's History of Kentucky, p. 68.

so characteristic of Col. Clark, that we cannot omit its mention, as follows: A party of Indians, known as Meadow Indians,* had come to attend the council with their neighbors. These, by some means, were induced to attempt the murder of the invaders, and tried to obtain an opportunity to commit the crime proposed, by surprising Clark and his officers in their quarters. In this plan they failed, and their purpose was discovered by the sagacity of the French in attendance; when this was done, Clark gave them to the French to deal with as they pleased, but with a hint that some of the leaders would be as well in irons. Thus fettered and foiled, the chiefs were brought daily to the council house, where he whom they proposed to kill, was engaged daily in forming friendly relations with their red brethren. At length, when by these means the futility of their project had been sufficiently impressed upon them, the American commander ordered their irons to be struck off, and in his quiet way, full of scorn, said, "Every body thinks you ought to die for your treachery upon my life, amidst the sacred deliberations of a council. I had determined to inflict death upon you for your base attempt, and you yourselves must be sensible that you have justly forfeited your lives; but on considering the meanness of watching a bear and catching him asleep, I have found out that you are not warriors, only old women, and too mean to be killed by the Big Knife. But," continued he, "as you ought to be punished for putting on breech cloths like men, they shall be taken away from you, plenty of provisions shall be given for your journey home, as women don't know how to hunt, and during your stay you shall be treated in every respect as squaws.†" These few cutting words concluded, the Colonel turned away to converse with others. The children of the prairie, who had looked for anger, not contempt—punishment, not freedom—were unaccountably stirred by this treatment. They took counsel together, and presently a chief came forward with a belt and pipe of peace, which, with proper words, he laid upon the table. The interpreter stood ready to translate the words of friendship, but, with curling lip, the

* These were a remnant of the Mascoutin tribe, or *Prairie* Tribe, as the name signifies.—Ed.

† This was a mode of punishment used by the Indians as a mark of disgrace. An Indian thus degraded, never after could be a *man*. He must do the drudgery of a Squaw. —Ed.

American said he did not wish to hear them, and lifting a sword which lay before him, he shattered the offered pipe, with the cutting expression that "he did not treat with women." The bewildered, overwhelmed Meadow Indians, next asked the intercession of other red men, already admitted to friendship, but the only reply was, "The Big Knife has made no war upon these people; they are of a kind that we shoot like wolves when we meet them in the woods, lest they eat the deer." All this wrought more and more upon the offending tribe; again they took counsel, and then two young men came forward, and, covering their heads with their blankets, sat down before the impenetrable commander; then two chiefs arose, and stating that these young warriors offered their lives as an atonement for the misdoings of their relatives, again they presented the pipe of peace. Silence reigned in the assembly, while the fate of the proffered victims hung in suspense: all watched the countenance of the American leader, who could scarce master the emotion which the incident excited. Still, all sat noiseless, nothing heard but the deep breathing of those whose lives thus hung by a thread. Presently, he upon whom all depended, arose, and, approaching the young men, he bade them be uncovered and stand up. They sprang to their feet. "I am glad to find," said Clark, warmly, "that there are men among all nations. With you, who alone are fit to be chiefs of your tribe, I am willing to treat; through you I am ready to grant peace to your brothers; I take you by the hands as chiefs, worthy of being such." Here again the fearless generosity, the generous fearlessness of Clark, proved perfectly successful, and while the tribe in question became the allies of America, the fame of the occurrence, which spread far and wide through the north-west, made the name of the white negotiator everywhere respected.

Before the act of the legislature was carried into effect, Vincennes was recaptured by Henry Hamilton, the British Lieutenant Governor of Detroit. Having collected an army of about thirty regulars, fifty French volunteers, and four hundred Indians, he went from Detroit, to the Wabash, thence down that river, and appeared before the fort on the 15th of December, 1778. The people made no effort to defend the place. Captain Helm and a man by the name of Henry, were the only Americans in the fort. The latter had a cannon well

charged, placed in the open gate-way, while the Commandant, Helm, stood by it with the lighted match. When Col. Hamilton and his troops approached within hailing distance, the American officer called out, with a loud voice, "Halt!" This show of resistance caused Hamilton to stop, and demand a surrender of the garrison.

Helm exclaimed, "No man shall enter here until I know the terms." Hamilton responded, "You shall have the honors of war;" and the fort was surrendered, and the one officer, and the one private, received the customary mark of respect for their brave defence.*

A portion of Hamilton's force was dispatched with the Indians to attack the settlements on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Capt. Helm was detained in the fort as a prisoner, and the French inhabitants were disarmed. Col. Clark's position became perilous. Detached parties of hostile Indians, sent out by Col. Hamilton, began to appear in Illinois. He ordered Maj. Bowman to evacuate the fort at Cahokia, and meet him at Kaskaskia. "I could see," says Clark, "but little probability of keeping possession of the country, as my number of men was too small to stand a siege, and my situation too remote to call for assistance. I made all the preparation I possibly could for the attack, and was necessitated to set fire to some of the houses in town, to clear them out of the way." At this crisis, the bold and hazardous project of capturing Col. Hamilton, and retaking Post Vincennes, became the theme of his daily and nightly meditations.

He employed Col. Francis Vigo, then a resident of St. Louis, to make an exploration of the circumstances and strength of the enemy at Post Vincennes. Col. Vigo, though a Spanish subject, possessed an innate love of liberty; an attachment to republican principles, and an ardent sympathy for an oppressed people, struggling for their rights. He disregarded personal consequences, for as soon as he heard of the arrival of Col. Clark at Kaskaskia, and the possession of Illinois by the Americans, he went there and tendered his wealth and influence to sustain the cause of liberty.

At the request of Col. Clark, Col. Vigo, with a single servant, proceeded to Vincennes. At the Embarrass he was

* Butler's Kentucky, note, p. 80.

taken prisoner by a party of Indians, plundered and brought before Col. Hamilton. Being a Spanish subject, though suspected of being a spy for the Americans, the Governor had no power to hold him as a prisoner of war, but forbid him to leave the fort. Entreated by the French inhabitants to allow him to depart, and threatened with the refusal of all supplies for the garrison, the Governor reluctantly yielded, on condition that Col. Vigo would sign an article "not to do any act during the war, injurious to the British interests." This he refused, but consented to a pledge not to do any thing injurious *on his way to St. Louis*. This was accepted, and Col. Vigo was permitted to depart in a pirogue down the Wabash and Ohio, and up the Mississippi to St. Louis. He kept his pledge most sacredly. On his way to St. Louis, he abstained from all intercourse with the Americans—but he only staid at home long enough to change his dress, when he returned to Kaskaskia, and gave Col. Clark full and explicit information of the condition of the British force at Vincennes, the projected movements of Hamilton, and the friendly feelings of the French towards the Americans. From him Col. Clark learned that a portion of the British troops were absent on marauding parties with the Indians, that the garrison consisted of about eighty regular soldiers, three brass field pieces, and some swivels, and that Governor Hamilton meditated the recapture of Kaskaskia early in the spring. Col. Clark determined on the bold project of an expedition to Vincennes, of which he wrote to Gov. Henry, and sent an express to Virginia. As a reason for this hazardous project, Col. Clark urged the force and designs of Hamilton, saying to Governor Henry in his letter, "*I knew if I did not take him, he would take me.*"

A boat fitted up as a galley, carrying two four pounders and four swivels, and commanded by Capt John Rogers, with forty-six men, and provisions, was dispatched from Kaskaskia to the Ohio, with orders to proceed up the Wabash as secretly as possible to a place near the mouth of the Embarrass. Two companies of men ware raised from Cahokia, and Kaskaskia, commanded by Captains McCarty and Charleville, which, with the Americans, amounted to one hundred and seventy men.

The winter was unusually wet and the streams all high, but on the 7th of February, 1779, this fragment of an army com-

menced its march from Kaskaskia to Post Vincent. Their route lay through the prairies and points of timber east of the Kaskaskia river, a north-easternly course, through Washington and Marion counties, into Clay county, where the trail visible thirty years since, would strike the route of the present road from St. Louis to Vincennes. This was one of the most dreary and fatiguing expeditions of the Revolutionary war. After incredible hardships, they reached the Little Wabash, the low bottoms of which, for several miles, were covered with water, as Col. Clark's report affirms, "generally three feet deep, never under two, and frequently over four feet." They arrived at the "two Wabashes," as Bowman in his journal calls the two branches, (now known as the "Little Wabash" and "Muddy" rivers,) on the 13th. Here they made a canoe, and on the 15th, ferried over their baggage, which they placed on a scaffold on the opposite bank. Rains fell nearly every day, but the weather was not cold. Hitherto they had borne their extreme privations and difficulties with incredible patience, but now the spirits of many seemed exhausted. There was an Irish drummer in the party who possessed an uncommon talent in singing comic, Irish songs.

While the men were wading to the waist, and sometimes to the arm-pits in mud and water, the fertile ingenuity of Col. Clark, who never failed in resources, placed the Irishman on his drum which readily floated, while he entertained the exhausteed troops with his comic and musical powers.

On the 18th day of February, eleven days after their departure from Kaskaskia, they heard the morning gun of the fort, and at evening of the same day, they were on the Great Wabash, below the mouth of the Embarrass. The party were now in the most exhausted, destitute and starving condition, and no signs of their boat with supplies. The river was out of its banks, all the low grounds covered with water, and canoes could not be constructed to carry them over before the British garrison would discover and capture, or massacre the whole party. February 20th, they hailed and brought to a boat from Post Vincent, and, from the crew, whom they detained, they learned that the French population were friendly to the Americans, and that no suspicion of the expedition had reached the British garrison.

Here we shall let Col. Clark tell the story in his journal :

"This last day's march, [February 21st,] through the water, was far superior to any thing the Frenchmen had any idea of: they were backward in speaking—said that the nearest land to us was a small league, called the sugar camp, on the bank of the slough. A canoe was sent off, and returned without finding that we could pass. I went in her myself, and sounded the water: found it deep as to my neck. I returned with a design to have the men transported on board the canoes to the sugar camp, which I knew would spend the whole day and ensuing night, as the vessels would pass slowly through the bushes. The loss of so much time, to men half starved, was a matter of consequence. I would have given now a great deal for a day's provision, or for one of our horses. I returned but slowly to the troops—giving myself time to think. On our arrival, all ran to hear what was the report. Every eye was fixed on me. I unfortunately spoke in a serious manner to one of the officers: the whole were alarmed without knowing what I said. I viewed their confusion for about one minute—whispered to those near me to do as I did—immediately put some water in my hand, poured on powder, blackened my face, gave the war-whoop, marched into the water, without saying a word. The party gazed, fell in, one after another, without saying a word, like a flock of sheep. I ordered those near me to give a favorite song of theirs: It soon passed through the line, and the whole went on cheerfully. I now intended to have them transported across the deepest part of the water; but when about waist deep, one of the men informed me that he thought he felt a path. We examined, and found it so; and concluded that it kept on the highest ground, which it did; and by taking pains to follow it, we got to the sugar camp, without the least difficulty, where there was about half an acre of dry ground, at least not under water, where we took up our lodgings. The Frenchmen that we had taken on the river, appeared to be uneasy at our situation. They begged that they might be permitted to go in the two canoes to town in the night: they said they would bring from their own houses provisions, without the possibility of any person knowing it; that some of our men should go with them, as a surety of their good conduct—that it was impossible we could march from that place till the water fell, for the plain was too deep to march. Some of the [officers?] believed that it might be done. I would not suffer it. I never could well account for this piece of obstinacy, and give satisfactory reasons to myself, or any body else, why I denied a proposition apparently so easy to execute, and of so much advantage: but something seemed to tell me that it should not be done; and it was not done.

"The most of the weather that we had on this march, was moist and warm, for the season. This was the coldest night

we had. The ice in the morning was from one half to three quarters of an inch thick, near the shores, and in still water. The morning was the finest we had on our march. A little after sunrise I lectured the whole. What I said to them I forget; but it may be easily imagined by a person that could possess my affections for them at that time: I concluded by informing them, that passing the plain that was then in full view, and reaching the opposite woods, would put an end to their fatigue—that in a few hours they would have a sight of their long wished for object—and immediately stepped into the water without waiting for any reply. A huzza took place. As we generally marched through the water in a line, before the third entered I halted and called to Major Bowman, ordered him to fall in the rear with twenty-five men, and to put to death any man who refused to march; as we wished to have no such person among us. The whole gave a cry of approbation, and on we went. This was the most trying of all the difficulties we had experienced. I generally kept fifteen or twenty of the strongest men next myself; and judged from my own feelings what must be that of others. Getting about the middle of the plain, the water about mid-deep, I found myself sensibly failing; and as there were no trees nor bushes for the men to support themselves by, I feared that many of the most weak would be drowned. I ordered the canoes to make the land, discharge their loading, and play backwards and forwards with all diligence, and pick up the men; and to encourage the party, sent some of the strongest men forward, with orders, when they got to a certain distance, to pass the word back that the water was getting shallow; and when getting near the woods to cry out 'Land!' This stratagem had its desired effect. The men, encouraged by it, exerted themselves almost beyond their abilities—the weak holding by the stronger. * * * The water never got shallower, but continued deepening. Getting to the woods where the men expected land, the water was up to my shoulders: but gaining the woods was of great consequence: all the low men and weakly, hung to the trees, and floated on the old logs, until they were taken off by the canoes. The strong and tall got ashore and built fires. Many would reach the shore, and fall with their bodies half in the water, not being able to support themselves without it.

"This was a delightful dry spot of ground, of about ten acres. We soon found that fires answered no purpose; but that two strong men taking a weaker one by the arms was the only way to recover him—and, being a delightful day, it soon did. But, fortunately, as if designed by Providence, a canoe of Indian squaws and children were coming up to town, and took thro' part of this plain as a nigh way. It was discovered by our canoes as they were out after the men. They gave chase and took

the Indian canoe, on board of which was near half a quarter of buffalo, some corn, tallow, kettles, &c. This was a grand prize, and was invaluable. Broth was immediately made and served out to the most weakly, with great care: most of the whole got a little; but a great many gave their part to the weakly, jocosely saying something cheering to their comrades. This little refreshment and fine weather, by the afternoon, gavelife to the whole. Crossing a narrow deep lake in the canoes, and marching some distance, we came to a copse of timber called the Warrior's Island. We were now in full view of the fort and town, not a shrub between us, at about two miles distance. Every man now feasted his eyes, and forgot that he had suffered any thing--saying, that all that had passed was owing to good policy, and nothing but what a man could bear; and that a soldier had no right to think, &c.—passing from one extreme to another, which is common in such cases. It was now we had to display our abilities. The plain between us and the town was not a perfect level. The sunken grounds were covered with water full of ducks. We observed several men out on horseback, shooting them, within half a mile of us; and sent out as many of our active young Frenchmen to decoy and take one of these men prisoner, in such a manner as not to alarm the others; which they did. The information we got from this person was similar to that which we got from those we took on the river; except that of the British having that evening completed the wall of the fort, and that there were a good many Indians in town.

Our situation was now truly critical—no possibility of retreating in case of defeat—and in full view of a town that had at this time upwards of six hundred men in it, troops, inhabitants, and Indians. The crew of the galley, though not fifty men, would now have been a reinforcement of immense magnitude to our little army, (if I may so call it,) but we would not think of them. We were now in the situation that I had labored to get ourselves in. The idea of being made prisoner was foreign to almost every man, as they expected nothing but torture from the savages, if they fell into their hands. Our fate was now to be determined, probably in a few hours. We knew that nothing but the most daring conduct would ensure success. I knew that a number of the inhabitants wished us well—that many were lukewarm to the interest of either—and I also learned that the Grand Chief, the Tobacco's son, had, but a few days before, openly declared in council with the British, that he was a brother and a friend to the Big Knives. These were favorable circumstances; and as there was but little probability of our remaining until dark undiscovered, I determined to begin the career immediately, and wrote the following placard to the inhabitants:

To the inhabitants of Post Vincennes.

Gentlemen: Being now within two miles of your village, with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you as are true citizens and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to remain still in your houses. And those, if any there be, that are friends to the king, will instantly repair to the fort and join the hair-buyer General, and fight like men. And if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered afterwards, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are true friends to liberty may depend on being well treated; and I once more request them to keep out of the streets. For every one I find in arms on my arrival, I shall treat him as an enemy.

[Signed,] G. R. CLARK.

[This singular epistle, as Clark designed, had a two-fold effect, and displayed his astonishing insight into human nature. Its imposing character inspired the inhabitants who were friendly with confidence, and filled the enemy with terror and dismay. As no one imagined an expedition, at that season, could cross the waters from Illinois, the impression was made that the town was about to be invaded by a large army from Kentucky. This impression was confirmed by several messages being sent in under assumed names of gentlemen known in Kentucky, to their acquaintances in Vincennes.

The same day about sunset, (Feb. 23,) the American forces set off to attack the Fort. To confirm the impression that the invaders consisted of a large army, Col. Clark divided his men into platoons, each displaying a different flag, and after marching and countermarching around some mounds, within sight of the fort, and making other demonstrations of numbers and strength, till after dark, when Lieut. Bayley with fourteen men, was sent to attack the Fort. This party lay within thirty yards of the Fort, defended by a bank and safe from the enemy's guns. No sooner was a port hole opened than a dozen rifles were directed to the aperture—one soldier was killed and the rest could not be prevailed upon to stand to the guns.

On the morning of the 24th, at 9 o'clock, Col. Clark sent a flag of truce with the following letter, while his men, for the first time in six days, were provided with breakfast. The letter of Col. Clark is characteristic of the man:

"Sir—In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you *immediately* to surrender

yourself, with all your garrison, stores, &c. &c. For if I am obliged to storm, you may depend upon such treatment as is justly due to a *murderer*. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town. For, by Heavens, if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you. G. R. CLARK.

"To Gov. Hamilton."

The reply of Gov. Hamilton shows that this daring course of Col. Clark had its intended effect. He replies:

"Governor Hamilton begs leave to acquaint Col. Clark, that he and his garrison are not disposed to *be awed* into any action unworthy British subjects."

The attack was renewed with vigor and soon produced another message:

"Gov. Hamilton proposes to Col. Clark a truce for three days, during which time he promises, that there should be no defensive works carried on in the garrison, *on condition* that Col. Clark will observe, on his part, a like cessation of offensive work: that is, he wishes to confer with Col. Clark, as soon as can be, and promises that whatever may pass between them two, and another person, mutually agreed on to be present, shall remain secret till matters be finished; as he wishes, that whatever the result of the conference may be, it may tend to the honor and credit of each party. If Col. Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the Fort, Lieut. Gov. Hamilton will speak with him by the gate. HENRY HAMILTON."

February 24th, '79.

To which the following reply was sent:

"Col. Clark's compliments to Governor Hamilton, and begs leave to say, that he will not agree to any terms, other than *Mr. Hamilton surrender ing himself and garrison prisoners at discretion.*"

"If Mr. Hamilton wants to talk with Col. Clark, he will meet him at the Church with Capt. Helm."

A conference was held as proposed, when Col. Clark demanded a surrender, and threatened to massacre the leading men in the Fort for supplying the Indians with the means of annoyance, and purchasing scalps, if his terms were not accepted. In one hour after, Col. Clark dictated the following terms, which were accepted:

"1st. Lieutenant Governor Hamilton agrees to deliver up to Colonel Clark, 'Fort Sackville,' as it is at present, with its stores, &c.

"2d. The garrison are to deliver themselves as prisoners of war, and march out with their arms and accoutrements.

"3d. The garrison to be delivered up to-morrow, at ten o'clock.

"4th. Three days' time to be allowed the garrison to settle their accounts with the inhabitants and traders.

"5th. The officers of the garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage, &c.

"Signed at Post St. Vincennes, this 24th day of February, 1779; agreed to for the following reason: 1st. Remoteness from succor: 2d. the state and quantity of provisions: 3d. The *unanimity* of the officers and men in its expediency: 4th. The honorable terms allowed: and, lastly, the confidence in a generous enemy. HENRY HAMILTON,

Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent."

On the 25th of February, Fort Sackville was surrendered to the American troops, and the garrison treated as prisoners of war. The American flag waved on its battlements, and thirteen guns celebrated the victory.

Seventy-nine prisoners, and stores to the value of 50,000 dollars, were obtained by this bold and desperate enterprise, and the whole country along the Mississippi and Wabash, remained ever after in the peaceable possession of the Americans. Gov. Hamilton was sent to Richmond, and his men permitted to return to Detroit on parole of honor.

Six were badly, and one man mortally wounded on the part of the British, and only one man wounded on the part of the Americans.]

The Governor and some others were sent prisoners to Virginia, where the council ordered their confinement in jail, fettered and alone, in punishment for their abominable policy of urging barbarians to ultra barbarism, as they surely had done by offering rewards for scalps but none for prisoners, a course which naturally resulted in wholesale and cold-blooded murder; the Indians driving captives within sight of the British forts and then butchering them. As this rigid confinement, however just, was not in accordance with the terms of Hamilton's surrender, General Phillips protested in regard to it, and Jefferson having referred the matter to the Commander-in-chief, Washington gave his opinion decidedly against it, in

consequence of which the Council of Virginia released the Detroit "hair-buyer" from his irons. *

Clark returned to Kaskaskia, where, in consequence of the competition of the traders, he found himself more embarrassed from the depreciation of the paper money which had been advanced him by Virginia, than he had been by the movements of the British; and where he was forced to pledge his own credit to procure what he needed, to an extent that influenced vitally his own fortune and life thenceforward.

After the taking of Vincennes, Detroit was undoubtedly within the reach of the enterprising Virginian, had he been but able to raise as many soldiers as were starving and idling at Forts Laurens and McIntosh. [Col. Clark, in his letter to Mr. Jefferson, says, that with five hundred men, when he reached Illinois, or with three hundred after the conquest of Post Vincennes, he could have taken Detroit. The people of Detroit rejoiced greatly when they heard of Hamilton's capture.] Gov. Henry having promised him a reinforcement, he concluded to wait for that, as his force was too small to both conquer and garrison the British forts. But the results of what was done were not unimportant; indeed we cannot estimate those results. Hamilton had made arrangements to enlist the Southern and Western Indians† for the next spring's campaign; and, if Mr. Stone be correct in his suppositions, Brant and his Iroquois were to act in concert with him.‡ Had Clark, therefore, failed to conquer the Governor, there is too much reason to fear, that the West would have been, indeed, swept, from the Mississippi to the mountains, and the great blow struck, which had been contemplated, from the outset, by Britain. But for his small army of dripping, but fearless Virginians, the union of all the tribes from Georgia to Maine, against the colonies, might have been effected, and the whole current of our history changed.

[The conquest of Clark changed the face of affairs in relation to the whole country north of the Ohio river, which, in all probability, would have been the boundary between Canada and the U. States. This conquest was urged by the American Commissioners in negotiating the definite treaty of 1793.]

*Sparks' Washington, vi. 315.—Almon's Remembrancer for 1779, pp. 337. 340.—Jefferson's Writings, i. 451 to 458.

†Butler, p. 80. ‡Stone's Brandt, i. 400. Notes, Boston Edition.

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CHAPTER VIII.

SKETCHES OF KENTUCKY.

Captivity of Boone—Siege of Boonesborough—Invasion of the Six Nations—Treatywith the Delawares—Virginia land laws—Claims of France and Spain—Invasion of Kentucky—Civil organisation of the same—Invasion of St. Louis—Events in Ohio.

[We now return to bring forward the annals of Kentucky. The people had suffered much for salt, and the labor and risk of packing it over the mountains on horseback were too great; for only by that mode of transportation could they obtain the necessaries of life which the wilderness did not furnish. It was arranged that thirty men, under the guidance of Captain Boone, should proceed to the Lower Blue Licks, on Licking river, and manufacture salt. The enterprise was commenced on new year's day, 1778.]

Boone was to be guide, hunter, and scout; the rest cut wood and attend to the manufacturing department. January passed quietly, and before the 7th of February, enough of the precious condiment had accumulated to lead to the return of three of the party to the stations, with the treasure. The rest still labored on, and Boone enjoyed the winter weather in the forest after his own fashion. But, alas for him, there was more than mere game about him in those woods along the rugged Licking. On the 7th of February, as he was hunting, he came upon a party of one hundred and two foes, two Canadians, the remainder Indians, Shawanese apparently. Boone fled; but their swiftest runners were on his trail, and he was soon their prisoner. Finding it impossible to give his companions at the Licks due notice so as to secure their escape, he proceeded to make terms on their behalf with his captors, and then persuaded his men by gestures, at a distance, to surrender without offering battle. Thus, without a blow, the invaders found themselves possessed of twenty-eight prisoners, and among them the greatest, in an Indian's eyes, of all the Long Knives. This band was on its way to Boonesborough, to attack or to reconnoitre; but such good luck as they had met with changed their minds, and, turning upon

their track, they took up their march for old Chillicothe, an Indian town on the Little Miami.

It was no part of the plan of the Shawanese, however, to retain these men in captivity, nor yet to scalp, slay, or eat them. Under the influence and rewards of Governor Hamilton, the British Commander in the Northwest, the Indians had taken up the business of speculating in human beings, both dead and alive; and the Shawanese meant to take Boone and his comrades to the Detroit market. On the 10th of March, accordingly, eleven of the party, including Daniel himself, were dispatched for the North, and, after twenty days of journeying, were presented to the English Governor, who treated them, Boone says, with great humanity. To Boone himself, Hamilton and several other gentlemen seem to have taken an especial fancy, and offered considerable sums for his release; but the Shawanese had also become enamored of the veteran hunter and would not part with him. He must go home with them, they said, and be one of them, and become a great chief. So the pioneer found his very virtues becoming the cause of a prolonged captivity. In April, the red men, with their one white captive, about to be converted into a genuine son of nature, returned from the flats of Michigan, covered with brush-choked forests, to the rolling valley of the Miamis, with its hill-sides clothed in their rich open woods of maple and beech, then just bursting into bloom. And now the white blood was washed out of the Kentucky ranger, and he was made a son in the family of Blackfish, a Shawanese Chief, and was loved and caressed by father and mother, brothers and sisters, till he was thoroughly sick of them. But disgust, he could not show; so he was kind, and affable, and knew how to allay any suspicions they might harbor lest he should runaway. He took his part in their games and romps; shot as near the centre of a target as a good hunter ought to, and yet left the savage marksmen a chance to excel him, and smiled in his quiet eye when he witnessed their joy at having done better than the best of the Long Knives. He grew into favor with the chief, was trusted, treated with respect, and listened to with attention. No man could have been better calculated than Boone to disarm the suspicions of the red men. Some have called him a white Indian, except that he never showed the Indian's blood thirstiness, when excited.

Scarce any other white ever possessed in an equal degree the true Indian gravity, which comes neither from thought, feeling, or vacuity, but from a bump peculiar to their own craniums. And so in hunting, shooting, swimming, and other Shawanese amusements, the newly made Indian Boone spent the month of May, necessity making all the little inconveniences of his lot quite endurable.

On the 1st of June, his aid was required in the business of salt making, and for that purpose he and a party of his brethren started for the valley of the Scioto, where he stayed ten days, hunting, boiling brine, and cooking; then the homeward path was taken again. But when Chillicothe was once more reached, a sad sight met our friend Daniel's eyes; four hundred and fifty of the choice warriors of the West, painted in the most exquisite war style, and armed for the battle. He scarce needed to ask whither they were bound; his heart told him Boonesborough; and already in imagination he saw the blazing roofs of the little borough he had founded, and he saw the bleeding forms of his friends. Could he do nothing? He would see; meanwhile be a good Indian and look all ease and joy. He was a long way from his own white homestead; one hundred and fifty miles at least, and a rough and inhospitable country much of the way between him and it. But he *had* traveled fast and far, and might again. So, without a word to his fellow prisoners, early in the morning of June the 16th, without his breakfast, in the most secret manner, unseen, unheard, he departed. He left his red relatives to mourn his loss, and over hill and valley sped, forty miles a day, for four successive days, and ate but one meal by the way. He found the station wholly unprepared to resist so formidable a body as that which threatened it, and it was a matter of life and death that every muscle should be exerted to get all in readiness for the expected visiters. Rapidly the white men toiled in the summer sun, and through the summer night, to repair and complete the fortifications, and to have all as experience had shown it should be. But still the foe came not, and in a few days another escaped captive brought information of the delay of the expedition in consequence of Boone's flight. The savages had relied on surprising the stations, and their plans being foiled by their adopted son Daniel, all their determinations were unsettled. Thus it proved the salvation of Boonesbo-

rough, and probably of all the frontier forts, that the founder of Kentucky was taken captive and remained a captive as long as he did. So often do seeming misfortunes prove, in God's hand, our truest good.

Boone, finding his late relatives so backward in their proposed call, determined to anticipate them by a visit to the Scioto valley, where he had been at salt-making; and early in August, with nineteen men, started for the town on Paint Creek. He knew, of course, that he was trying a somewhat hazardous experiment, as Boonesborough might be attacked in his absence; but he had his wits about him, and his scouts examined the country far and wide. Without interruption, he crossed the Ohio, and had reached within a few miles of the place he meant to attack, when his advanced guard, consisting of one man, Simon Kenton, discovered two natives riding one horse, and enjoying some joke as they rode. Not considering that these two might be, like himself, the van of a small army, Simon, one of the most impetuous of men, shot and run forward to scalp them,—but found himself at once in the midst of a dozen or more of his red enemies, from whom he escaped only by the coming up of Boone and the remainder. The commander, upon considering the circumstances, and learning from spies whom he sent forward, that the town he intended to attack was deserted, came to the opinion that the band just met was on its way to join a larger body for the invasion of Kentucky, and advised an immediate return.

His advice was taken, and the result proved its wisdom; for in order to reach Boonesborough, they were actually obliged to coast along, go round, and outstrip a body of nearly five hundred savages, led by Canadians, who were marching against his doomed borough, and after all, got there only the day before them.

[Shortly after their return, on the 7th of September,* the whole Indian army, four hundred and forty-four in number, commanded by Blackfish, with eleven Canadians under Capt. Du Quesne, with British and French colors flying, appeared

*Filson from Boone's dictation, says it was the 8th of August, and Marshall, Flint, Butler, and others follow this date. This is certainly a mistake, as at that time, Boone and his party were on this expedition at Paint Creek. Col. Bowman's letter to Col. G. R. Clark, is the date we follow, and this accords with the recollection of the late Flanders Callaway of Missouri. See *Life of Boone* in Sparks' Biography, p 18—Ed.

before Boonesborough. The summons was to "surrender the fort in the name of his Britannic Majesty," with promises of liberal treatment.]

It was, as Daniel says, a critical period for him and his friends. Should they yield, what mercy could they look for? and he, especially, after his unkind flight from his Shawanese parents? They had almost stifled him with their caresses before; they would literally hug him to death, if again within their grasp. Should they refuse to yield, what hope of successful resistance? And they had so much need of all their cattle, to aid them in sustaining a siege, and yet their cows were abroad in the woods. Daniel pondered the matter, and concluded it would be safe, at any rate, to ask two days for consideration. It was granted, and he drove in his cows! The evening of the 9th soon arrived, however, and he must say one thing or another; so he politely thanked the representative of his gracious Majesty for giving the garrison time to prepare for their defence, and announced their determination to fight. Capt. Du Quesne was much grieved at this; Governor Hamilton was anxious to save bloodshed, and wished the Kentuckians taken alive; and rather than proceed to extremities, the worthy Canadian offered to withdraw his troops, if the garrison would make a treaty, though to what point the treaty was to aim, is unknown. Boone was determined not to yield; but then he had no wish to starve in his fort, or have it taken by storm, and be scalped, and he thought, remembering Hamilton's kindness to him when in Detroit, that there might be something in what the Captain said, and at any rate, to enter upon a treaty was to gain time, and something might turn up. So he agreed to treat; but where? Could nine of the garrison, as desired, safely venture into the open field? It might be all a trick to get possession of some of the leading whites. Upon the whole, however, as the leading Indians and their Canadian allies must come under the rifles of the garrison, who might with certainty and safety pick them off if treachery were attempted, it was thought best to run the risk; and Boone, with eight others, went out to meet the leaders of the enemy, sixty yards from the fort, within which the sharpest shooters stood with leveled rifles, ready to protect their comrades. The treaty was made and signed, and then the Indians, saying it was their custom for two of them to shake hands with every white man when a

treaty was made, expressed a wish to press the palms of their new allies. Boone and his friends must have looked rather queer at this proposal; but it was safer to accede than to refuse and be shot instantly; so they presented each his hand. As anticipated the warriors seized them with rough and fierce eagerness, the whites drew back struggling, the treachery was apparent, the rifle balls from the garrison struck down the foremost assailants of the little band, and, amid a fire from friends and foes, Boone and his fellow deputies bounded back into the station, with the exception of one, unhurt.

[Of the nine men, we can give the names of five; from four of whom, we have heard the story: They were Daniel Boone, Flanders Callaway, Stephen Hancock and William Hancock, all of whom were living in Missouri in 1818. Squire Boone, the brother of Daniel, was the fifth. Neither party was armed. In rushing to the fort, Squire Boone was slightly wounded in the shoulder.]

The treaty trick having thus failed, Capt. Du Quesne had to look to more ordinary modes of warfare, and opened a fire which lasted during ten days, though to no purpose, for the woodsmen were determined not to yield. On the 20th of August, the Indians were forced unwillingly to retire, having lost thirty-seven of their number, and wasted a vast amount of powder and lead. The garrison picked up from the ground, after their departure, one hundred and twenty-five pounds of their bullets.*

[In the "Pioneer History," by Dr. Hildreth, we learn that in January, 1778, provisions became very scarce in the region about Pittsburgh. Flour was $8 per hundred pounds.]

Meanwhile the United States had not lost sight entirely of western affairs. A fort was built early in the summer of this year, upon the banks of the Ohio, a little below Pittsburgh, near the spot where Beaver now stands. It was built by General McIntosh, who had been appointed in May to succeed General Hand† in the West and was named with his name.‡ It was the first fort built by the whites north of the Ohio. From this point it was intended to operate in reducing Detroit, where mischief was still brewing. Indeed the natives were now

*See Butler, 534.—Marshall i. Boone's Narrative, &c.

†Sparks' Washington, v. 361, 382.

‡Doddridge, p. 243.—Silliman's Journal, vol. xxxi. Art. i. p. 18.

more united than ever against the colonies. In June we find Congress in possession of information, that led them to think a universal frontier war close at hand.* The Senecas, Cayugas, Mingoes, (by which, we presume, were meant the Ohio Iroquois, or possibly the Mohawks,) Wyandots, Onondagas, Ottawas, Chippeways, Shawanese and Delawares, were all said to be more or less united in opposition to America. Congress, learning the danger to be so immediate and great, determined to push on the Detroit expedition, and ordered another to be undertaken by the Mohawk valley against the Senecas, who might otherwise very much annoy and impede the march from Fort Pitt. For the capture of Detroit, three thousand continental troops and two thousand five hundred militia were voted; an appropriation was made of nearly a million of dollars; and General McIntosh was to carry forward the needful operations.

[Washington mentions McIntosh as an officer of great worth and merit, possessing firmness, love of justice, assiduity, and a good understanding.†]

All the flourish which was made about taking Detroit, however, and conquering the Senecas, ended in the Resolves of Congress, it being finally thought too late in the season for advantageous action, and also too great an undertaking for the weak-handed colonies.

This having been settled, it was resolved, that the forces in the West should move up and attack the Wyandots and other Indians about the Sandusky,‡ and a body of troops was accordingly marched forward to prepare a half-way house, or post by which the necessary connexion might be kept up. This was built upon the Tuscarawas, a few miles south of the present town of Bolivar. In these quiet, commercial days the Ohio canal passes through its midst. It was named Fort Laurens, in honor of the President of Congress.‡

While these warlike measures were pursued on the one hand, the Confederacy, on the other, by its Commissioners, Andrew and Thomas Lewis of Virginia, formed at Fort Pitt, on the 17th of September, a treaty of peace and alliance with the Chiefs of the Delawares, White-Eyes, Kill-Buck, and Pipe.

*Journals of the Old Congress, vol. ii. p. 585.

†Journals of the Old Congress, vol ii. p. 633.

‡Silliman's Journal, xxxi. 57; where the name as in many treaties, &c. is misprinted. Lawrence.

We have already noticed the erection of Fort Laurens. At that point, seventy miles from Fort McIntosh, and exposed to all the fierce north-western tribes, Col. Jno. Gibson had been left with one hundred and fifty men to get through the winter of 1778-9, as he best could, while McIntosh himself returned to Pittsburgh, disappointed and dispirited. Nor was Congress in a very good humor with him, for already had six months passed to no purpose. Washington was consulted, but could give no definite advice, knowing nothing of those details which must determine the course of things for the winter. McIntosh, at length, in February asked leave to retire from his unsatisfactory command, and was allowed to do so. No blame, however, appears to have fairly attached to him, as he did all in his power; among other things leading a party with provisions to the relief of Colonel Gibson's starving garrison. Unhappily the guns fired as a salute by those about to be relieved, scared the pack-horses and much of the provision was scattered and lost in the woods. The force at Fort Laurens, meantime, had been, as we have intimated, suffering cruelly, both from the Indians and famine, and, though finally rescued from starvation, had done, and could do, nothing. The post was at last abandoned in August, 1779.

Turning from the west to the north, we find a new cause of trouble arising there. Of the six tribes of the Iroquois, the Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, and Onondagas, had been, from the outset, inclining to Britain, though all of these, but the Mohawks, had now and then tried to persuade the Americans to the contrary. During the winter of 1778-9, the Onondagas, who had been for a while nearly neutral, were suspected, by the Americans, of deception; and, this suspicion having become nearly knowledge, a band was sent, early in April, to destroy their towns, and take such of them, as could be taken, prisoners. The work appointed was done, and the villages and wealth of the poor savages were annihilated. This sudden act of severity startled all. The Oneidas, hitherto faithful to their neutrality, were alarmed, lest the next blow should fall on them, and it was only after a full explanation that their fears were quieted. As for the Onondagas, it was not to be hoped that they would sit down under such treatment; and we find, accordingly, that some hundred of their warriors were at once in the field, and from that time forward, a por-

tion of their nation remained, and, we think, justly, hostile to the United Colonies.*

The Continental Congress, meanwhile, had become convinced, from the massacre at Wyoming and Cherry Valley, that it was advisable to adopt some means of securing the north-western and western frontiers against the recurrence of such catastrophes; and, the hostile tribes of the Six Nations being the most numerous and deadly foes, it was concluded to begin by strong action against them. Washington had always said, that the only proper mode of defence against the Indians was to attack them, and this mode he determined to adopt on this occasion. Some difference of opinion existed, however, as to the best path into the country of the inimical Iroquois. General Schuyler was in favor of a movement up the Mohawk river; the objection to which route was, that it carried the invaders too near to Lake Ontario, and within reach of the British. The other course proposed, was up the Susquehanna, which heads, as all know, in the region that was to be reached. The latter route was the one determined on by Washington for the main body of troops, which was to be joined by another body moving up the Mohawk, and also by detachments coming from the western army, by the way of the Allegheny and French Creek. Upon further thought, however, the movement from the West was countermanded.† All the arrangements for this invasion were made in March and April, but it was the last of July before General Sullivan could get his men on their march from Wyoming, where they had gathered; and, of course, information of the proposed movements had been given to the Indians and Tories, so that Brant, the Johnsons, and their followers stood ready to receive the invaders.

They were not, however, strong enough to withstand the Americans; and, having been defeated at the battle of Newton, were driven from village to village, and their whole country was laid waste. Houses were burned, crops and orchards destroyed, and every thing done that could be thought of, to render the country uninhabitable. Of all these steps Mr. Stone speaks fully. Forty towns, he tells us, were burnt, and more than one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn destroy-

* Stone, vol. i. p. 205.

† Sparks' Washington, vol. vi. pp. 183 *et. seq.*

ed. Well did the Senecas name Washington, whose armies did all this, "the Town Destroyer." Having performed this portion of his work, Sullivan turned homeward from the beautiful valley of the Genessee; leaving Niagara, whither the Indians fled, as to the strong hold of British power in that neighborhood, untouched. This conduct, Mr. Stone thinks, "difficult of solution,"* as he supposes the destruction of that post to have been one of the main objects of the expedition. Such, however, was not the fact. Originally, it had been part of the proposed plan to attack Niagara; but, early in January, Washington was led to doubt, and then to abandon that part of the plan, thinking it wiser to carry on, merely, some operations on a smaller scale against the savages."

One of the smaller operations was from the West. On the 22d of March, 1779, Washington wrote to Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who had succeeded McIntosh at Fort Pitt, that an incursion into the country of the Six Nations was in preparation, and that in connection therewith, it might be advisable for a force to ascend the Allegheny to Kittaning, and thence to Venango, and having fortified both points, to strike the Mingoes and Munceys upon French Creek and elsewhere in that neighborhood, and thus aid Gen. Sullivan in the great blow he was to give by his march up the Susquehanna. Brodhead was also directed to say to the Western Indians, that if they made any trouble, the whole force of the United States would be turned against them, and they should be cut off from the face of the earth. But, on the 21st of April, these orders were countermanded, and the western commander was directed to prepare a rod for the Indians of the Ohio and Western Lakes; and especially to learn the best time for attacking Detroit. Whether this last advice came too late, or was withdrawn again, we have no means of learning; but Brodhead proceeded as originally directed; marched up the Allegheny, burned the towns of the Indians, and destroyed their crops.†

The immediate results of this and other equally prompt and severe measures, was to bring the Delawares, Shawanese, and even Wyandots, to Fort Pitt, on a treaty of peace. There Brodhead met them, on his return in September, and a long conference was held, to the satisfaction of both parties.

* Life of Brant, vol. ii. p. 30.

† Sparks' Washington, vol. vi. pp. 120, 146, 162, 205, 224, 384, 387.

Farther west, during this summer and autumn, the Indians were more successful. In July, the stations being still troubled, Colonel Bowman undertook an expedition into the country of the Shawanese, acting upon the principle, that to defend yourself against Indians, you must assail them. He marched undiscovered into the immediate vicinity of the towns upon the Little Miami, and so divided and arranged his forces, as to ensure apparent success, one portion of the troops being commanded by himself, another by Colonel Benjamin Logan; but from some unexpected cause, his division of the whites did not co-operate fully with that led by Logan, and the whole body was forced to retreat, after having taken some booty, including one hundred and sixty horses, and leaving the town of the savages in cinders, but also leaving the fierce warriors themselves in no degree daunted or crippled.*

Nor was it long before they showed themselves south of the Ohio again, and unexpectedly won a victory over the Americans of no slight importance. The facts, so far as we can gather them, are these:

An expedition which had been in the neighborhood of Lexington, where the first permanent improvements were made in April of this year,† upon its return came to the Ohio near the Licking, at the very time that Colonel Rogers and Captain Benham reached the same point on their way up the river in boats. A few of the Indians were seen by the commander of the little American squadron, near the mouth of the Licking; and supposing himself to be far superior in numbers, he caused seventy of his men to land, intending to surround the savages; in a few moments, however, he found he was himself surrounded, and after a hard fought battle, only twenty or twenty-five, or perhaps even fewer, of the party were left alive.‡ It was in connection with this skirmish that an incident occurred which seems to belong rather to a fanciful story than to sober history, and which yet appears to be well authenticated. In the party of whites was Captain

*Marshall i. 91. See General Ray's opinion, note to Butler, 110.

†Holmes' Annals, ii. 304; note. American Pioneer, ii. 346. Butler, 101. Marshall, i. 198.

‡Butler, 2d edition, 102. (In this account there is confusion; the Indians are represented as coming, on their return from Kentucky, down the Little Miami.) McClung, 148.

Robert Benham. He was one of those that fell, being shot through both hips, so as to be powerless in his lower limbs; he dragged himself, however, to a tree-top, and there lay concealed from the savages after the contest was over. On the evening of the second day, seeing a raccoon, he shot it, but no sooner was the crack of his rifle heard than he distinguished a human voice not far distant; supposing it to be some Indian, he reloaded his gun and prepared for defence; but a few moments undeceived him, and he discovered that the person whose voice he had heard was a fellow sufferer, with this difference, however, that both his arms were broken! Here then, were the only two survivors of the combat, (except those who had entirely escaped,) with one pair of legs and one pair of arms between them. It will be easily believed that they formed a co-partnership for mutual aid and defence. Benham shot the game which his friend drove towards him, and the man with sound legs then kicked it to the spot where he with sound arms sat ready to cook it. To procure water, the one with legs took a hat by the brim in his teeth, and walked into the Licking up to his neck, while the man with arms was to make signals if any boat appeared in sight. In this way, they spent about six weeks, when, upon the 27th of November, they were rescued. Benham afterwards bought and lived upon the land where the battle took place; his companion, Mr. Butler tells us, was, a few years since, still living at Brownsville, Pennsylvania.

But the military operations of 1779 were not those which were of the most vital importance to the West. The passage of the Land Laws by Virginia was of more consequence than the losing or gaining of many battles, to the hardy pioneers of Kentucky and to their descendants. Of these laws we can give at best but a vague outline, but it may be enough to render the subject in some degree intelligible.

In 1779 there existed claims of very various kinds to the western lands:

1. Those of the Ohio, Walpole, and other companies, who had a title more or less perfect, from the British Government: none of these had been perfected by patents, however.

2. Claims founded on the military bounty warrants of 1763; some of these were patented;

3. Henderson's claim by purchase from the Indians.

4. Those based on mere selection and occupancy.

5. Others resting on selection and survey, without occupancy.

6. Claims of persons who had imported settlers; for each such settler, under an old law, fifty acres were to be allowed.

7. Claims of persons who had paid money into the old colonial treasury for land.

8. The claims of officers and soldiers of the Revolution, to whom Virginia was indebted.

These various claims were, in the first place, to be provided for, and then the residue of the rich vallies beyond the mountains might be sold to pay the debts of the parent State. In May,* the chief laws relative to this most important and complicated subject were passed, and commissioners were appointed to examine the various claims which might be presented, and give judgment according to the evidence brought forward; their proceedings, however, to remain open to revision until December 1, 1780. And as the subject was a perplexed one, the following principles were laid down for their guidance:

I. All *surveys* (without patents,) made before January 1, 1778, by any county surveyor commissioned by William and Mary College, and founded upon charter; upon importation rights duly proved; upon treasury rights, (money paid into the colonial treasury;) upon entries not exceeding four hundred acres, made before October 26, 1763; upon acts of the Virginia Assembly resulting from orders in council, &c.; upon any warrant from a colonial governor, for military services, &c. were to be good; all other surveys null and void.

II. Those *who had not made surveys*, if claiming under importation rights; under treasury rights; under warrants for military services, were to be admitted to survey and entry.

III. Those who had actually settled, or caused at their cost others to settle, on unappropriated lands, *before January* 1, 1778, were to have four hundred acres, or less, as they pleased, for every family so settled; paying $2 25 for each hundred acres.

*Morehead, 166.

IV. Those who had settled in villages *before January* 1, 1778, were to receive for each family four hundred acres, adjacent to the village, at $2 25 per hundred acres; and the village property was to remain unsurveyed until the General Assembly could examine the titles to it, and do full justice.

V. To all having settlement rights, as above described, was given also a right of pre-emption to one thousand acres adjoining the settlement, at State prices—forty cents an acre.

VI. To those who had settled *since January* 1, 1778, was given a pre-emption right to four hundred acres, adjoining and including the settlement made by them.

VII. All the region between Green river, the Cumberland mountains, Tennessee, the river Tennessee, and the Ohio, was reserved, to be used for military claims.

VIII. The two hundred thousand acres granted Henderson and his associates, October, 1778, along the Ohio, below the mouth of Green river, remained still appropriated to them.

Having thus provided for the various classes of claimants, the Legislature offered the remainder of the public lands at forty cents an acre: the money was to be paid into the Treasury and a warrant for the quantity wished taken by the purchaser; this warrant he was to take to the surveyor of the county in which he wished to locate, and an entry was to be made of every location, so special and distinct, that the adjoining lands might be known with certainty. To persons unable to pay cash, four hundred acres were to be sold on credit, and an order of the county court was to be substituted for the warrant of the Treasury.

To carry these laws into effect, four Virginians were sent westward to attend to claims; these gentlemen opened their court on the 13th of October, at St. Asaphs, and continued their sessions at various points, until April 26, 1780, when they adjourned to meet no more, after having given judgment in favor of about three thousand claims. The labors of the commissioners being ended, those of the surveyor commenced; and Mr. George May, who had been appointed to that office, assumed its duties upon the 10th day of that month, the name of which he bore.*

* Marshall, i. 82, 97. See also Statutes of Virginia, by B. W. Leigh, ii. 347, 348, 350, 353, 388.

[The Governor of Virginia appointed and commissioned William Fleming, Edmund Lyne, James Barbour and Stephen Trigg as Commissioners for Kentucky; but it was not until some time in October, 1779, they arrived in the country and opened court. The law itself was vague, and the proceedings of the court, and the certificates granted to claimants under the law, were more indefinite and uncertain. The description of tracts were general, the boundaries not well defined, and consequently the claims, when located, interfered with each other. Every family that settled on waste or unappropriated lands belonging to Virginia, upon the western waters, was entitled to a pre-emption right to any quantity of land not exceeding four hundred acres; and, upon the payment of two dollars and twenty-five cents on each one hundred acres, a certificate was granted, and a title in fee simple confirmed.

Each settler could select and survey for pre-emption any quantity of waste or unappropriated lands, not exceeding one thousand acres to each claimant, for which forty dollars for each hundred acres were required. Payments could be made in the paper currency of Virginia, which had depreciated greatly.*

We give the following specimen from the record of the Commissioners' Court, to illustrate the vague manner in which tracts of land were described in the entry:

"Michael Stoner this day appeared, and claimed a right of settlement and pre-emption to a tract of land lying on Stoner's Fork, a branch of the south fork of the Licking, about twelve miles above Licking Station, by making corn in the country in the year 1775, and improving said land in 1776. Satisfactory proof being made to the court, they are of opinion that said Stoner has a right to a settlement of four hundred acres of land, including the above mentioned improvement, and a pre-emption of one thousand acres adjoining the same, and that a certificate issue accordingly."

"Joseph Combs, this day claimed a right to a pre-emption of one thousand acres of land lying on Comb's, since called Howard's creek, about eight miles above Boonesborough, on both sides of the creek, and about three or four miles from the mouth of it, by improving the said land, by building a cabin on the premises, in the month of May, 1775. Satisfactory proof being made to the court, they are of opinion that

*Life of Boone, in Sparks' Biography, p. 95.

the said Combs has a right to a pre-emption of one thousand acres, including the said improvement and that a certificate issue accordingly."

The sessions of this court were held at different places in Kentucky, to accommodate the claimants, for the period of one year, during which, about three thousand certificates were granted. The foregoing extracts illustrate the vague and undefined descriptions of localities. Many of the claims were rendered null from more specific and definite surveys covering the same land; and many of the old pioneers, amongst whom was Daniel Boone, lost the lands they had entered and surveyed, by subsequent law suits.*

The winter of 1779–80, was uncommonly severe throughout the United States, and has been distinguished as "*the hard winter.*" The effect on the new settlements in the West was great distress and suffering. In Kentucky, the rivers, creeks and branches were frozen to an uncommon thickness where the water was deep, and became exhausted in shallow places. Horses and cattle died from thirst and starvation. The snow, from continuous storms, became of unusual depth and continued a long time. Men could not hunt. Families were overtaken in the wilderness on their journey, and their progress arrested, and there was great suffering. The supplies of the settlements were exhausted, and corn became extremely scarce.

When the snow melted, and the ice broken up in the rivers, the low grounds and river bottoms were submerged, and much of the stock that had survived the severity of the winter, perished in the waters. The game of the forest furnished meat, which was the only solid food to be obtained until the corn was grown. The summer brought large accessions to the population by emigration.]

With the year 1780, commences the history of those troubles relative to the navigation of the Mississippi, which, for so long a time, produced the deepest discontent in the West. Spain had taken the American part so far as to go to war with Britain, but no treaty had yet been concluded between Congress and the powers at Madrid. Mr. Jay, however, had been appointed Minister from the United States, at the Spanish court, where he arrived in the spring of this year, and where

* Marshall's Kentucky, vol. i. pp. 99, 100.

he soon learned the grasping plans of the Southern Bourbons. These plans, indeed, were in no degree concealed, the French Minister being instructed to inform Congress,—

That his most Christian Majesty [of France,] being informed of the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to treat of an alliance between the United States and his Catholic Majesty, [of Spain,] has signified to his Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, that he wishes most earnestly for such an alliance; and in order *to make the way more easy*, has commanded him to communicate to the Congress, *certain articles*, which his Catholic Majesty deems of great importance to the interests of his crown, and on which it is *highly necessary* that the United States explain themselves with *precision*, and with such *moderation* as may consist with their essential rights.

That the articles are,

1. A precise and invariable western boundary to the United States.
2. The exclusive navigation of the river Mississippi.
3. The possession of the Floridas; and,
4. The land on the left or eastern side of the river Mississippi.

That on the first article, it is the idea of the Cabinet of Madrid, that the United States extend to the westward no farther than settlements were permitted by the Royal Proclamation, bearing date the 7th day of October, 1763, (that is to say, not west of the Alleghenies.)

On the second, that the United States do not consider themselves as having any right to navigate the river Mississippi, no territory belonging to them being situated thereon.

On the third, that it is probable the King of Spain will conquer the Floridas, during the course of the present war; and in such an event, every cause of dispute relative thereto, between Spain and these United States, ought to be removed.

On the fourth, that the lands lying on the east side of the Mississippi, whereon the settlements were prohibited by the aforesaid proclamation, are possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and proper *objects* against which the arms of Spain may be employed, for the purpose of making a *permanent conquest* for the Spanish crown. That such conquest may, probably, be made during the present war. That, therefore, it would be advisable to *restrain* the *southern* States from making any settlements or conquests in these territories. That the Council of Madrid consider the United States, as having no claim to those territories, either as not having had possession of them, before the present war, or not having any foundation for a claim in the right of the sovereignty of Great Britain, whose dominion they have abjured.*

* See Pitkin's History of the United States, ii. p. 92.

These extraordinary claims of his Catholic Majesty were in no respect admitted during this year, either by Mr. Jay or Congress, and in October a full statement of the views of the United States, as to their territorial rights, was drawn up, probably by Mr. Madison, and sent to the Ambassador at Madrid.† Meantime, as Virginia considered the use of the Great Western river very necessary to her children, Governor Jefferson had ordered a fort to be constructed upon the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio. This was done in the spring of the year 1780, by General G. R. Clark, who was stationed at the Falls; and was named by him after the writer of the Declaration of Independence. This fort, for some purposes, may have been well placed, but it was a great mistake to erect it, without notice, in the country of the Chickasaws, who had thus far been true friends to the American cause. They regarded this unauthorized intrusion upon their lands as the first step in a career of conquest, and as such resented it; while the settlers of Kentucky looked upon the measure with but little favor, as it tended to diminish the available force in their stations, which were still exposed to the ceaseless hostility of the Shawanese and Wyandots. The inhabitants of these stations, meanwhile, were increasing with wonderful rapidity under the inducements presented by the land laws. Emigrants crowded over the mountains as soon as spring opened. Three hundred large family boats arrived early in the year at the Falls; and on Beargrass creek was a population containing six hundred serviceable men.* Nor did the swarming stop with the old settlements; in the southwest part of the State the hunter Maulding, and his four sons, built their outpost upon the Red river which empties into the Cumberland; † while, sometime in the spring of this same year, Dr. Walker, and Colonel Henderson, the first visitor and first colonist of Kentucky, tried to run the line which should divide Virginia from Carolina, (or, as things are now named, Kentucky from Tennessee,) westward as far as the Mississippi; an attempt in which they failed.‡ Nor was it to western lands and territorial boundaries alone that

† Pitkin, ii. 512, 91. Life of John Jay, i. 108, &c.

* Butler, second edition, 99.

† Morehead, p. 83.

‡ Marshall, i. 113. Holmes' Annals, ii. [illegible] note 8d.

Virginia directed her attention at this time; in May we find her Legislature saying that, "Whereas, it is represented to this General Assembly that there are certain lands within the county of Kentucky, formerly belonging to British subjects, not yet sold under the law of escheats and forfeitures, which might at a future day be a valuable fund for the maintenance and education of youth, *and it being the interest of this Commonwealth always to promote and encourage every design which may tend to the improvement of the mind and the diffusion of useful knowledge even among its remote citizens, whose situation, in a barbarous neighborhood and a savage intercourse, might otherwise render unfriendly to science:* be it therefor enacted, that eight thousand acres of land, within the said county of Kentucky, late the property of those British subjects, (Robert McKenzie, Henry Collins, and Alexander McKee,) should be vested in trustees, 'as a free donation from this Commonwealth, for the purpose of a public school, or seminary of learning, to be erected within the said county, as soon as its circumstances and the state of its funds will permit.'"

Thus was early laid the foundation of the first western Seminary of Literature, just five years after the forts of Boonesborough and Harrodsburg rose amidst the woods. Thus was the foundation laid for the establishment of Transylvania University at Lexington.

In the summer of 1780, just before the return of Boone to the West, the most formidable invasion of Kentucky took place of which her annals contain any notice. A body of six hundred men, Canadians and Indians, commanded by Colonel Byrd, a British officer, with two field-pieces, marched up the valley of Licking. It first appeared, on the 22d of June, before Ruddle's station, on the south fork of that river, and required instant surrender. The demand could not be resisted, as the Kentucky stockades were powerless against cannon. Martin's station on the same stream was next taken;—and then, from some unexplained cause, the whole body of invaders—whose number was double that of all the fighting men east of the Kentucky river—turned right about face and hurried out of the country with all speed. The only reasonable explanation of the matter is, that the British commander, horror-stricken and terrified at the excesses and cruelties of his savage allies, dared not go forward in the task—by no

means a hopeless one—of depopulating the woods of Kentucky.*

This incursion by Byrd and his red friends, little as it had effected, was enough to cause Clark, who had just returned from his labors on Fort Jefferson, and who found at the Falls a letter from the Governor of Virginia, recommending an attack upon the Indian villages north of the Ohio, to take immediate steps for the chastisement of the savages, and especially for the destruction of the store which furnished goods to the natives. This was situated where the post destroyed by the French in 1752 had been, and was known in later days as Loramie's store. When, however, in accordance with his determination, Clark, in July, went to Harrodsburg to enlist recruits, he found the whole population crazy about land entries, Mr. May, the Surveyor, having opened his office but two months previous. The General proposed to him to shut up for a time while the Indians were attended to; the Surveyor in reply expressed a perfect willingness to do so in case General Clark would order it, but said that otherwise he had no authority to take such a step. The order was accordingly given, accompanied by a full statement of the reasons for the proceeding. The result proved, as usual, Clark's sagacity; volunteers flocked to his standard, and soon, with a thousand men, he was at the mouth of the Licking. Silently and swiftly from that point he proceeded to attack the town, known as Chillicothe, on the Little Miami, and then the Pickaway towns on Mad river. In both attacks he succeeded; destroying the towns, burning the crops, and thus broke down the influence of the British in that quarter. This expedition, the first efficient one ever undertaken against the Miami Indians, for a time relieved Kentucky from the attack of any body of Indians sufficiently numerous to produce serious alarm.† During this period of comparative quiet, those measures which led to the cession of the western lands to the United States began to assume a definite form.

Upon the 25th of June, 1778, when the articles of confederation were under discussion in Congress, the objections

* Butler, 100. Marshall, i. 106, 107. Life of Boone in Sparks, 101.

† For a particular account of this expedition, see Stipp's Miscellany, 63 to 70.—Butler 117.—Marshall i. 109.—American Pioneer, i. 346.—Boone's Life, 102.

of New Jersey to the proposed plan of union were brought forward, and among them was this:

It was ever the confident expectation of this State, that the benefits derived from a successful contest were to be general and proportionate; and that the property of the common enemy, falling in consequence of a prosperous issue of the war, would belong to the United States, and be appropriated to their use. We are therefore greatly disappointed in finding no provision made in the confederation for empowering the Congress to dispose of such property, but especially the vacant and impatented lands, commonly called the crown lands, for defraying the expenses of the war, and for such other public and general purposes. The jurisdiction ought in every instance to belong to the respective states, within the charter or determined limits of which such lands may be seated; but reason and justice must decide, that the property which existed in the Crown of Great Britain, previous to the present revolution, ought now to belong to the Congress, in trust for the use and benefit of the United States. They have fought and bled for it in proportion to their respective abilities; and therefore the reward ought not to be predilectionally distributed. Shall such States as are shut out by situation from availing themselves of the least advantage from this quarter, be left to sink under an enormous debt, whilst others are enabled, in a short period, to replace all their expenditures from the hard earnings of the whole confederacy.*

Nor was New Jersey alone in her views. In January, 1779, the Council and Assembly of Delaware, while they authorized their Delegates to ratify the Articles of Confederation, also passed certain resolutions, and one of them was in these words:

Resolved also, That this state consider themselves justly entitled to a right, in common with the members of the Union, to that extensive tract of country which lies to the westward of the frontiers of the United States, the property of which was not vested in, or granted to, individuals at the commencement of the present war. That the same hath been, or may be, gained from the king of Great Britain, or the native Indians, by the blood and treasure of all, and ought therefore to be a common estate, to be granted out on terms beneficial to the United States.†

But this protest, however positive, was not enough for Maryland, the representatives of which, in Congress, present-

* See Secret Journal, i. p. 377.

† See Secret Journal, i. p. 429.

ed upon the 21st of May, 1779, their instructions relative to confirming the much-talked-of bond that was to make the colonies one. From those instructions we select the following passages:

Virginia, by selling on the most moderate terms a small portion of the lands in question, would draw into her treasury vast sums of money; and, in proportion to the sums arising from such sales, would be enabled to lessen her taxes. Lands comparatively cheap, and taxes comparatively low, with the lands and taxes of an adjacent State, would quickly drain the State thus disadvantageously circumstanced of its most useful inhabitants; its wealth and its consequence in the scale of the confederated States would sink of course. A claim so injurious to more than one-half, if not the whole of the United States, ought to be supported by the clearest evidence of the right. Yet what evidences of that right have been produced? What arguments alleged in support either of the evidence or the right? None that we have heard of deserving a serious refutation. * * *

We are convinced, policy and justice require, that a country unsettled at the commencement of this war, claimed by the British crown, and ceded to it by the treaty of Paris, if wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen States, should be considered as a common property, subject to be parceled out by Congress, into free, convenient, and independent governments, in such manner, and at such times as the wisdom of that assembly shall hereafter direct.

Thus convinced, we should betray the trust reposed in us by our constituents, were we to authorize you to ratify on their behalf the confederation, unless it be further explained. We have coolly and dispassionately considered the subject; we have weighed probable inconveniences and hardships against the sacrifice of just and essential rights; and do instruct you not to agree to the confederation, unless an article, or articles be added thereto in conformity with our declaration. Should we succeed in obtaining such article or articles, then you are hereby fully empowered to accede to the confederation.*

These difficulties towards perfecting the Union were increased by the passage of the laws in Virginia, for disposing of the public lands; this, as we have stated, was done in May, 1779. Apprehensive of the consequences, Congress, upon the 30th of October, in that year, resolved that Virginia be recommended to reconsider her Act opening a land office,

*See Secret Journals, i. p. 435.

and that she, and all other States claiming wild lands, be requested to grant no warrants during the continuance of the war. The troubles which thus threatened to arise from the claims of Virginia, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, to the lands which other colonies regarded as common property, caused New York, on the 19th of February, 1780, to pass an act which gave to the Delegates of that State power to cede the western lands claimed by her for the benefit of the United States. This law was laid before Congress on the 7th of March, 1780, but no step seems to have been taken until September 6th, 1780, when a resolution passed that body pressing upon the States claiming western lands the wisdom of giving up their claims in favor of the whole country; and to aid this recommendation, upon the 10th of October, was passed the following resolution—which formed the basis of all after action, and was the first of those legislative measures which have thus far resulted in the creation of the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Michigan*—

No. 9. *Resolved*,—That the unappropriated lands that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, by any particular State, pursuant to the recommendation of Congress of the 6th day of September last, shall be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States, and be settled and formed into distinct republican States, which shall become members of the Federal Union, and have the same rights of sovereignty, freedom and independence, as the other States; that each State which shall be so formed shall contain a suitable extent of territory, not less than 100 nor more than 150 miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit: that the necessary and reasonable expenses which any particular State shall have incurred since the commencement of the present war, in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts or garrisons within and for the defence, or in acquiring any part of the territory that may be ceded or relinquished to the United States, shall be reimbursed.

That the said lands shall be granted or settled at such times, and under such regulations, as shall hereafter be agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled, or in any nine or more of them.†

Such were the steps taken in relation to the great western wilderness during the year of which we are treating.

[Kentucky was divided into three counties, by the Legisla-

*Old Journals, iii. 384 385, 516, 535, 582.—Land Laws, 338.

†See Land Laws, p. 338.

ture of Virginia, in November, and a civil and military organization provided in each. These were Jefferson, Fayette, and Lincoln. John Todd, an estimable man, was made Colonel, and Daniel Boone, Lieut. Colonel of Fayette county; John Floyd was appointed Colonel, and William Pope, Lieut. Colonel of Jefferson county; Benjamin Logan was Colonel, and Stephen Trigg, Lieut. Colonel of Lincoln county. The three regiments were formed into a brigade, and placed under the command of Gen. G. R. Clark.

Every county had a court of qualified civil and criminal jurisdiction; but there was no court competent to try capital offences nearer than Richmond, Virginia.*]

In December of that year, the plan of conquering Detroit was renewed again. In 1779 that conquest might have been effected by Clark had he been supported by any spirit; in January 1780, the project was discussed between Washington and Brodhead, and given up or deferred, as too great for the means of the Continental establishment; in the following October so weak was that establishment that Fort Pitt itself was threatened by the savages and British, while its garrison, destitute of bread, although there was an abundance in the country, were half disposed to mutiny. Under these circumstances, Congress being powerless for action, Virginia proposed to carry out the original plan of her western General, and extend her operations to the Lakes; we find, in consequence, that an application was made by Jefferson to the Commander-in chief for aid, and that on the 29th of December, an order was given by him on Brodhead for artillery, tools, stores and men.† How far the preparations for this enterprise were carried, and why they were abandoned, we have not been able to discover; but upon the 25th of April, 1781, Washington wrote to General Clark, warning him that Connolly, who had just been exchanged, was expected to go from Canada to Venango, (Franklin, mouth of French creek,) with a force of refugees, and thence to Fort Pitt, with blank commissions for some hundreds of dissatisfied men believed to be in that vicinity.‡ From this it would seem probable that the Detroit expedition was not abandoned at that time.

*Marshall, i. p. 111.—Butler, 114.

†Sparks' Washington, vi. 433; viii. 270, 343.

‡ Sparks' Washington, viii. 25.—This letter is not in the Index to Mr. Sparks' work.

It was in May, 1780, that an Act was passed for establishing the town of Louisville. We have mentioned the survey of the lands at the Falls by Bullitt, in 1773, on account of John Connolly, and also the advertisement of that gentleman and John Campbell, dated April 3, 1774. Connolly, however, as a tory, had forfeited his title, and in the present year, Virginia proceeded to dispose of his share in the one thousand acres at the Falls of the Ohio. But as Campbell, the apparent joint owner, was in captivity in 1780, final action was delayed until his return. This having taken place, successive acts in May and October, '83, and '84, were passed protecting and securing his interests while the share of his refugee partner was disposed of.*

[We now return to the condition of St. Louis. The troubles which followed the attempt of Spain to take possession of Lower Louisiana, left the upper settlements for some years in the hands of the French, in whose possession it remained until 1770. According to the archives, M. St. Ange continued to officiate as commandant until that year.

On the 29th of November, 1770, Piernas, the Spanish Commandant, arrived at St. Louis, but there is no official document or record to show that he exercised the functions of his office until February, 1771. Of his administration we give the language of Wilson Primm, Esq., in his oration at the "Celebration of the Anniversary" in 1847.

The inhabitants were soon reconciled to the change of dominion, for Piernas tempered all his official acts with a spirit of mildness, which characterized the course of nearly all his successors. Such measures, were, indeed, imperatively required towards men who had come with ill humor under the Spanish power, and who would not, otherwise, have hesitated to follow the example before set, by their brethren at New Orleans.

The policy thus pursued, brought about the strongest attachment to Spain; and when, in 1800, the retrocession to France took place, the people manifested the deepest regret and dissatisfaction.

The mildness of the form of government, the liberal spirit with which grants of valuable lands were made, in connection with the advantages which the trade of the country presented, soon attracted immigration from the Canadas, and Lower Louisiana. Settlements were formed along the Missouri and

*Collection of Acts, &c., relative to Louisville, 1837, pp. 3–6.

Mississippi rivers; and as early as 1767, *Vide Poche*, afterwards called *Carondelet*, in honor of the Baron de Carondelet, was founded by Delor de Tregette. In 1776, *Florisant*, afterwards called *St. Ferdinand*, in honor of the King of Spain, was founded by Beaurosier Dunegant; and in 1769, *Les Petite Cotes*, now *St. Charles*, was established by Blanchette Chasseur; and numerous other small settlements sprang up, on the borders of the two rivers before named, and in the interior of the country.

Piernas was succeeded in his office of Lieutenant Governor, by Don Francisco Cruzat, in 1775, and he in his turn was supplanted by Don Fernando de Leyba, in the year 1778.

At this time a material change had taken place in the political relations which had previously existed between the European powers which claimed the northern portion of the American continent.

The provinces had declared their independence of England, had published to the world, in language which even an unwilling memory could not forget, the principles of self-government and of untrammelled freedom which belong to man wherever born, and wherever might be his home. England had called them traitors, and had treated them as rebels; she had not hesitated, in her proud resentment, to use the most unusual and barbarous means to enforce a blind and servile obedience to her power. But the American people remained unappalled in the direful conflict that ensued. Trusting in the justice and holiness of their cause, they eventually remained unconquered, because they WILLED to be free.

At the same time, in France, the faint glimmerings of man's rights to freedom from vassalage, began to be perceived, and the elements were at work, which, at a later period, led to the horrors of the Revolution, but eventually enabled the French people to establish, through a baptism of blood, a limited and constitutional monarchy.

It must not be supposed that such a commotion in the political world would be unfelt or unnoticed upon the western shores of the Mississippi. On the contrary, the feelings of aversion to England which had prompted the people of St. Louis to escape from the jurisdiction of the eastern shore, still lingered in their hearts; and although Spain had exercised the most paternal rule over them, still they could not view unmoved, the conflict which was raging almost within their hearing, between the spirit of tyranny on the one hand, and the spirit of freedom on the other.

The history of the invasion of St. Louis by the British and Indians in 1780, is involved in perplexity, owing to the statements made, and repeated by respectable authorities, concerning the proffered aid of Gen. G. R. Clark from the Illinois

country, and the denial by others equally entitled to credit. The Editor to this edition, has spared no pains to decide this question, and has been obliged to leave it in some doubt, though he is satisfied there is some truth in the statement. To give the reader a full view of the subject, he will give the somewhat contradictory statement of different authors, and the result of his own reflections.

W. Primm, Esq., an intelligent citizen of the place, and who has had access to every existing record, civil and ecclesiastical, gives the following :*

In February, 1779, Col. George Rogers Clark, under authority of Virginia, after having struck many severe blows against the British power on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, was in the neighborhood of St. Louis, raising men from amongst the French inhabitants of Cahokia and Kaskaskia, for the purpose of capturing St. Vincent's, now called Vincennes, and which was then in possession of the English under Governor Hamilton.

Understanding from some source, that an attack was meditated upon St. Louis, by a large force under British influence, that, too, at a time when Spain was contending with England for the possession of the Floridas, Clark, with that chivalrous spirit which has earned for him one of the brightest pages in American history, at once offered to the Lieutenant Governor Leyba, all the assistance in his power to repel the contemplated attack. The offer of assistance was rejected, on the ground that no danger was really apprehended.

In my former sketch of the history of St. Louis, I had placed the time of this offer by Clark in 1780.* Satisfied that it was made anterior to that year, and whilst he was raising troops for the re-capture of Vincennes, I am not, however, permitted to withdraw the statement that such an offer was made. The testimony of witnesses then living, upon whose authority it was then made, leaves in my mind no room to doubt the correctness of the *fact*. In this, too, I am borne out by the authority of Stoddard in his Historical Sketches of Louisiana.

The territory on which St. Louis stood, that on which several other towns had been located, and the surrounding country, were claimed by the Illinois Indians, but they had acquiesced in the intrusion of the whites, and had never molested them. But when the rumor of an attack upon the town began to spread abroad, the people became alarmed for their safety.

The town was almost destitute of works of defence, but the inhabitants amounting to a little more than a hundred *men*, immediately proceeded to enclose it with a species of wall,

* Celebration, February, 1847.

formed of the trunks of small trees, planted in the ground, the interstices being filled up with earth. The wall was some five or six feet high. It started from the *half moon*, a kind of fort in that form, situated on the river, near the present *Floating Dock*, and ran from thence a little above the brow of the hill, in a semi-circle, until it reached the Mississippi, somewhat above the *bridge*, now on Second street. Three gates were formed in it, one near the bridge, and two others on the hill, at the points where the roads from the north-western and south-western parts of the common fields came in. At each of these gates was placed a heavy piece of ordnance, kept continually charged, and in good order. Having completed this work, and hearing no more of the Indians, it was supposed that the attack had been abandoned. Winter passed away, and spring came; still, nothing was heard of the Indians. The inhabitants were led to believe that their apprehensions were groundless, from the representations of the commandant Leyba, who did everything in his power to dissipate their anxiety, assuring them that there was no danger, and that the rumor of the proposed attack was false. The month of May came, the labors of planting were over, and the peaceful and happy villagers gave themselves up to such pursuits and pleasures as suited their taste.

A few days before the attack, an old man named Quenelle, being on the opposite side of the river, saw another Frenchman by the name of Ducharme, who had formerly absconded from St. Louis, who told him of the projected attack. The Governor called him "an old coward," and ordered him to prison.

In the meantime, numerous bands of the Indians living on the lakes and the Mississippi—the Ojibeways, Menomenies, Winnebagoes, Sioux, Sacs, &c., together with a large number of Canadians, amounting, in all, to upwards of fourteen hundred—had assembled on the eastern shore of the Mississippi, a little above St. Louis, awaiting the 26th of May, the day fixed for the attack. The 25th of May was the feast of *Corpus Christi*, a day highly venerated by the inhabitants, who were all Catholics. Had the assault taken place then, it would have been fatal to them; for, after divine service, all, men, women and children, had flocked to the prairie to gather strawberries, which were that season very abundant and fine. The town, being left perfectly unguarded, could have been taken with ease, and the unsuspecting inhabitants, who were roaming about in search of fruit, could have been massacred without resistance. Fortunately, however, a few only of the enemy had crossed the river, and ambushed themselves in the prairie. The villagers frequently came so near them, in the course of the day, that the Indians, from their places of conceal-

ment, could have reached them with their hands. But they knew not how many of the whites were still remaining in the town, and in the absence of their coadjutors, feared to attack, lest their preconcerted plan might be defeated.

On the 26th, the body of the Indians crossed, and marched directly towards the fields, expecting to find the greater part of the villagers there; but in this they were disappointed, a few only having gone out to view their crops. These perceived the approach of the savage foe, and immediately commenced a retreat towards the town, the most of them taking the road that led to the upper gate, nearly through the mass of Indians, and followed by a shower of bullets. The firing alarmed those who were in town, and the cry, "To arms! to arms!" was heard in every direction. They rushed towards the works, and threw open the gates to their brethren. The Indians advanced slowly, but steadily, towards the town, and the inhabitants, though almost deprived of hope, by the vast superiority in numbers of the assailants, determined to defend themselves to the last.

In expectation of an attack, Silvio Francisco Cartabona, a governmental officer, had gone to Ste. Genevieve for a company of militia, to aid in defending the town, in case of necessity; and had, at the beginning of the month, returned with sixty men, who were quartered on the citizens. As soon as the attack commenced, however, neither Cartabona nor his men could be seen. Either through fear or treachery, the greater part concealed themselves in a garret, and there remained until the Indians had retired. The assailed, being deprived of a considerable force by this shameful defection, were still resolute and determined. About fifteen men were posted at each gate; the rest were scattered along the line of defence, in the most advantageous manner.

When within proper distance, the Indians began an irregular fire, which was answered with showers of grape shot from the artillery. The firing, for a while, was warm; but the Indians perceiving that all their efforts would be ineffectual, on account of the entrenchments, and deterred by the cannon, to which they were unaccustomed, from making a nearer approach, suffered their zeal to abate, and deliberately retired. At this stage of affairs, the Lieutenant Governor made his appearance. The first intimation that he received of what was going on, was by the discharge of artillery, on the part of the inhabitants. He immediately ordered several pieces of cannon, which were posted in front of the government house, to be spiked and filled with sand, and went, or rather *was rolled in a wheelbarrow*, to the scene of action. In a very peremptory tone, he commanded the inhabitants to cease firing, and return to their houses. Those posted at the lower gate, did not hear the order, and consequently kept their stations. The

commandant perceived this, and ordered a cannon to be fired at them. They had barely time to throw themselves on the ground, when the volley passed over them, and struck the wall, tearing a great part of it down. These proceedings, as well as the whole tenor of his conduct, after the first rumor of an attack, gave rise to suspicions, very unfavorable to the Lieutenant Governor. It was freely said, that he was the cause of the attack, that he was connected with the British, and that he had been bribed into a dereliction of duty, which, had not Providence averted, would have doomed them to destruction. Under the pretext of proving to them that there was no danger of an attack, he had, a few days before it occurred, sold to the traders all the ammunition belonging to the government; and they would have been left perfectly destitute and defenceless, had they not found, in a private house, eight barrels of powder, belonging to a trader, which they seized in the name of the king, upon the first alarm. These circumstances gave birth to a strong aversion to the Commandant, which evinces itself, even at this day, in execrations of his character, whenever his name is mentioned to those who have known him. Representations of his conduct, together with a detailed account of the attack, were sent to New Orleans by a special messenger, and the result was, that the Governor General reappointed Francisco Cruzat to the office of Lieutenant Governor.

As soon as it was ascertained that the Indians had retired from the neighborhood, the inhabitants proceeded to gather and bury the dead, that lay scattered in all parts of the prairie. Seven were at first found, and buried in one grave. Ten or twelve others, in the course of a fortnight, were discovered in the long grass that bordered the marshes. The acts of the Indians were accompanied by their characteristic ferocity. Some of their victims were horribly mangled. With the exception of one individual, the whites who accompanied the Indians, did not take part in the butcheries that were committed. A young man, named *Calve*, was found dead, his skull split open, and a tomahawk, on the blade of which was written the word, "*Calve*," sticking in his brain. He was supposed to have fallen by the hand of his uncle. Had those who discovered the Indians in the prairie, fled to the lower gate, they would have escaped; but the greater part of them took the road that led to the upper gate, through the very ranks of the enemy, and were thus exposed to the whole of their fire. About twenty persons, it is computed, met their death in endeavoring to get within the entrenchments. None of those within them were injured, and none of the Indians were killed; at least, none of them were found. Their object was not plunder, for they did not attempt, in their retreat, to take with them any of the cattle or horses that were in the

prairie, and which they might have taken; nor did they attack any of the neighboring towns, where the danger would have been less, and the prospect of success greater. The only object they had in view, was the destruction of St. Louis; and this would seem to favor the idea that they were instigated by the English, and gives good ground, when connected with other circumstances, to believe that Leyba was their aider and abettor.

Thus ended an attack, which, properly conducted, might have been destructive to the infant town, and which, from the number of the enemy, and the danger incurred, was calculated to impress itself deeply on the minds of those who witnessed it. It forms an era in the history of the place; and the year in which it occurred, has ever since been designated by the inhabitants as the *year of the blow*—"*L'annee du Coup.*"

Leyba, aware that representations of his course had been specially forwarded to the Governor General at New Orleans, and fearful of the consequences, and unable to bear up under the load of scorn and contempt which the inhabitants heaped upon him, died a short time after the attack, suspected by many of having hastened his end by poison.

Upon his death, Cartabona performed the functions of government until the following year, when Cruzat returned to St. Louis, and assumed the command as Lieutenant Governor a second time.

There can be no doubt that Leyba, like another Arnold, was seduced into defection from his duty, and that it was only the unflinching daring of the people of St. Louis, that saved this infant outpost from utter destruction.

The population of St. Louis at the period of this attack was about eight or nine hundred, of all ages and classes. Hutchins* says (1771) "At Ste. Genevieve there were two hundred and eight whites and eighty negroes, capable of bearing arms; and at St. Louis, four hundred and fifteen whites and forty blacks. He further states there were one hundred and twenty houses in St. Louis, some of which were of stone, large and commodious." The whole white population he makes eight hundred, and of negroes, one hundred and fifty.

Stoddard, in his "Sketches of Louisiana," (p. 79) says:

"The commandant of Michilimackinac in 1780, assembled about fifteen hundred Indians, and one hundred and forty English, and attempted the reduction of St. Louis, the capital

*Historical and Topographical Description of Louisiana.

of Upper Louisiana. During the short time they were before that town, sixty of the inhabitants were killed, and thirty taken prisoners. Fortunately, General Clark was on the opposite side of the Mississippi with a considerable force. On his appearance at St. Louis with a strong detachment, the Indians were amazed. They had no disposition to quarrel with any other than Louisianians, and charged the English with deception. In fine, as the jealousy of the Indians was excited, the English trembled for their safety, and therefore secretly abandoned their auxiliaries, and made the best of their way into Canada. The Indians then returned to their homes in peace.

This expedition, as appears, was not sanctioned by the English court, and the private property of the commandant was seized to pay the expenses of it—most likely because it proved unfortunate."

Major Amos Stoddard, author of the "*Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*," was an officer of the United States, and constituted the agent of France to receive Upper Louisiana from the Spanish authorities and make the transfer to the United States. He was an accomplished scholar in science and general literature, read French, and was in the country in the discharge of his official duties from March, 1804 to 1809. A part of the time his head quarters were in St. Louis. He was personally acquainted and intimate with the more intelligent inhabitants of the place, had access to public archives, which he carefully examiued, and made extensive excursions throughout the country. Respectable men in most of the districts, and especially at St. Louis, furnished him with such local information as they possessed. And in carefully comparing his statements in general with the published authorities and other documents from whence he derived many facts in his Sketches, we find him accurate. Yet, in this statement of the attack he is certainly inaccurate, though, doubtless, he wrote as he was informed from the recollections of the people. The number of British officers and troops is much overrated. And, certainly, General Clark at the time of the invasion was not "on the opposite side of the Mississippi," nor did he make "his appearance at St. Louis with a strong detachment," for at that eventful crisis, *he was below the mouth of the Ohio establishing Fort Jefferson.* From thence he proceeded by land to Harrodsburg in Kentucky, in the month of June; was at the Falls (Louisville) the 14th of

July, and by the 2nd of August had an army of one thousand men raised to march against the Indians in Ohio. Besides, Colonel John Todd, was "County Lieutenant," or commandant at Kaskaskia, in May, 1780.

As subsequent historians have followed mainly the statement of Major Stoddard, we have no occasion to examine their testimony.

Mr. Nicollet, in a documentary report of an exploration of the Upper Mississippi, published by the United States' Senate, February, 1841, containing a "Sketch of the Early History of St. Louis," and who examined the papers of the late Col. Auguste Chouteau, denies the offer or the interference of Gen. Clark, alleging that, "with his men, he then occupied the important post of Kaskaskia, which is more than fifty-six miles S. E. of St. Louis; and that, consequently, this gallant officer could not have had time, even if it had fell within the line of his duty, to aid in an affair that concerned the Spaniards and the British, which was planned as a surprise, and lasted but a few hours."

Mr. Nicollet was mistaken in the date, or else a typographical error crept into the printed copy, for it was not the 6th, but the 26th, of May the assault was made. This is evident from the records of the church, concerning the burial of the slain, and is sustained by Mr. Primm in the document already given. He was also mistaken in supposing General Clark to have been at Kaskaskia at that time. Judge Martin* says:

"In the fall, [1780] the British commanding officer at Michillimackinac, with about one hundred and forty men from his garrison, and near fourteen hundred Indians, attacked the Spanish post at St. Louis; but Col. Clark, who was still at Kaskaskia, came to its relief. The Indians, who came from Michillimackinac, having no idea of fighting any but Spaniards, refused to act against Americans, and complained of being deceived. Clark released about fifty prisoners that had been made, and the enemy made the best of his way home."

Judge Martin refers to Stoddard. Judge Hall has given a graphic description of the assault, the substance of which he had from the Address of W. Primm, Esq., before the St. Louis Lyceum, in 1831, and subsequently published in the Illinois Magazine, of which Judge Hall was Editor. He says nothing about the interference of General Clark.†

* History of Louisiana, vol. ii., p. 53.

† Sketches of the West, vol. 1: 171, 172.

Amidst this conflicting testimony, the reader naturally inquires, what is the truth?

We subjoin the following facts and suggestions:

There was constant intercourse between the inhabitants of St. Louis and those of Cahokia and Kaskaskia, and each party felt interested in the welfare of the other.

In the spring of 1779, when Clark was at Cahokia and Kaskaskia, St. Louis was threatened by a British and Indian force from the North. This the gallant General learned from the Indians of Illinois, who were friendly, and he communicated the intelligence to the inhabitants, and, through them, to Governor Leyba, by the medium of his French associates of Illinois. It was then he proffered aid, should the town be attacked. When the attack was made, a year after, he had left the Illinois country, and was at the Chickasaw Bluffs, establishing Fort Jefferson, to which point he went early in 1780, by the Mississippi river.

This proffered aid, in case of an invasion, made in 1779, was not without its effect. It produced a friendly feeling in St. Louis, and the contiguous settlements, to the Americans, which was subsequently manifested in the encouragement given by the commandants to emigration across the Mississippi. We conceive the statement of Mr. Primm, heretofore given, to be the correct one.

There is one fact that must remain unexplained. Taking the lowest statement of the invading force, and, with an imbecile commander, as Leyba unquestionably was, they could have destroyed St. Louis, and massacred all its inhabitants. It appears, from all accounts, the Indians, after killing and scalping about twenty persons, who were out of the town in the fields, and making an attack on the gates, suddenly retired, refusing to co-operate any longer with their British allies.

Tradition says, they were instigated to make this attack by a renegade French trader, in revenge for some injury he had received at St. Louis, and that finding persons they knew, and with whom they had formerly associated, and whom they recognized as friends, they withdrew of their own accord. Be this as it may, we regard their relinquishment of the attack as a merciful interposition of Providence.

"In the autumn of 1780, La Balme, a native of France, made an attempt to carry an expedition from Kaskaskia against Detroit. With twenty or thirty men, he marched from Kaskaskia to Post Vincennes, where he was joined by a small reinforcement. He then moved up the Wabash, and reached the British trading post, Ke-ki-ong-a, at the head of the Maumee. After plundering the traders, and some of the Indians, he marched from the post, and encamped near the river Aboite. A party of the Miami Indians attacked the encampment in the night. La Balme and several of his followers were slain, and the expedition was defeated." *]

We now enter on the Annals of 1781.

Virginia, in accordance with the recommendation of Congress already noticed, upon the 2d of January of this year, agreed to yield her western lands to the United States, upon certain conditions; among which were these: 1st, no person holding ground under a purchase from the natives to him or his grantors, individually, and no one claiming under a grant or charter from the British crown, inconsistent with the charter or customs of Virginia, was to be regarded as having a valid title; and 2d, the United States were to guarantee to Virginia all the Territory south-east of the Ohio to the Atlantic, as far as the bounds of Carolina. These conditions Congress would not accede to, and the Act of Cession, on the part of the Old Dominion, failed, nor was any thing farther done until 1783.†

Early in the same month in which Virginia made her first Act of Cession, a Spanish captain, with sixty-five men, left St. Louis, for the purpose of attacking some one of the British posts of the north-west. Whether this attempt originated in a desire to revenge the English and Indian siege of St. Louis, in the previous year, or whether it was a mere pretence to cover the claims about that time set up by Spain to the western country, in opposition to the colonies, which she claimed to be aiding, it is perhaps impossible to say. But these facts—that the point aimed at, St. Joseph's, was far in the interior, and that this crusade was afterwards looked to by the court of Spain as giving a ground of territorial right—make it probable that the enterprise was rather a legal one against the Americans, than a military one against the Eng-

* Dillon's *Indiana*, vol. 1, p. 190.

† Old Journals, iv. 265 to 267.

lish: and this conclusion is made stronger by the fact, that the Spaniards, having taken the utterly unimportant post of St. Joseph, and having claimed the country as belonging to the King of Spain, by right of conquest, turned back to the quiet west bank of the Mississippi again, and left the Long Knives to prosecute the capture of Detroit, as they best could.*

In the spring of this year, an army of eight hundred men, under command of Colonel Brodhead, marched from Wheeling, the place of rendezvous, to destroy some Indian settlements at Coshocton, near the forks of the Muskingum river. This army reached the principal village, on the east side of the river, and took a number of prisoners, of which sixteen were killed with the tomahawk, and scalped. Their march further, was arrested by the river, which was unusually high, and the villages on the west side escaped destruction, and the army retired.†

Upon the 16th of April in this year, was born at Salem, upon the Muskingum river, Mary Heckewelder, daughter of the widely-known Moravian missionary—the earliest born of white American children, who first saw the light north of the Ohio; and in her language, rather than our own, we now give some incidents relative to the Christian Delawares and their teachers.

Soon after my birth, times becoming very troublesome, the settlements were often in danger from war parties; and finally, in the beginning of September, of the same year, we were all made prisoners. First, four of the missionaries were seized by a party of Huron warriors, and declared prisoners of war; they were then led into the camp of the Delawares, where the death-song was sung over them. Soon after they had secured them, a number of warriors marched off for Salem and Shœnbrun. About thirty savages arrived at the former place in the dusk of the evening, and broke open the mission house. Here they took my mother and myself prisoners, and having led her into the street, and placed guards over her, they plundered the house of every thing they could take with them and destroyed what was left. Then, going to take my mother along with them, the savages were prevailed upon, through the intercession of the Indian females, to let her remain at Salem till the next morning—the night being dark and rainy, and almost impossible for her to travel so far—they, at last,

* Diplomatic Correspondence, iii. 339; viii. 150.—Secret Journals, iv. 64, 74.

† Dillon's *Indiana*, i. 190.

consented on condition that she should be brought into the camp the next morning, which was accordingly done, and she was safely conducted by our Indians to Gnadenhutten.

After experiencing the cruel treatment of the savages for some time, they were set at liberty again; but were obliged to leave their flourishing settlements, and forced to march through a dreary wilderness to Upper Sandusky. We went by land through Goseachguenk to the Walholding, and then partly by water and partly along the banks of the river, to Sandusky Creek. All the way I was carried by an Indian woman, carefully wrapt in a blanket, on her back. Our journey was exceedingly tedious and dangerous; some of the canoes sunk, and those that were in them lost all their provisions and everything they had saved. Those that went by land drove the cattle, a pretty large herd. The savages now drove us along, the missionaries with their families usually in their midst, surrounded by their Indian converts. The roads were exceedingly bad, leading through a continuation of swamps.

Having arrived at Upper Sandusky, they built small huts of logs and bark to screen them from the cold, having neither beds nor blankets, and being reduced to the greatest poverty and want; for the savages had by degrees stolen almost every thing, both from the missionaries and Indians, on the journey. We lived here extremely poor, often-times very little or nothing to satisfy the cravings of hunger; and the poorest of the Indians were obliged to live upon their dead cattle, which died for want of pasture.*

To this account, by one who is, from her age at the time, but a second-hand witness, we may add the following particulars. We have already mentioned the rise of the Christian-Indian towns upon the Muskingum. During the wars between the north-west savages and the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontier-men, the quiet converts of Post, Zeisberger, and Heckewelder, had any other than a pleasant position. The Wyandots thought they betrayed the red men's interests to their religious white kinsfolk; the pale-faced Indian-haters of the Kenawha, doubted as little that the "praying" Delawares played *them* false, and favored the fierce warriors of the lakes.† Little by little these suspicions and jealousies assumed form, and the missionaries having actually been guilty of the crime of interpreting to the Dela-

* American Pioneer, ii. 224.

† In October, 1777, a party of Americans crossed the Ohio to attack the Moravian towns.—Heckewelder's Narrative, 165.

ware chiefs, certain letters received from Pittsburgh, measures were taken by the English, as early, it seems, as 1779, to remove them from the American borders, and thus prevent their interference. No result followed at that time from the steps alluded to; but in 1780 or '81, the Iroquois were asked at a council, held at Niagara, to remove the Muskingum Christians, as the settlements were in the country claimed by the Five Nations. The New York savages were perfectly willing the thing should be done, but were not willing to do it themselves, so they sent to the Ottawas and Chippeways* a message to the effect that they might have the Moravian congregations to make soup of. The Ottawas, in their turn, declined the treat, and sent the message to the Hurons, or, as they are most commonly called, the Wyandots. These, together with Captain Pipe, the war chief of the Delawares, who was the enemy of the missionaries because they taught peace, carried the wish of the English into execution, in the manner narrated by the daughter of the Moravian leader. At Detroit, whither four of the Europeans were taken in October, Heckewelder and his co-laborers were tried; but as even Captain Pipe could find no other charge against them than that of interpreting the American letters above referred to, they were discharged and returned to their families at Sandusky, toward the close of November.†

While the English and their red allies were thus persecuting the poor Moravians and their disciples on the one hand, the Americans were preparing to do the same thing, only, as the event proved, in a much more effectual style. In the spring of 1781, Colonel Brodhead led a body of troops against some of the hostile Delawares, upon the Muskingum. This, a portion of his followers thought, would be an excellent opportunity to destroy the Moravian towns, and it was with difficulty he could withhold them. He sent word to Heckewelder, and tried to prevent any attack upon the members of his flock. In this attempt he appears to have succeeded; but he did not, perhaps could not, prevent the slaughter of the troops taken from the hostile Delawares. First, sixteen were killed, and then nearly twenty. A chief, who came under assurances

* The Ojibeways or Odjibways, as it is lately written in conformity with the true sound and old writing.—Schoolcraft's Algic Researches.—American State Papers, v. 707. 718.

† See a full account in Heckewelder's Narrative, 230—299.

of safety to Brodhead's camp, was also murdered by a noted partisan, named Wetzel.* From that time, the Virginians rested, until autumn, when the frontier-men, led by Colonel David Williamson, marched out expressly against the towns of the christian Delawares; but they found that the Hurons had preceded them, and the huts and fields of the friends of peace were deserted.†

The particular cause of this attempt, on the part of the Americans, was the series of attacks made during this year by small bands of Indians, along the whole range of stations, from Laurel Hill to Green river. The details of these incursions may be found in Withers' Border Warfare, 225, and Marshall's Kentucky, I. 115. Among these details, the mass of which we, of necessity, omit, is the following, which seems worthy of especial notice. Squire Boone's station, near Shelbyville, being very much exposed, those within it determined to seek a place of greater security: while on their way to the Beargrass settlements, they were attacked by the Indians. Colonel Floyd, hearing of this, hastened with twenty-five men against the enemy, but fell into an ambuscade of two hundred savages, and lost half his men. Among those in his party was Captain Samuel Wells, with whom Floyd had been for some time at feud. This gentleman, as he retreated, saw his superior officer, but personal foe, on foot, nearly exhausted, and hard pressed by the invaders, on the point of falling a sacrifice to their fury; instantly dismounting, he forced Colonel Floyd to take his place in the saddle, and being himself fresh, ran by the side of the horse, supporting the fainting rider, and saved the lives of both. It will readily be believed their enmity closed with that day.‡

Colonel Wells removed to Missouri in 1817, settled in St. Charles county, where he died, beloved and respected by his neighbors.

In addition to the incursions by the northern Indians, this

* Heckewelder's Narrative, 214.—Doddridge, 291, (the date is in this account 1780, but we presume wrongly.)—Border Warfare, 219; Withers follows Doddridge, but both draw from Heckewelder, who says 1781.—For a full account of Lewis Wetzel; the very embodiment of the most reckless class of frontier-men, see Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 121, 161, 169, 177.

† Border Warfare, 229. Doddridge, 262.

‡ Butler, 2d edition, 119.—Marshall, i. 115.—Marshall, says this took place in April, Butler in September, and refers to Colonel F's. MS. letters.

year witnessed the rising of the Chickasaws against Fort Jefferson, which, as we have said, had been unwisely built in their country without leave asked. The attack was made under the direction of Colbert, a Scotchman, who had acquired great influence with the tribe, and whose descendants have since been among the influential chiefs. The garrison were few in number, sickly, and half-starved; but some among them were fool-hardy and wicked enough to fire at Colbert, when under a flag of truce, which provoked the savages beyond all control, and had not Clark arrived with reinforcements, the Chickasaws would probably have had all the scalps of the intruders. As it was, the fort was relieved, but was soon after abandoned, as being too far from the settlements, and of very little use at any rate.*

Meantime the internal organization of Kentucky was proceeding rapidly. Floyd, Logan, and Todd were made county Lieutenants of Jefferson, Lincoln, and Fayette, with the rank of Colonel; while William Pope, Stephen Trigg, and Daniel Boone, were made Lieutenant Colonels, to act for the others in case of need. Clark was made Brigadier General, and placed at the head of military affairs, his head quarters being at the Falls, between which point and the Licking he kept a row galley going, to intercept parties of Indians, though to very little purpose. George May, who had been surveyor for the whole county of Kentucky, after the division, had Jefferson assigned him; while Thomas Marshall was appointed to the same post in Fayette, and James Thompson in Lincoln. Of the three, however, only the last opened his office during the year, and great was the discontent of those waiting to enter the fertile lands of the two counties which were thus kept out of their reach; a discontent ten-fold the greater in consequence of the laws of Virginia in relation to her depreciated currency, the effect of which was to make land cost in specie only half a cent an acre.

[Towards the autumn of 1781, marauding parties of Indians again visited the frontiers of Kentucky. Boonesborough being now an interior station remained unmolested. The people at a station in the vicinity of Shelbyville became alarmed at Indian signs and attempted to remove to Fort Nel-

*Butler, 2d edition, 119.

son. They were attacked by a large body of Indians, defeated and dispersed.

Amongst the resolute and active men among the pioneers of Kentucky were the McAffees, three brothers, Samuel, James and Robert McAffee, who made a station in the vicinity of Harrodsburgh. They were vigorous, athletic men, of honorable principles, and members of the Presbyterian church. Like the other pioneers, they were frequently brought into deadly conflict with the Indians.

It was in the month of May, 1781, that Samuel McAffee and another man were fired on by Indians and the man fell. McAffee turned and ran towards the fort, but in a few yards met another Indian in the path. Each attempted to fire at the same instant, but the Indian's gun missed fire, while McAffee shot him through the heart. The two other brothers, hearing the guns, came to the rescue, but had a most perilous escape to the fort.

In a few moments the fort was assailed by a large party, and while the men used their rifles, the women cast the bullets, and provided refreshments. The firing was heard at other stations, and Major McGary and forty men were soon on the trail of the Indians, whom they overtook and routed.*

One other event will close the western annals of 1781, and no more important event has yet been chronicled: it was the large emigration of young unmarried women, into a region abounding in young unmarried men; its natural result was the rapid increase of population.

*Marshall's Kentucky, i. 117.

CHAPTER IX.

THRILLING INCIDENTS.

Massacre of the Moravian Indians—Capture and burning of Colonel Crawford—Defeat of Colonel Laughery—Attack on Bryant's Station—Battle of the Blue Licks—Expedition against the Indians in Ohio by General Clark—Peace with Great Britain—Instructions to Indian Commissioners—Difficulties about carrying out certain conditions of the treaty.

[We have already noticed the establishment of Fort Jefferson, on the Mississippi, a few miles below the mouth of the Ohio, by General Clark. The country was claimed by the Chickasaw Indians, and they remonstrated at this intrusion on their territory. The remonstrance being disregarded, they prepared to repel the invaders by force. Early in the summer of 1781, when the garrison was reduced to about thirty men, many of whom were invalids, the Indians attacked the fort with a large force. These Chickasaws were led by Colbert, a half breed chief, whose father was a Scotch trader. The siege was pressed with vigor six days, and several assaults made by the invaders, who were driven back by the artillery, loaded with grape and musket balls. The garrison was relieved by the timely appearance of General G. R. Clark, with a reinforcement and a supply of provisions. Shortly afterwards, the Governor of Virginia ordered it to be dismantled and abandoned. The order being executed, the Chickasaws were at peace.*

This year the crops of wheat, corn, and provisions of all kinds were abundant in the West, and the autumn brought great numbers of emigrants to Kentucky.

We have already noticed the sufferings of the Moravians on the Muskingum, in 1781. These people were religiously opposed to war in every form, and taught their Indian converts this lesson. Hence the savage Indians despised and persecuted them, and were notorious for charging the depredations committed by themselves, on the "praying Indians," as the Moravian converts were called.

As early as 1769, the praying Indians upon the Delaware river had removed westward, and commenced three settle-

*Marshall's Kentucky, i. 112; Butler, 119; Monette, ii. 122.

ments upon the Muskingum river, which were called Gnadenhutten, Schœnbrun, and Salem. They were situated in the south part of Tuscarawas county. The Missionaries, through whose benevolent labors they were converted, were David Zeisberger, Michael Jung, Christian Frederic Post, (already mentioned, page 105,) and John Heckewelder. Here they intended to live in peace, and extend their truly christian labors to the tribes of the north-west.

The converted Indians had adopted civilized habits, were able to read, and had cleared and cultivated farms in common fields. They had several hundred acres of corn on the rich bottom lands of the river—had two hundred cattle, and four hundred hogs. These Indians were chiefly Delawares, and as a portion of the uncivilized Delaware nation were unfriendly to the United States, the frontier people entertained strong prejudices against the praying Delawares.

Many persons thought, or pretended to think, that, although these christian Indians had renounced war and theft, they gave information to the savage tribes. They treated all Indians that passed through their towns with christian hospitality, and, therefore, were accused of furnishing supplies to war parties.

Nor did they fare any better from the other side. The Wyandots were mortal enemies to the United States, and at war with them, and they accused the Moravian Indians of being in communication with the Americans, and even with the military of the United States.

The British officers, at Detroit, in the year 1781, made application to the Six Nations, to have the praying Indians removed, and the subject was considered in a council at Niagara, where the Iroquois, in their figurative language, authorized the Ottawas and Ojibeways to kill them. "We herewith make you a present of the Christian Indians, to make soup of," was the form of address; to which both the Ojibeways and Ottawas returned for answer, "We have no cause for doing this."

The same year, the Wyandots, led by a noted chief, called the *Half-King*, arrived at the Moravian towns, with two hundred warriors, on their way to the settlements in Western Virginia, and threatened these peaceable Indians with destruction.

The fact has long since been established beyond all dispute, that these praying Indians lived according to their profession —that they did all they could to prevail on the Ohio Indians to live in peace, and that when they knew of any hostile parties intending an attack on the settlements, they sent runners and gave them timely warning.

Those renegadoes, Girty, McKee and Elliott, who held commissions in the British service, did what they could to excite hostilities against them. The Half-King and Captain Pipe were their enemies. Finally, British officers employed the Wyandots to remove them and their teachers from their own towns and country, to Sandusky. Their corn was left in the field and their cattle in the woods.

During the following winter, their missionaries were separated from them, and sent as prisoners to Detroit. Not only the missionaries, but the people, were treated with great severity. The British finally released them, and suffered them to return.

In the autumn of 1781, Colonel David Williamson raised a corps of volunteers in Western Pensylvania, and marched to the Moravian towns, with the design of removing the inhabitants to Pittsburgh, but he had been anticipated by the Wyandots and British.

A few persons were still at the towns, whom he took prisoners, and removed them to Pittsburgh.

It is supposed that Colonel Williamson thought that the removal of the praying Indians to Sandusky was proof enough of their treachery. During the winter, several persons and families were killed along the Ohio river, probably by Wyandots, and these massacres were laid to the Christian Delawares. Unfortunately, about one hundred and fifty, men, women, and children, returned to their towns in February, of which fact Colonel Williamson learned, and early in March, with an irregular force collected from the regions of the Ohio and Monongahela rivers, of about one hundred men, without authority from any civil or military power, he made a rapid march to the Muskingum, where the party arrived on the 7th of March.

Their professed object was to capture and remove the Christian Delawares, and destroy their houses and fields. A

number of the people were at work in their corn fields, when this hostile force appeared, who ran to the village of Gnadenhutten. Several men and one woman were killed. They were told it was the intention to take them to Pittsburgh, where they would be protected, and were directed to enter two houses and remain for the night.

The commander of the party then proposed to leave it to his men to decide by vote their fate, and orders were given that those who were for sparing their lives should step out in front. Of some ninety men present, only seventeen or eighteen voted to spare their lives! This sentence was then announced to the people. They spent the night in prayer and in singing hymns. In the morning the terrible slaughter commenced. No resistance was made. Guns, tomahawks, and hatchets were used. Two only escaped; one, a young man about seventeen years of age, wounded, bleeding and scalped, crept into the bushes and lived; another crawled under the floor, where he lay until the blood of his murdered relations poured in streams upon him.

The buildings were set on fire, and the bodies partially consumed. Colonel Williamsom and his men returned to receive the execrations of their countrymen. Both the civil and military authorities of the State and nation reprobated the direful deed!

Forty men, twenty-two women, and thirty-two children were thus destroyed!

It would seem, from all the testimony in the case, that Williamson was inclined to mercy. Such was his plea in justification of the part he acted, but he was the commander, and ought to have known his duty. The only palliation that can be offered, is the infatuation under which they labored, that these Indians were concerned in the murder of the frontier families.*

It was in March of 1782, that this great murder was committed. And as the tiger, having once tasted blood, longs for blood, so it was with the frontier-men; and another expedi-

*For further details the reader is referred to Heckewelder's Narrative, pp. 313–328 Brown's History of Missions; History of Missions by Smith and Choules; American Pioneer, vol. ii. pp. 425–432; Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, vol. ii. pp. 129–131; Doddridge, pp. 248, 255; Withers' Border Warfare, pp. 232–230; and various public documents.—[Ed.

tion was at once organized, to make a dash at the towns of the Moravian Delawares and Wyandots, upon the Sandusky. No Indian was to be spared; friend or foe, every red man was to die. The commander of the expedition was Colonel William Crawford, Washington's old agent in the West. He did not want to go, but found it could not be avoided. The troops, numbering nearly five hundred men, marched, in June, to the Sandusky uninterrupted. There they found the towns deserted, and the savages on the alert. A battle ensued, and the whites were forced to retreat. In their retreat, many left the main body, and nearly all who did so perished. Of Crawford's own fate, we have the following account by Dr. Knight, his companion:

Monday morning, the tenth of June, we were paraded to march to Sandusky, about thirty-three miles distant; they had eleven prisoners of us, and four scalps, the Indians being seventeen in number.

Colonel Crawford was very desirous to see a certain Simon Girty, who lived with the Indians, and was on this account permitted to go to town the same night, with two warriors to guard him, having orders at the same time to pass by the place where the Colonel had turned out his horse, that they might, if possible, find him. The rest of us were taken as far as the old town, which was within eight miles of the new.

Tuesday morning, the eleventh, Colonel Crawford was brought out to us on purpose to be marched in with the other prisoners. I asked the Colonel if he had seen Mr. Girty? He told me he had, and that Girty had promised to do every thing in his power for him, but that the Indians were very much enraged against the prisoners; particularly Captain Pipe, one of the chiefs; he likewise told me that Girty had informed him that his son-in-law, Colonel Harrison, and his nephew, William Crawford, were made prisoners by the Shawanese, but had been pardoned. This Captain Pipe had come from the town about an hour before Colonel Crawford, and had painted all the prisoners' faces black. As he was painting me he told me I should go to the Shawanese towns and see my friends. When the Colonel arrived, he painted him black also, told him he was glad to see him, and that he would have him shaved when he came to see his friends at the Wyandot town. When we marched, the Colonel and I were kept back between Pipe and Wyngenim, the two Delaware chiefs; the other nine prisoners were sent forward with another party of Indians. As we went along we saw four of the prisoners lying by the path, tomahawked and scalped; some of them were at the distance of half a mile from each

other. When we arrived within half a mile of the place where the Colonel was executed, we overtook the five prisoners that remained alive; the Indians had caused them to sit down on the ground, as they did also the Colonel and me, at some distance from them. I was there given in charge to an Indian fellow to be taken to the Shawanese towns.

In the place where we were now made to sit down, there was a number of squaws and boys, who fell on the five prisoners and tomahawked them. There was a certain John McKinly amongst the prisoners, formerly an officer in the 13th Virginia regiment, whose head an old squaw cut off, and the Indians kicked it about upon the ground. The young Indian fellows came often where the Colonel and I were, and dashed the scalps in our faces. We were then conducted along toward the place where the Colonel was afterwards executed; when we came within about half a mile of it, Simon Girty met us, with several Indians on horseback; he spoke to the Colonel, but as I was about one hundred and fifty yards behind, could not hear what passed between them.

Almost every Indian we met, struck us either with sticks or their fists. Girty waited till I was brought up, and asked, was that the Doctor? I told him yes, and went towards him, reaching out my hand, but he bid me begone, and called me a damned rascal, upon which the fellows who had me in charge pulled me along. Girty rode up after me and told me I was to go to the Shawanese towns.

When we went to the fire the Colonel was stripped naked, ordered to sit down by the fire, and then they beat him with sticks and their fists. Presently after I was treated in the same manner. They then tied a rope to the foot of a post about fifteen feet high, bound the Colonel's hands behind his back and fastened the rope to the ligature between his wrists. The rope was long enough for him to sit down or walk round the post once or twice, and return the same way. The Colonel then called to Girty, and asked if they intended to burn him? Girty answered, yes. The Colonel said he would take it all patiently. Upon this, Captain Pipe, a Delaware chief, made a speech to the indians, viz: about thirty or forty men, sixty or seventy squaws and boys.

When the speech was finished they all yelled a hideous and hearty assent to what had been said. The Indian men then took up their guns, and shot powder into the Colonel's body, from his feet as far up as his neck. I think that not less than seventy loads were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him, and to the best of my observation, cut off his ears; when the throng had dispersed a little, I saw the blood running from both sides of his head in consequence thereof.

The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which

the Colonel was tied; it was made of small hickory poles, burnt quite through in the middle, each end of the poles remaining about six feet in length. Three or four Indians by turns would take up, individually, one of these burning pieces of wood and apply it to his naked body, already burnt black with the powder. These tormentors presented themselves on every side of him with the burning faggots and poles. Some of the squaws took broad boards, upon which they would carry a quantity of burning coals and hot embers and throw on him, so that in a short time he had nothing but coals of fire and hot ashes to walk upon.

In the midst of these extreme tortures, he called to Simon Girty and begged of him to shoot him; but Girty making no answer, he called to him again. Girty, then, by way of derision, told the Colonel he had no gun, at the same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, laughed heartily, and by all his gestures seemed delighted at the horrid scene.

Girty then came up to me and bade me prepare for death. He said, however, I was not to die at that place, but to be burnt at the Shawanese towns. He swore by G—d I need not expect to escape death, but should suffer it in all its enormities.

He then observed that some prisoners had given him to understand, that if our people had him they would not hurt him; for his part, he said, he did not believe it, but desired to know my opinion of the matter, but being at the time in great anguish and distress for the torments the Colonel was suffering before my eyes, as well as the expectation of undergoing the same fate in two days, I made little or no answer. He expressed a great deal of ill-will for Colonel Gibson, and said he was one of his greatest enemies, and more to the same purpose, to all which I paid very little attention.

Colonel Crawford, at this period of his suffering, besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his torments with the most manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain for an hour and three quarters or two hours longer, as near as I can judge, when at last, being almost exhausted, he lay down on his belly; they then scalped him, and repeatedly threw the scalp in my face, telling me, "that was my great captain." An old squaw (whose appearance every way answered the ideas people entertain of the Devil,) got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes and laid them on his back and head, after he had been scalped; he then raised himself upon his feet and began to walk round the post; they next put a burning stick to him as usual, but he seemed more insensible of pain than before.

The Indian fellow who had me in charge, now took me away to Captain Pipe's house, about three quarters of a mile from the place of the Colonel's execution. I was bound all night, and thus prevented from seeing the last of the horrid

spectacle. Next morning, being June 12th, the Indian untied me, painted me black, and we set off for the Shawanese town, which he told me was somewhat less than forty miles distant from that place. We soon came to the spot where the Colonel had been burnt, as it was partly in our way; I saw his bones lying amongst the remains of the fire, almost burnt to ashes; I suppose after he was dead they laid his body on the fire. The Indian told me that was my big Captain, and gave the scalp halloo.

In strange, but pleasant contrast to the treatment of the Christian Indians upon the Muskingum, we have to record next, the conduct of the British toward their religious leaders during this same spring. Girty, who early in the season had led a band of Wyandots against the American frontiers, had left orders to have Heckewelder and his comrades driven like beasts from Sandusky, where they had wintered, to Detroit; specially enjoining brutality toward them. But his agents, or rather those of the English commandant in the West, together with the traders who were called upon to aid in their removal, distinguished themselves by kindness and consideration, aiding the missionaries on their march, defending the captives from the outrageous brutality of Girty, who overtook them at Lower Sandusky, and who swore he would have their lives, and at length re-uniting them to their surviving disciples, at a settlement upon the river Huron.*

It was in March that Williamson's campaign took place, and during the same month the Moravians were taken to Michigan. It was in that month, also,† that an event took place in Kentucky, near the present town of Mt. Sterling, in Montgomery county, which has been dwelt upon with more interest, by her historians, than almost any other of equal unimportance; we refer to Estill's defeat by a party of Wyandots. The interest of this skirmish arose from the equality of numbers on the two sides; the supposed cowardice of Miller, Estill's lieutenant, who was sent to outflank the savages; and the consequent death of the leader, a brave and popular man. Its effect upon the settlers was merely to excite a deeper hostility toward the Indian races.

* Heckewelder's Narrative, 308, 329–349.

† Marshall (i. 126) says May; we follow Chief Justice Robertson, quoted by Butler (124 note) who says March 22. See also Clat's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 3. This is a detailed account.

Nor did the red men, on their part, show any signs of losing their animosity. Elliot, McKee and Girty urged them on, with a fury that is not easy to account for.

Again the woods teemed with savages, and no one was safe from attack beyond the walls of a station. The influence of the British, and the constant pressure of the Long Knives upon the red-men, had produced a union of the various tribes of the north-west, who seemed to be gathering again to strike a fatal blow at the frontier settlements, and had they been led by a Philip, a Pontiac, or a Tecumthe, it is impossible to estimate the injury they might have inflicted.

[It was the same spring, that the calamitous defeat of Colonel Archibald Laughery occurred. This gentleman had been requested, by Colonel Clark, to raise one hundred volunteers in the county of Westmoreland, Pa., to aid him against the Ohio Indians. The company was raised principally at his own expense, and he also provided the outfit and munitions for the expedition. In this he was aided by the late Robert Orr, by birth an Irishman, but who manifested a deep and generous interest in his adopted country. Mr. Orr was one of the officers, and next in command under Colonel Laughery.

There were one hundred and seven men in the expedition, who proceeded in boats down the Ohio, to meet General Clark, at the Falls. At the mouth of a creek in the south-eastern part of Indiana, that bears the name of the commander, the boats were attacked by the Indians. Of the whole detachment, not one escaped. Colonel Laughery was killed, and most of his officers. Captain Orr, who commanded a company, had his arm broken with a ball. The wounded, who were unable to travel, were dispatched with the tomahawk, and the few who escaped with their lives, were driven through the wilderness to Sandusky. Captain Orr was taken to Detroit, where he lay in the hospital for several months, and, with the remnant who lived, was exchanged, in the spring of 1783. On the 13th of July, while Mr. Orr was in captivity, Hannahstown, in Westmoreland county, where his wife and children resided, was attacked and burnt by the Indians, and his house and all his property destroyed. Captain Orr, subsequently, was one of the associate Judges of the county, maintained a highly respectable char-

acter, and died in 1833, in the eighty-ninth year of his age.*]

June and July passed, however, and August was half gone, and still the anticipated storm had not burst upon the pioneers in its full force, when, upon the night of the 14th of the latter month, the main body of the Indians, five or six hundred in number, gathered, silent as the shadows, round Bryant's station, a post on the bank of the Elkhorn, about five miles from Lexington. The garrison of this post had heard, on the evening of the 14th, of the defeat of a party of whites not far distant, and during that night were busy in preparations to march, with day-break, to the assistance of their neighbors. All night long their preparations continued, and what little sound the savages made as they approached, was unheard amid the comparative tumult within. Day stole through the forest; the woodsmen rose from their brief slumbers, took their arms, and were on the point of opening their gates to march, when the crack of rifles, mingled with yells and howls, told them, in an instant, how narrowly they had escaped captivity or death. Rushing to the loop-holes and crannies, they saw about a hundred red-men, firing and gesticulating in full view of the fort. The young bloods, full of rage at Estill's sad defeat, wished instantly to rush forth upon the attackers, but there was something in the manner of the Indians so peculiar, that the older heads at once suspected a trick, and looked anxiously to the opposite side of the fort, where they judged the main body of the enemy were probably concealed. Nor were they deceived. The savages were led by Simon Girty. This white savage had proposed, by an attack upon one side of the station with a small part of his force, to draw out the garrison, and then intended, with the main body, to fall upon the other side, and secure the fort; but his plan was defeated by the over-acting of his red allies, and the sagacity of his opponents. These opponents, however, had still a sad difficulty to encounter; the fort was not supplied with water, and the spring was at some distance, and in the immediate vicinity of the thicket in which it was supposed the main force of the Indians lay concealed. The danger of going or sending for water was plain, the absolute necessity of having

* Day's *Historical Collections of Pennsylvania*, p. 97;—MS. Letters of Robert Orr, Esq., of Pittsburgh.—Ed.

it was equally so; and how it could be procured, was a question which made many a head shake, many a heart sink. At length a plan, equally sagacious and bold, was hit upon, and carried into execution by as great an exertion of womanly presence of mind as can, perhaps, be found on record. If the savages were, as was supposed, concealed near the spring, it was believed they would not show themselves until they had reason to believe their trick had succeeded, and the garrison had left the fort on the other side. It was, therefore, proposed to all the females to go with their buckets to the spring, fill them, and return to the fort, before any sally was made against the attacking party. The danger to which they must be exposed was not to be concealed, but it was urged upon them that this must be done, or all perish; and that if they were steady, the Indians would not molest them; and to the honor of their sex be it said, they went forth in a body, and directly under five hundred rifles, filled their buckets, and returned in such a manner as not to suggest to the quick-sighted savages that their presence in the thicket was suspected. This done, a small number of the garrison were sent forth against the attackers, with orders to multiply their numbers to the ear by constant firing, while the main body of the whites took their places to repel the anticipated rush of those in concealment. The plan succeeded perfectly. The whole body of Indians rushed from their ambuscade as they heard the firing upon the opposite side of the fort, and were received by a fair, well-directed discharge of all the rifles left within the station. Astonished and horror-stricken, the assailants turned to the forest again as quickly as they had left it, having lost many of their number.

In the morning, as soon as the presence of the Indians was ascertained, and before their numbers were suspected, two messengers had broken through their line, bearing to Lexington tidings of the seige of Bryant's station, and asking succors. These succors came about two in the afternoon; sixteen men being mounted, and thirty or more on foot. The savages expected their arrival, and prepared to destroy them, but the horsemen, by rapid riding, and enveloped in dust, reached the fort unharmed, and of the footmen, after an hour's hard fighting, only two were killed and four wounded. The Indian's courage rarely supports him through long-continued exertion;

and Girty found his men so far disheartened by their failures—that of the morning in the attempt to take the fort, and that in the afternoon to destroy the troops from Lexington—that before night they talked of abandoning the seige. This their leader was very unwilling to do: and thinking he might scare the garrison into surrender, he managed to get within speaking distance, and there, from behind a large stump, commenced a parley. He told the white men who he was; assured them of his great desire that they should not suffer; and informing them that he looked hourly for reinforcements with cannon, against which they could not hope to hold out, begged them to surrender at once; if they did so, no one should be hurt, but if they waited till the cannon came up, he feared they would all fall victims. The garrison looked at one another with uncertainty and fear; against cannon they could do nothing, and cannon had been used in 1780. Seeing the effect of Girty's speech, and disbelieving every word of it, a young man, named Reynolds, took it upon himself to answer the renegade. "You need not be so particular," he cried, "to tell us your name; we know your name, and you too. I've had a villanous, untrustworthy cur-dog, this long while, named Simon Girty, in compliment to you; he's so like you—just as ugly and just as wicked. As to the cannon, let them come on; the country's roused, and the scalps of your red cut-throats, and your own too, will be drying on our cabins in twenty-four hours. And if by any chance, you or your allies do get into the fort, we've a big store of rods laid in on purpose to scourge you out again."

The method taken by Reynolds was much more effectual than any argument with his comrades would have been, and Girty had to return to the Indian council-fire unsuccessful. But he and the chiefs well knew that though their reinforcements and cannon were all imaginary, the expected aid of the whites was not. Boone, Todd, and Logan would soon be upon them; the ablest and boldest of the pioneers would cut them off from a retreat to the Ohio, and their destruction would be insured. On the other hand, if they now began to retire, and were pursued, as they surely would be, they could choose their own ground, and always fight with their way home clear behind them. All night they lay still, their fires burning, but when day broke, the whole body of savages was gone.

By noon of the 18th of August, about one hundred and eighty men had gathered at Bryant's station; among them were Boone and his son. After counting the fires, and noticing other signs, they determined on immediate pursuit, without waiting for the arrival of Colonel Logan and his party; accordingly, on the 18th, the whole body set forward under the command of Colonel John Todd. The trail of the savages was as plain as could be wished; indeed, to Boone and the more reflecting, it was clear that the retiring army had taken pains to make it so, and our sagacious woodsmen at once concluded that a surprise at some point was intended, and that point Boone was confident was the Lower Blue Licks, where the nature of the ground eminently favored such a plan. With great caution the little army proceeded until, upon the following day, they reached the Licking river, at the point designated by Boone as the one where an attack might be expected; and as they came in sight of the opposite bank, they discovered upon its bare ridge a few Indians, who gazed at them a moment and then passed into the ravine beyond. The hills about the Blue Licks are even now almost wholly without wood, and the scattered cedars which at present lend them some green, did not exist in 1782. As you ascend the ridge of the hill above the spring, you at last reach a point where two ravines, thickly wooded, run down from the bare ground to the right and left, affording a place of concealment for a very large body of men, who could thence attack on front and flank and rear, any who were pursuing the main trace along the higher ground: in these ravines, Boone, who was looked to by the commanders for counsel, said that the Indians were probably hidden. He proposed, therefore, that they should send a part of their men to cross the Licking farther up, and fall upon the Indians in the rear, while the remaining troops attacked them in front. While Boone's plan was under discussion by the officers of the pursuing party, Major Hugh McGary, according to the common account, "broke from the council, and called upon the troops who were not cowards to follow him, and thus collecting a band, went without order, and against orders, into the action, and in consequence of this act a general pursuit of officers and men took place, more to save the desperate men that followed McGary, than from a hope of a successful fight with the

Indians." [The late Col. Benj. Cooper, of Missouri, who was in the action, makes this statement. Col. Boone, in a letter to the Governor of Virginia, dated August 30th, 1782, gives the following particulars.] "We formed our columns into one single line, and marched up in their front within about forty yards before there was a gun fired. Colonel Trigg commanded on the right, myself on the left, Major McGary in the centre, and Major Harlan the advance party in the front. From the manner in which we had formed, it fell to my lot to bring on the attack. This was done with a very heavy fire on both sides, and extended back of the line to Col. Trigg, where the enemy was so strong that they rushed up and broke the right wing at the first fire. Thus the enemy got in our rear, and we were compelled to retreat, with the loss of seventy-seven of our men and twelve wounded." Nor is the impression of this passage altered by the statement of the same keen pioneer, as given in his account of his adventures. There he says: "The savages observing us, gave way, and we, being ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When the enemy saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage of us in situation, they formed the line of battle, from one bend of Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. An exceeding fierce battle immediately began, for about fifteen minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of sixty-seven men, seven of whom were taken prisoners." Governor Morehead, however, has derived from the accounts of eye-witnesses, received through R. Wickliffe, some particulars, which, if correct, will reconcile most of the common story with Boone's statement, and these we give in the words of his address; leaving our readers to judge, first, as to the probability that Boone would entirely omit all reference to the conduct of McGary; and, second, as to the likelihood of McGary and his followers pausing when once under way. It is also to be noticed that Col. Cooper, Marshal and Stipp, say nothing of the pause alluded to.

Scarcely had Boone submitted his opinions, when Major McGary "raised the war-whoop," and spurring his horse into the river, called vehemently upon all who were not cowards to follow *him*, and *he* would show them the enemy. Presently the army was in motion. The greater part suffered themselves to be led by McGary—the remainder, perhaps a third

of the whole number, lingered a while with Todd and Boone in council. All at length passed over, and at Boone's suggestion, the commanding officer ordered another halt. The pioneer then proposed, a second time, that the army should remain where it was, until an opportunity was afforded to reconnoitre the suspected region. So reasonable a proposal was acceded to, and two bold but experienced men were selected, to proceed from the Lick along the Buffalo to a point half a mile beyond the ravines, where the road branched off in different directions. They were instructed to examine the country with the utmost care on each side of the road, especially the spot where it passed between the ravines, and upon the first appearance of the enemy to repair in haste to the army. The spies discharged the dangerous and responsible task. They crossed over the ridge—proceeded to the place designated beyond it, and returned in safety, without having made any discovery. No trace of the enemy was to be seen. The little army of one hundred and eighty two men now marched forward—Colonel Trigg was in command of the right wing, Boone of the left, McGary in the centre, and Major Harlan with the party in front.*

[After this disastrous defeat, the sorest calamity that ever befel Kentucky, those who escaped, on foot, plunged into the thickets, and made their way to Bryant's station, thirty-six miles distant, and the nearest place of shelter.

Colonel Logan, and his party, was met by the fugitives, within six miles of the station, to which he returned until the most had arrived. Of the one hundred and eighty-two persons who went out to the battle, about one-third were killed, twelve wounded, and seven carried off prisoners, who were put to the torture when they reached the Indian towns.]

In this short, but severe action, Todd, Trigg, Harlan, and Boone's son, all fell. It was a sad day for Kentucky. The feelings and fears of the Fayette county settlers may be guessed from the following extract from Boone's letter to Virginia: when he felt anxiety, what must they have suffered!

By the signs, we thought the Indians had exceeded four hundred; while the whole of the militia of this county does not amount to more than one hundred and thirty. From these facts, your Excellency may form an idea of our situation. I know that your own circumstances are critical, but are we to be wholly forgotten? I hope not. I trust about five hundred men may be sent to our assistance immediately. If these shall be stationed as our county lieutenants shall deem ne-

* Morehead's Address, p. 99.

cessary, it may be the means of saving our part of the country; but if they are placed under the direction of General Clark, they will be of little or no service to our settlement. The Falls lie one hundred miles west of us, and the Indians north-east; while our men are frequently called to protect them. I have encouraged the people in this county all that I could, but I can no longer justify them or myself to risk our lives here under such extraordinary hazards. The inhabitants of this county are very much alarmed at the thoughts of the Indians bringing another campaign into our country this fall. If this should be the case, it will break up these settlements. I hope, therefore, your Excellency will take the matter into your consideration, and send us some relief as quick as possible.*

Clark, of course, soon learned how severe a blow had been struck by the northern savages, and determined, as soon as possible, again to lead an expedition into the Miami valleys. It was the last of September, however, before a thousand men could be gathered at the mouth of the Licking, whence they marched northward. But their coming, though expeditious and secret, was discovered by the natives, and the towns on the Miamies and Mad River abandoned to their fate. The crops were again destroyed, the towns burned, the British store, (Loramie's) with its goods annihilated, and a few prisoners taken, but no engagement of any consequence took place.† Such, however, appears to have been the impression made by Clark upon the Shawanese, that no large body of Indians, thenceforward, invaded the territory south of the Ohio.

In November, after the return of the Kentucky troops, Messrs. May and Marshall opened their land offices, and the scramble for choice locations began again, and in a way which laid the foundation for infinite litigation and heart-burning.

[The defeat of the British army at Yorktown, Virginia, and the capture of Lord Cornwallis, prepared the way for preliminaries of peace with Great Britain, and put a check upon their Indian allies.]

Upon the 30th of November, 1782, provisional articles of peace had been arranged at Paris, between the Commissioners of England and her unconquerable colonies. Upon the 20th

* See Morehead's Address, p. 173.

† Clark's letter in Butler, 2d edition, 536; also in Almon's Remembrancer, for 1783, part ii. p. 93.

of the January following, hostilities ceased; on the 19th of April—the anniversary of the battle of Lexington—peace was proclaimed to the army of the United States, and on the 3d of the next September, the definite treaty which ended our revolutionary struggle was concluded. Of that treaty we give so much as relates to the boundaries of the West.

"The line on the *north* was to pass along the middle of Lake Ontario, to the Niagara river; thence along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior, northward to the isles Royal and Philipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of the said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake, to the most north-western point thereof; and, from thence, on a due west course, to the river Mississippi; thence, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. *South* by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Chatahouche; thence along the middle thereof, to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river; and thence, down along the middle of St. Mary's river, to the Atlantic Ocean."

But the cessation of hostilities with England, was not, necessarily, the cessation of warfare with the native tribes; and while all hoped that the horrors of the border contests in the West, were at an end, none competent to judge, failed to see the probability of a continued and violent struggle. Virginia, at an early period, (in October, 1779,) had, by law, discouraged all settlements on the part of her citizens, northwest of the Ohio;* but the spirit of land speculation was stronger than law, and the prospect of peace gave new energy to that spirit; and how to throw open the immense region beyond the mountains, without driving the natives to desperation, was a problem which engaged the ablest minds. Washington, upon the 7th of September, 1783, writing to James Duane, in Con-

* Revised Statutes of Virginia, by B. Watkins Leigh, ii. 378.

gress, enlarged upon the difficulties which lay before that body in relation to public lands. He pointed out the necessity which existed for making the settlements compact; and proposed that it should be made even felony to settle or survey lands west of a line to be designated by Congress; which line, he added, might extend from the mouth of the Great Miami to Mad river, thence to Fort Miami on the Maumee, and thence northward so as to include Detroit; or, perhaps, from the Fort down the river to Lake Erie. He noticed the propriety of excluding the Indian Agents from all share in the trade with the red men, and showed the wisdom of forbidding all purchases of land from the Indians, except by the sovereign power,—Congress, or the State Legislature, as the case might be.—Unless some such stringent measures were adopted, he prophecied renewed border wars; which would end only after great expenditure of money and of life.* But before the Congress of the Colonies could take any efficient steps to secure the West, it was necessary that those measures of cession which commenced in 1780–81, should be completed. New York had, conditionally, given up her claims on the 1st of March, 1781,† and Congress had accepted her deed, but Virginia, as we have said, had required from the United States, a guarantee of the territories retained by her, which they were not willing to give, and no acceptance of her provision to cede had taken place. Under these circumstances, Congress, upon the 18th of April, again pressed the necessity of cessions, and, upon the 13th of September, six days after Washington's letter above referred to, stated the terms upon which they would receive the proposals of the Ancient Dominion.‡ To these terms the Virginians acceded, and, upon the 20th of December, authorized their delegates to make a deed to the United States of all their right in the territory northwest of the river Ohio,—Upon condition, that the territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into States, containing a suitable extent of territory, not less than one hundred, nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square, or as near thereto as circumstances will admit: and that the States so formed shall be distinct republican States, and admitted members of the Federal Union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other States.

* Sparks' Washington, viii. 477. † Land Laws, 95. ‡ Old Journals, iv. 189–267.

That the reasonable and necessary expenses incurred by this State in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts and garrisons within, and for the defence, or in acquiring any part of the territory so ceded or relinquished, shall be fully reimbursed by the U. States; and that one Commissioner shall be appointed by Congress, one by this Commonwealth, and another by those two Commissioners, who, or a majority of them, shall be authorized and empowered to adjust and liquidate the account of the necessary and reasonable expenses incurred by this State, which they shall judge to be comprised within the intent and meaning of the act of Congress of the tenth of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, respecting such expenses. That the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties. That a quantity not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, promised by this State, shall be allowed and granted to the then Colonel, now General George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers of his regiment, who marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskies, and St. Vincents were reduced, and to the officers and soldiers that have since been incorporated into the said regiment, to be laid off in one tract, the length of which not to exceed double the breadth, in such place, on the northwest side of the Ohio, as a majority of the officers shall choose, and to be afterwards divided among the said officers and soldiers in due proportion, according to the laws of Virginia. That in case the quantity of good land on the southeast side of the Ohio, upon the waters of the Cumberland river, and between the Green river and Tennessee river, which have been reserved by law for the Virginia troops upon continental establishment, should, from the North Carolina line, bearing in further upon the Cumberland lands than was expected, prove insufficient for their legal bounties, the deficiency should be made up to the said troops, in good lands, to be laid off between the rivers Scioto and Little Miami, on the north-west side of the river Ohio, in such proportions as have been engaged to them by the laws of Virginia. That all the lands within the territory so ceded to the United States, and not reserved for, or appropriated to, any of the before mentioned purposes, or disposed of in bounties to the officers and soldiers of the American army, shall be considered a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation or federal alliance of the said States, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportions in the general charge and ex-

penditure, and shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever.*

And, in agreement with these conditions, a deed was made March 1, 1784. But it was not possible to wait the final action of Virginia, before taking some steps to soothe the Indians, and extinguish their title. On the 22d of September, therefore, Congress forbade all purchases of, or settlements on, Indian lands,† and on the 15th of October, the Commissioners to treat with the natives were instructed,

1st. To require the delivery of all prisoners:

2d. To inform the Indians of the boundaries between the British possessions and the United States:

3d. To dwell upon the fact that the red men had not been faithful to their agreements:

4. To negotiate for all the land east of the line proposed by Washington, namely, from the mouth of the Great Miami to Mad river, thence to Fort Miami on the Maumee, and thence down the Maumee to the Lake:

5th. To hold, if possible, *one convention with all the tribes:*

* * * * * * *

7th. To learn all they could respecting the French of Kaskaskia, &c.

8th. To confirm no grants by the natives to individuals; and,

9th. To look after American stragglers beyond the Ohio, to signify the displeasure of Congress at the invasion of the Indian lands, and to prevent all further intrusions. Upon the 19th of the following March, the 4th and 5th of these instructions were entirely changed, at the suggestion of a committee headed by Mr. Jefferson; the western boundary line being made to run due north from the lowest point of the Falls of the Ohio, to the northern limits of the United States, and the Commissioners being told to treat with the nations at *various* places and *different* times.‡

Meanwhile steps had been taken by the Americans to obtain possession of Detroit and the other western posts, but in vain. Upon the 12th of July, Washington had sent Baron

* See Land Laws, p. 98.
† Old Journals, iv. 275.
‡ Secret Journals, i. 225, 261, 264.

Steuben to Canada for that purpose, with orders, if he found it advisable, to embody the French of Michigan into a militia and place the fort at Detroit in their hands. But when the Baron presented himself near Quebec, General Haldimand, while he received him very politely, refused the necessary passports, saying that he had received no orders to deliver up the posts along the Lakes. This measure failing, one Cassaty, a native of Detroit, was sent thither in August to learn the feelings of the people, and to do what he might to make the American side popular.* About the same time, Virginia, having no longer any occasion for a western army, and being sadly pressed for money, withdrew her commission from George Rogers Clark, with thanks, however, "for his very great and singular services."†

[This dismission was on the 2d July, 1783, and Benjamin Harrison, the Governor of Virginia, wrote to General Clark a letter from which we give the following extract.

"The conclusion of the war, and the distressed situation of the State, with respect to its finances, call on us to adopt the most prudent economy. It is for this reason alone, I have come to a determination to give over all thoughts for the present of carrying on offensive war against the Indians, which you will easily perceive will render the services of a general officer in that quarter unnecessary, and will, therefore, consider yourself out of command. But, before I take leave of you, I feel myself called upon, in the most forcible manner, to return you my thanks, and those of my Council, for the very great and singular services you have rendered your country, in wresting so great and valuable a territory out of the hands of the British enemy, repelling the attacks of their savage allies, and carrying on successful war in the heart of their country. This tribute of praise and thanks, so justly due, I am happy to communicate to you as the united voice of the executive."]‡

Clark, and his soldiers, in the distribution of lands were not forgotten either, and, in October, a tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land was granted them north of the Ohio, to be located where they pleased; they chose the region opposite the Falls, and the town of Clarksville was then founded.§

* Secret Journals, i, 225. 261, 264.

† Sparks' Washington, viii. 463, 470.—Marshall (i. 175,) gives the letters of Steuben and Haldimand.

‡ Butler, 2d edition, 490. Dillon's Indiana, i. 195.

§ Revised Statutes of Virginia, by G. W. Leigh, ii. 405.

While these various steps, bearing upon the interest of the whole West, were taken by Congress, Washington and the Assembly of Virginia, Kentucky herself was organizing upon a new basis—Virginia having united the three counties, with their separate courts, into one district, having a court of common law and chancery for the whole territory that now forms the State, and to this district restored the for-a-time-discarded name, Kentucky. The sessions of the court thus organized resulted in the foundation of Danville, which in consequence for a season became the centre and capital of the District.*

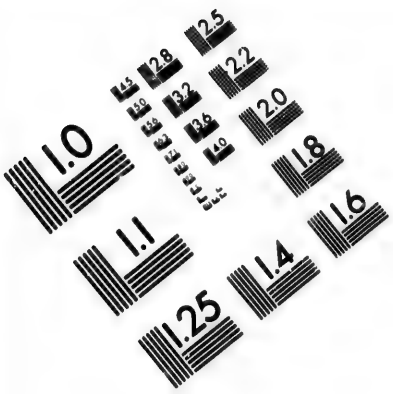
It might have been reasonably hoped that peace with the mother country would have led to comparative prosperity within the newly formed nation. But such was not the case. Congress had no power to compel the States to fulfil the provisions of the treaty which had been concluded, and Britain was not willing to comply on her side with all its terms, until evidence was given by the other party that no infraction of them was to be feared from the rashness of democratic leaders. Among the provisions of that treaty were the following:—

Art. 4. It is agreed that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value, in sterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted.

Art. 5. It is agreed that the Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the Legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also of the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of his Majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States. And that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months, unmolested in their endeavors to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail. And that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States, that the estates, rights and properties, of such last mentioned

*Marshall, p. 159.





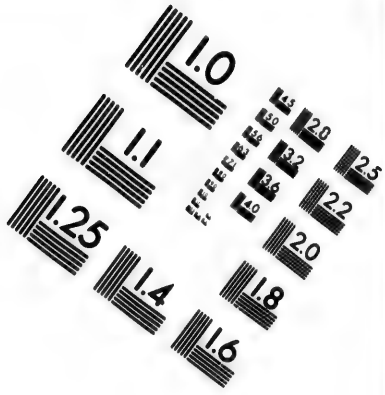
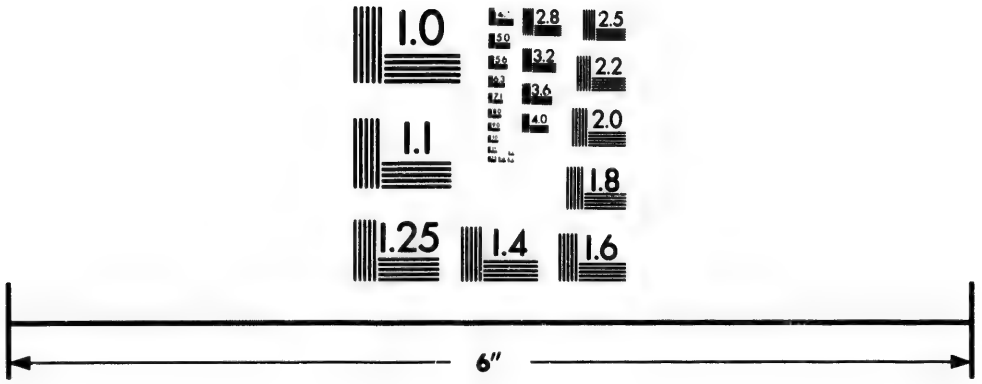
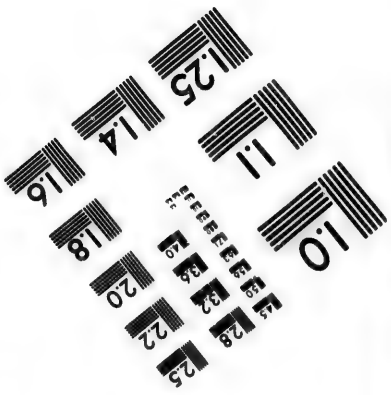


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persons, shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may now be in possession, the bona fide price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights or properties, since the confiscation. And it is agreed that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

ART. 6. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for, or by reason of, the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall, on that account, suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty or property; and that those who may be in confinement on such charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

ART. 7. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said States, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore, all hostilities, both by sea and land, shall from henceforth cease: all prisoners, on both sides, shall be set at liberty; and his Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbor, within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the said States, or their citizens, which in the course of the war, may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper States and persons to whom they belong.*

That these stipulations were wise and just, none, perhaps doubted; but they opened a door for disputes, through which troubles enough swarmed in; and we may now, with as much propriety as at any time, say the little that our limits will allow us to say, in reference to those disagreements between England and America, which, for so long a time kept alive the hopes and enmities of the Indians, contending, as they were, for their native lands and the burial places of their fathers. The origin of the difficulty was an alleged infraction of the provisional treaty, signed November 30th, 1782, on the part of the British, who showed an intention to take away

*See Land Laws, p. 11.

with them from New York certain negroes claimed as the "property of the American inhabitants," none of which, by the terms both of that and the definitive treaty, was to be removed. Against this intention, Washington had remonstrated, and Congress resolved in vain: in reply to all remonstrances, it was said that the slaves were either booty taken in war, and as such, by the laws of war, belonged to the captors, and could not come within the meaning of the treaty; or, were freemen and could not be enslaved.* It was undoubtedly true in regard to many of the negroes, that they were taken in war, and as such, (if property at all,) the booty of the captors; but it was equally certain that another portion of them consisted of runaways, and by the terms of the treaty, as the Americans all thought, should have been restored or paid for. [This case was argued by the Hon. John Jay, and its facts and principles clearly set forth. Washington thought the British unfair and dishonest in their retention of the western posts, and considered the non-payment of their debts, by the Americans, as a mere pretext.†] It was in April, 1783, that the purposes of England, in relation to the negroes, became apparent; in May, the Commander-in-chief and Congress tried, as we have said, ineffectually, to bring about a different course of action. Upon the third of September, the definitive treaty was signed at Paris; on the twenty-fifth of November, the British left New York, carrying the negroes claimed by the Americans with them; while upon the fourth of the following January, 1784, the treaty was ratified by the United States, and on the 9th of April by England. Under these circumstances Virginia and several other States saw fit to decline compliance with the article respecting the recovery of debts; refused to repeal the laws previously existing against British creditors; and upon the twenty-second of next June, after the ratification of peace by both parties, the Old Dominion expressly declined to fulfil the treaty in its completeness. This refusal, or neglect, which was equivalent to a refusal, on the part of the States to abide strictly by the treaty, caused England, on the other hand, to retain possession of the western posts, and threatened to involve the two countries again in open warfare.

* Marshall, i, 173.

† Secret Journals, iv. 275. Sparks' Washington, iv. 163. 179.

The dispute, therefore, originated in a difference of opinion between the parties as to the meaning of that part of the seventh article, which relates to the "carrying away negroes:" this was followed by a plain infraction of the fourth article on the part of the States; and that by an equally plain violation of the provision in regard to evacuating the posts, (article 7) on the side of Great Britain.

[The posts, or forts, were situated at Oswego, Niagara, Presque Isle, (Erie,) Sandusky, Detroit, Michillimackinac, and Prairie du Chein.]

In March, 1785, John Adams was sent to England to "require" the withdrawal of his Majesty's armies from the posts still held by them. This requisition he made on the 8th of the following December; and was told in reply that when the fourth article was respected by the States, the seventh would be by England. These facts having been laid before Congress, that body, in March, 1787, pressed upon the States the necessity of repealing all laws violating the treaty; but Virginia, in substance, refused to comply with the requisition respecting British creditors, until the western forts were evacuated, and the slaves that had been taken, returned or paid for.*

From what has been said, it will be easily surmised that, to the request of Governor Clinton of New York, relative to the abandonment of the posts within that state, as well as to the demand of Congress in the following July, for the possession of all the strongholds along the lakes, General Haldimand replied, as he had done to Baron Steuben, "I have received no orders from his Majesty to deliver them up."†

While the condition of the western frontier remained thus uncertain, settlers were rapidly gathering about the inland forts. In the spring of this year, Pittsburgh, which had been long settled, and once before surveyed, was regularly laid out under the direction of Tench Francis, agent for the Messrs. Penn, who, as adherents to England in the revolutionary struggle, had forfeited a large part of their possessions in America. The lots were soon sold, and improvements immediately began; though, as would appear from the following extract from Arthur Lee's Journal, who passed through

* Secret Journals, iv. 185 to 287.—Pitkin, ii. 192 to 200.—Marshall, i. 167 to 168.

† Marshall, i. 177, &c.

Pittsburgh on his way to the Indian council at Fort McIntosh, it was not, late in its first year, very prepossessing or promising in its appearance:

"Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scots and Irish, who live in paltry log-houses, and are as dirty as if in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. There is a great deal of trade carried on; the goods being brought, at the vast expense of forty-five shillings per hundred, from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take, in the shops, money, wheat, flour and skins. There are in the town four attorneys, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel. The rivers encroach fast on the town; and to such a degree, that, as a gentleman told me, the Allegheny had, within thirty years of his memory, carried away one hundred yards. The place, I believe, will never be very considerable."*

The detention of the western fortresses, however, though of little moment to Pennsylvania, was a very serious evil to the more distant settlers of Kentucky. The northern savages again prepared their scalping knives, and the traders from Canada, if not the agents of the British government, urged them to harrass the frontiers.

[During this year of comparative peace and quiet, new settlements were made in Kentucky, and a large increase added to the population. Simon Kenton returned to the improvement he made in 1775, where Washington now stands in Mason county, which soon became the nucleus of an extensive settlement. Here a block house was erected.

At the Lower Blue Licks, the Messrs. Tanner had a small settlement the preceding year. Limestone (now Maysville) became the place of landing for immigrants, and the route by the Blue Licks to Bryant's station and Lexington a thoroughfare. An immense accession to the population was made by immigration in autumn, and consequently settlements were much extended the ensuing winter and spring.†

The population of all the settlements up to 1783, exceeded twelve thousand persons, and this number was augmented by the arrivals of the succeeding summer, to more than twenty thousand.

*American Pioneer, i. 304.

†Marshall, i. 188, 195.

Merchandize, from Philadelphia, was transported in wagons across the mountains to Pittsburgh, and from thence, on keel-boats and flats, floated down the Ohio to Limestone and Louisville. A dry goods store was opened at Louisville, by Daniel Brodhead, and the next year, another store was opened, in Lexington, by Colonel James Wilkinson. In 1784, Louisville contained sixty-three houses, finished; thirty-seven partly finished; twenty-two, raised, but not covered; and more than one hundred log cabins.*

In the autumn of 1784, Colonel Benjamin Logan, apprehending the Cherokees meditated an invasion of Kentucky, made a call for a convention of the citizens at Danville, to take measures for the defence of the country.]

At this meeting the whole subject of the position and danger of Kentucky was examined and discussed, and it was agreed that a convention should meet in December, to adopt some measures for the security of the settlements in the wilderness. Upon the 27th of that month it met, nor was it long before the idea became prominent that Kentucky must ask to be severed from Virginia, and left to her own guidance and control. But as no such conception was general, when the delegates to this first convention were chosen, they deemed it best to appoint a second, to meet during the next May, at which was specially to be considered the topic most interesting to those who were called on to think and vote—a complete separation from the parent state—political independence.†

It was during 1784, also, that the military claimants of land, under the laws of Virginia, began their locations. All the territory between the Green and Cumberland rivers, excepting that granted to Henderson & Co., was to be appropriated to soldiers of the parent state; and when that was exhausted, the lands north of the Ohio, between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers. In 1783, the Continental Line had chosen Colonel Richard C. Anderson principal surveyor on their behalf, and on the 17th of December in that year, concluded with him a contract, under which, upon the 20th of the following July, he opened his office near Louisville; and

* Monette, ii, 143. Letters of an American Planter, from 1770 to 1786, vol. iii. p. 422. Marshall, i. 161.

† Marshall, i. 190 to 195.

entries at once began. The first entry north of the Ohio, however, was not made until August 1, 1787.*

Two subjects, which in order of time belong to this year, we defer, the one to 1787, the other to 1785; the former is the measure adopted by Congress for the government of the new territory; the latter, the first treaty with the Indians relative to the West.

* McDonald's Sketches, 22 to 24. He gives the contract. Also letter of W. M. Anderson. (American Pioneer, i. 438.) The number of soldiers in the Virginia Continental Line proved to be 1124. (American State Papers, xviii. 535.)

CHAPTER X.

WESTERN PROGRESS.

Cession of the North-western Territory by Virginia—Treaties with the Indians—Proclamation of Congress against settlers on Indian Lands—Ordinance for Surveying the Public Lands—Convention in Kentucky—Negotiation with the Shawanese—Council at the Mouth of the Great Miami—Negotiations with Spain—Great Dissatisfaction in the West—Company formed to settle Ohio.

[One of the most important events to the North-western States that occurred in 1784, was the cession by Virginia to the United States, of all claims to the country to the northwest of the Ohio river. The names of the Commissioners, and an outline of the conditions of the cession, we copy from Dillon's "Historical Notes" on Indiana, volume first, page 197.

On the first day of March, 1784, Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Hardy, Arthur Lee, and James Monroe, delegates in Congress on the part of Virginia, executed a deed of cession, by which they transferred to the United States, on certain conditions, all right, title, and claim of Virginia to the country northwest of the river Ohio. The deed of cession contained the following conditions, viz: "That the territory so ceded shall be laid out and formed into states, containing a suitable extent of territory, not less than one hundred, nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square; or as near thereto as circumstances will admit: and that the states so formed shall be distinct republican states, and admitted members of the federal union; having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other states. That the necessary and reasonable expenses incurred by Virginia, in subduing any British posts, or in maintaining forts and garrisons within, and for the defence, or in acquiring any part of, the territory so ceded or relinquished, shall be fully reimbursed by the United States. That the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, Post Vincennes, and the neighboring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties. That a quantity not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land, promised by Virginia, shall be allowed and granted to the then Colonel, now General George Rogers Clark, and to the officers and soldiers of his regiment, who marched with him when the posts of Kaskaskia and Vincennes were reduced, and to the officers and soldiers that have been since

incorporated in the said regiment, to be laid off in one tract, the length of which not to exceed double the breadth, in such place on the northwest side of the Ohio, as a majority of the officers shall choose, and to be afterwards divided among the officers and soldiers in due proportion, according to the laws of Virginia. That in case the quantity of good lands on the southeast side of the Ohio, upon the waters of Cumberland river, and between the Green river and Tennessee river, which have been reserved by law for the Virginia troops upon continental establishment, should, from the North Carolina line bearing in further upon the Cumberland lands than was expected, prove insufficient for their legal bounties, the deficiency shall be made up to the said troops, in good lands to be laid off between the rivers Scioto and Little Miami, on the northwest side of the river Ohio, in such proportions as have been engaged to them by the laws of Virginia. That all the lands within the territory so ceded to the United States, and not reserved for, or appropriated to any of the beforementioned purposes, or disposed of in bounties to the officers and soldiers of the American army, shall be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of such of the United States as have become, or shall become, members of the confederation or federal alliance of the said states, Virginia inclusive, according to their usual respective proportion in the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully and bona fide disposed of for that purpose, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever."]

In speaking of Pittsburgh, we referred to the passage of Arthur Lee through that place late in 1784, to attend a council with the Indians at Fort McIntosh. Upon the 22d of the previous October, this gentleman, in connection with Richard Butler and Oliver Wolcott, had met the hostile tribes of the Iroquois,* at Fort Stanwix, and had there concluded a treaty of peace, among the articles of which was the following:

ART. 3. A line shall be drawn, beginning at the mouth of a creek, about four miles east of Niagara, called Oyonwayea, or Johnson's Landing Place, upon the lake, named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario; from thence southerly, in a direction always four miles east of the carrying path, between Lake Erie and Ontario, to the mouth of Tehoseroron, or Buffalo Creek, or Lake Erie; thence south, to the north boundary of the State of Pennsylvania; thence west, to the end of the said north boundary; thence south, along the west boundary of the said State, to the river Ohio; the said line, from the mouth of the Oyonwayea to the Ohio, shall be the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations; so that

* See Land Laws, p. 132.

the Six Nations shall, and do, yield to the United States, all claims to the country west of the said boundary; and then they shall be secured in the peaceful possession of the lands they inhabit, east and north of the same, reserving only six miles square, round the Fort of Oswego, to the United States, for the support of the same.

[The "hostile tribes" referred to were the Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senacas, who had joined the British; while the Oneidas and Tuscaroras were on the American side.]

The old indefinite claim of the great northern confederacy to the West, being thus extinguished, Mr. Lee, together with Richard Butler and George Rogers Clark, proceeded to treat with the Western Indians themselves at Fort McIntosh, upon the 21st of January, 1785. The nations represented were the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippeways, and Ottowas; and among the representatives, it is said, was the celebrated war chief of the Delawares, Buckongahelas: the most important provisions of the treaty agreed upon, were the seven following:—

Art. 3. The boundary line between the United States and the Wyandot and Delaware nations, shall begin at the mouth of the river Cayahoga, and run thence, up the said river, to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; then, down the said branch, to the forks at the crossing place above Fort Lawrence, [Laurens;] then westwardly, to the portage of the Big Miami, which runs into the Ohio, at the mouth of which branch the fort stood which was taken by the French in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; then, along the said portage, to the Great Miami or Ome river, and down the south-east side of the same to its mouth; thence, along the south shore of Lake Erie, to the mouth of the Cayahoga, where it began.

Art. 4. The United States allot all the lands contained within the said lines to the Wyandot and Delaware nations, to live and to hunt on, and to such of the Ottowa nation as now live thereon; saving and reserving, for the establishment of trading posts, six miles square at the mouth of Miami or Ome river, and the same at the portage on that branch of the Big Miami which runs into the Ohio, and the same on the Lake of Sandusky, where the fort formerly stood, and also two miles square on each side of the lower rapids of Sandusky river; which posts, and the lands annexed to them, shall be to the use, and under the government of the United States.

Art. 5. If any citizen of the United States, or other person, not being an Indian, shall attempt to settle on any of the

lands allotted to the Wyandot and Delaware nations, in this treaty, except on the lands reserved to the United States in the preceding article, such person shall forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Indians may punish him as they please.

ART. 6. The Indians who sign this treaty, as well in behalf of all their tribes as of themselves, do acknowledge the lands east, south and west, of the lines described in the third article, so far as the said Indians formerly claimed the same, to belong to the United States; and none of their tribes shall presume to settle upon the same, or any part of it.

ART. 7. The post of Detroit, with a district beginning at the mouth of the river Rosine, on the west side of Lake Erie, and running west six miles up the southern bank of the said river, thence, northerly, and always six miles west of the strait, till it strikes the Lake St. Clair, shall also be reserved to the sole use of the United States.

ART. 8. In the same manner, the post of Michillimackinac, with its dependencies, and twelve miles square about the same, shall be reserved to the use of the United States.

ART. 9. If any Indian or Indians shall commit a robbery or murder on any citizen of the United States, the tribe to which such offender may belong, shall be bound to deliver them up at the nearest post, to be punished according to the ordinances of the United States.

[To prevent intrusion on the Indian lands, and consequently collision with the aborigines, the Continental Congress, on the 15th of June, 1785, sent forth the following proclamation, which was circulated in the Western country.

"Whereas, it has been represented to the United States, in Congress assembled, that several disorderly persons have crossed the Ohio and settled upon their unappropriated lands; and, whereas, it is their intention, as soon as it shall be surveyed, to open offices for the sale of a considerable part thereof, in such proportions and under such other regulations as may suit the convenience of all the citizens of the said States and others who may wish to become purchasers of the same:—and as such conduct tends to defeat the object they have in view; is in direct opposition to the ordinances and resolutions of Congress, and highly disrespectful to the federal authority; they have, therefore, thought fit, and do hereby issue this, their proclamation, strictly forbidding all such unwarrantable intrusions, and enjoining all those who have settled thereon to depart with their families and effects, without loss of time, as they shall answer the same at their peril.*]

* Dillon's Indiana, i. 199.

Thus were the first steps taken for securing to the United States the Indian titles to the vast realm beyond the Ohio; and a few months later the legislation was commenced that was to determine the mode of its disposal, and the plan of its settlements.

In April of the previous year Congress had adopted certain resolutions in relation to the number and size of the States to be formed from the Western Territory, and sketched the great features of an Ordinance for its organization, but as all these things were afterwards modified in 1787, we have deferred the subject of that organization to the last named year. But though the details of the government of the West were not as yet settled, Congress, upon the 20th of May, 1785,* passed an ordinance relative to surveys, which determined a plan for the division of the ceded lands, and the main principles of which still remain in force. This was not done, however, until Massachusetts, as well as New York and Virginia, had ceded her claims to the Union; which she did upon the 19th of April in this year, the Act authorizing the cession having been passed upon the 13th of the previous November.†

By the ordinance above referred to, the territory purchased of the Indians was to be divided into townships, six miles square,‡ by north and south lines, crossed at right angles by others: the first north and south line to begin on the Ohio, at a point due north of the western termination of the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and the first east and west line to begin at the same point, and extend throughout the territory. The ranges of townships thus formed were to be numbered from the Pennsylvania line westward; the townships themselves from the Ohio northward. Each township was to be subdivided into thirty-six parts or sections, each, of course, one mile square. When seven ranges of townships had been thus surveyed, the Geographer was to make a return of them to the Board of Treasury, who were to take therefrom one-seventh part, by lot, for the use of the late Continental army; and so of every seven ranges as surveyed and returned: the

* There was an ordinance reported May 28, 1784, (Old Journals, iv. 416;) a second, April 26th, 1785, (Old Journals, iv. 507;) that of May 20th differed in several respects.

† Old Journals, iv. 500 to 504. Lands Laws, 102.

‡ By the first ordinance these were to have been ten miles, and by the second seven miles square.—See Journals.

remaining six-sevenths were to be drawn for by the several States, in the proportion of the last requisition made on them; and they were to make public sale thereof in the following manner: range 1st, township 1st, was to be sold entire, township 2d in sections, and so on alternately; while in range 2d, township 1st was to be sold in sections, and township 2d entire, retaining throughout, both as to the ranges and townships, the principle of alternation. The price was to be at least one dollar per acre in specie, "loan office certificates reduced to specie value," or "certificates of liquidated debts of the United States." Five sections in each township were to be reserved, four for the United States, and one for schools. All sales thus made by the States were to be returned to the Board of Treasury. This ordinance also gave the mode for dividing, among the continental soldiers, the lands set apart to them; reserved three townships for Canadian refugees; secured to the Moravian Indians their rights; and excluded from sale the territory between the Little Miami and Scioto, in accordance with the provisions made by Virginia, in her deed of cession, in favor of her own troops. Many points in this law were afterwards changed, but its great features remained.*

It had been anticipated, that so soon as the treaty of Fort McIntosh was known, settlers and speculators would cross the Ohio, and to prevent the evil which it was foreseen would follow any general movement of the kind, the Indian Commissioners were authorized in June, to issue a Proclamation commanding all persons northwest of the river to leave without loss of time, or stay at their peril, announcing the intention of government as soon as possible to sell the soil as fast as surveyed.† The peril to be apprehended from the weak hands of the confederacy might not have deterred fearless men from filling the forbidden land, but there were those near by who executed the laws they made in a manner which was by no means to be disregarded; and, as we learn from the Honorable George Corwin, of Portsmouth, when four families from Redstone attempted a settlement at the mouth of the Scioto, in April, 1785, they received such a notice to quit, from the natives, in the shape of rifle-balls, that the survivors (for

* Land Laws, 349 to 354.—Old Journals, iv. 520 to 522.

† Land Laws, 354.—Old Journals, iv. 538.

two men were killed) were glad enough to abandon their enterprize, and take refuge at Limestone or Maysville.* Further West the experiment succeeded better, and some years before the time of which we are writing, in 1781, a settlement was made in the neighborhood of the old French forts, by emigrants from Western Virginia, who were joined during the present year by several other families from the same region.

[A sketch of the early American settlements in Illinois will be found among the Annals of that State, in the Appendix.]

In Kentucky during 1785, events were of a different character from any yet witnessed in the West. Hitherto, to live and resist the savages had been the problem, but now the more complicated questions of self-rule and political power presented themselves for discussion and answer. The Convention which met late in 1784, finding a strong feeling prevalent in favor of separation from Virginia, and unwilling to assume too much responsibility, had proposed, as we have stated, a *second* Convention to meet in the following May. It met upon the 23rd of that month, and the same spirit of self-dependence being dominant, an address to the Assembly of Virginia and one to the people of Kentucky, together with five resolutions, all relative to separation, and in favor of it, were animously carried. Two of these resolutions deserve especial notice; one of them recognized, what the Constitution of Virginia did not, the principle of equal representation, or a representation *of the people living in a certain territory*, and not the square miles contained in it: the other referred the whole matter again, to a *third* Convention, which was to meet in August, and continue its sessions by adjournment until April, 1786. As the members of the body which passed this resolve had been chosen, it is believed, on the basis of equal representation, and for the very purpose of considering the question of independence, it is by no means clear why this reference to a third assembly was made. It may have been from great precaution, or it may have been through the influence of James Wilkinson, who, though not a member of the *second* Convention, exercised great power in it; and who being chosen a member of the *third*, became its leader and controller, by the combined influence of his manners, eloquence, intellect, and character. This gentleman, there ap-

* American Pioneer, i. 56.

pears to be reason to think, deemed the tone of the petition to Virginia too humble, and wished another meeting, to speak both to the Parent State and the people of the District in more rousing and exciting words. And his wish, if such was his wish, was fulfilled. Upon the 8th of August, a *third* Convention met, adopted a new form of address to the Old Dominion, and called upon the people of Kentucky to "arm, associate, and embody," "to hold in detestation and abhorrence, and treat as enemies to the community, every person who shall withhold his countenance and support, of such measures as may be recommended for [the] common defence;" and to prepare for offensive movements against the Indians, without waiting to be attacked.*

That Wilkinson, in this address to the people of Kentucky, somewhat exaggerated the danger of Indian invasion is probable; and the propriety of his call upon his countrymen to invade the lands beyond the Ohio, at the time that Congress was treating with the natives owning them, and seeking to put a stop to warfare, is more than questionable: but still his expressions of anxiety lest the whites should be found unprepared, were not wholly without cause.

[At this period hostile feelings and movements were again manifested, as appears from the following extract from Dillon's "Historical Notes."

"A large Indian council, composed of deputies from different tribes, was held at Ouiatenon, on the river Wabash, in the month of August, 1785. About the same time an Indian killed one of the French inhabitants of Post Vincennes. A party of the friends of this man then fell upon the Indians, killed four and wounded some more. Soon afterwards an Indian chief waited on the French inhabitants, and told them that they must remove at a fixed time—that the Indians were determined to make war on the American settlers—and that if the French remained at Post Vincennes, they would share the fate of the Americans."†

In October the Southern Indians became hostile, made incursions into Kentucky, attacked the family of Mr. McClure, massacred three children, and took his wife and one child prisoners. They were rescued by a party under the command

* Marshall, i. 195, 196 to 220; where all the original papers at length.

† Correspondence of Captain John Armstrong, in Dillon's Indiana, i. 201.

of Captain William Whitley. Other families and stations were attacked.*]

But the proper source of action in the matter at this time was the confederation, and Wilkinson and his associates in proposing to invade the north-west territory, should have sought to act under its sanction, and not as leaders of a sovereign power. Nor was the confederation at this very time unmindful of the West; in the autumn of '85, Major Doughty descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Muskingum, and upon the point north of the former, and west of the latter river, began Fort Harmar.†

The address or petition, though the last name seems scarcely applicable, which the Third Kentucky Convention had sent to the Assembly of the the parent State, was by that body duly received and listened to, and the reasons for an early separation appearing cogent, Virginia, in January, 1786, passed a law by which Kentucky might claim independence, provided she were willing to accept of the following conditions, as explained in a letter from Mr. Madison, to Gen. Washington, dated December 9th, 1785.‡

"Kentucky made a formal application for independence. Her memorial has been considered, and the terms of separation fixed by a Committee of the Whole. The substance of them is that all private rights and interests, derived from the laws of Virginia, shall be secured; that the unlocated lands shall be applied to the objects to which the laws of Virginia have appropriated them; that the Ohio shall be a common highway for the citizens of the United States, and the jurisdiction of Kentucky and Virginia, as far as the remaining territory of the latter will be thereon, be concurrent only with the new States on the opposite shore; that the proposed State shall take its due share of our State debts; and that the separation shall not take place unless these terms shall be approved by a convention to be held to decide the question, nor until Congress shall assent thereto, and fix the terms of their admission into the Union. The limits of the proposed State are to be the same with the present limits of the district. The apparent coolness of the representatives of Kentucky, as to a separation, since these terms have been defined, indicates that they had some views, which will not be favored by them. They dislike much to be hung upon the will of Congress."

*Marshall, i. 221

†American Pioneer, i. 25–30 and frontispiece. Monette, ii. 222.

‡Sparks' Washington, ix. 510.

These conditions were to be submitted to a *Fourth* convention to be held in the following September. If those were agreed to, the convention was to select a day posterior to September 1st, 1787, after which the laws of Virginia were to cease forever to be force within the western district; for which, meanwhile, a constitution and laws were to be prepared by a *Fifth* convention to be called for that purpose: it being provided, that this act was to be effective only when in substance approved by the United States.* This act was not, however, altogether pleasant to the more zealous of the advocates of self-rule, and an attempt was made by Wilkinson and his friends to induce the people of the district to declare themselves independent of Virginia before the comparatively distant period fixed by the law in question. The attempt, however, was opposed and defeated; the election of members for the Fourth convention took place without disturbance, and in September it would undoubtedly have met to attend to the business confided to it, had not the Indian incursions led to a movement against the tribes on the Wabash, at the very time appointed for the assembly at Danville.

Before we come to this movement beyond the Ohio, however, it is necessary to mention the steps taken by Congress during the early part of this year to secure and perpetuate peace with the north-western tribes. The treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois, was upon the 22d of October, 1784; that of Fort McIntosh, with the Delawares, Wyandots, &c., upon the 21st of January, 1785; upon the 18th of March following, it was resolved that a treaty be held with the Wabash Indians at Post Vincent on the 20th of June, 1785, or at such other time and place as might seem best to the commissioners.† Various circumstances caused the time to be changed to the 31st of January, 1786, and the place to the mouth of the Great Miami, where, upon that day a treaty was made by G. R. Clark, Richard Butler and Sam'l. H. Parsons, not, however, with the Piankishaws and others named in the original resolution, but with the Delawares, Wyandots and Shawanese.‡

*Marshall, i. 222.

†Old Journals, iv. 487.

‡Those first named were the Potawatama, Twigtwees, Piankashaw and other western nations. See Old Journals, iv. 528, 533, 538, 542. The resolution on the page last cited (June 29, 1785,) changes the place to the mouth of the Great Miami or the Falls.

That treaty, in addition to the usual articles, contained the following.*

ART. 2. The Shawanee nation do acknowledge the United States to be the sole and absolute sovereigns of all the territory ceded to them by a treaty of peace made between them and the king of Great Britain, the fourteenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

ART. 6. The United States do allot to the Shawanee nation, lands within their territory, to live and hunt upon, beginning at the south line of the lands allotted to the Wyandots and Delaware nations, at the place where the main branch of the Great Miami, which falls into the Ohio, intersects said line; then, down the River Miami, to the fork of that river, next below the old fort which was taken by the French in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two; thence, due west, to the River De La Panse; then, down that river, to the river Wabash; beyond which lines none of the citizens of the United States shall settle, nor disturb the Shawanees in their settlement and possessions. And the Shawanees do relinquish to the United States, all title, or pretence of title, they ever had to the lands east, west, and south of the east, west, and south lines before described.†

The absence of the Wabash Indians from this council was not the result of any change of plans on the part of the Americans, but solely of a growing spirit of hostility among the savages, fostered, there is too much reason to think, by the subagents of England. The temper of the Indians who first met the commissioners, is thus referred to by General Parsons, in a letter to Captain Hart, at Fort Harmar, dated "Fort Finney."

[Major Finney was a witness to the treaty. "Fort Finney" was at the mouth of the Great Miami.]‡

Since we have been here, every measure has been taken to bring in the Indians. The Wyandots and Delawares are here; the other nations were coming, and were turned back by the Shawanese. These, at last, sent two of their tribe to examine our situation and satisfy themselves of our designs. With these men we were very open and explicit. We told them we were fully convinced of their designs in coming; that we were fully satisfied with it; that they were at liberty to take their own way and time to answer the purposes they came

*Old Journals, iv. 627. Land Laws, 299.

†See Land Laws, 299.

‡Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 33.

for; that we were desirous of living in peace with them; and for that purpose had come with offers of peace to them, which they would judge of, and whether peace or war was most for their interest; that we very well knew the measures the British agents had taken to deceive them. That if they came to the treaty, any man who had filled their ears with those stories was at liberty to come with them, and return in safety. But if they refused to treat with us, we should consider it as a declaration of war on their part, &c. These men stayed about us eight days, and then told us they were fully convinced our designs were good; that they had been deceived; that they would return home, and use their influence to bring in their nation, and send out to the other nations. Last night we received a belt of Wampum and a twist of tobacco, with a message that they would be in when we had smoked the tobacco. From our information, we are led to believe these people will very generally come in, and heartily concur with us in peace. I think it not probable the treaty will begin sooner than January.

The British agents, our own traders, and the inhabitants of Kentucky, I am convinced, are all opposed to a treaty, and are using every measure to prevent it. Strange as this may seem, I have very convincing proofs of its reality. The causes I can assign, but they are too many for the compass of a letter. Notwithstanding all treaties we can make, I am convinced we shall not be in safety until we have posts established in the upper country.*

The various tribes of the north-west, therefore, had been invited to the mouth of the Miami, but, owing to counter influence, neither attended, nor took any notice of the messages sent them;† and those who did finally attend, came, if tradition tells truly, in no amicable spirit, and but for the profound knowledge possessed by Clark of the Indian character, and the high rank he held in the estimation of the natives, the meeting of January 31st might very probably have terminated in the murder of the commissioners.

[Of this treaty the following account is given, out of which, probably, the graphic sketch was drawn by a western writer, and may be found in the first edition of these annals.]

The Indians came in to a treaty at Fort Washington in the most friendly manner, except the Shawanese, the most conceited and warlike of the aborigines, the first in at a battle, and the last at a treaty. Three hundred of their finest war-

*See North American Review, October, 1841, p. 330.

†Old Journals, iv. 657.

riors set off in all their paint and feathers, and filed into the council-house. Their number and demeanor, so unusual at an occasion of this sort, was altogether unexpected and suspicious. The United States' stockade mustered seventy men. In the centre of the hall, at a little table, sat the commissary general, Clark, the indefatigable scourge of these very marauders; General Richard Butler and Mr. Parsons. There was also present a Captain Denny, who, I believe, is still alive, and can attest this story. On the part of the Indians, an old council-sachem and a war chief took the lead. The latter, a tall, raw-boned fellow, with an impudent and villanous look, made a boisterous and threatening speech, which operated effectually on the passions of the Indians, who set up a prodigious whoop at every pause. He concluded by presenting a black and white wampum, to signify they were prepared for either event, peace or war. Clark exhibited the same unaltered and careless countenance he had shown during the whole scene, his head leaning on his left hand, and his elbow resting upon the table. He raised his little cane, and pushed the sacred wampum off the table, with very little ceremony. Every Indian at the same time started from his seat with one of those sudden, simultaneous, and peculiar savage sounds, which startle and disconcert the stoutest heart, and can neither be described nor forgotten. At this juncture Clark rose. The scrutinizing eye cowered at his glance. He stamped his foot on the prostrate and insulted symbol, and ordered them to leave the hall. They did so, apparently involuntarily. They were heard all that night, debating in the bushes near the fort. The raw-boned chief was for war, the old sachem for peace. The latter prevailed, and the next morning they came back and sued for peace. (Notes of an old officer. See Encyclopædia Americana, iii. 232.)

But the tribes more distant than the Shawanese were in no way disposed to cease their incursions, and upon the 16th of May, the Governor of Virginia was forced to write upon the subject to Congress, which at once sent two companies down the Ohio to the Falls, and upon the 30th of June authorized the raising of militia in Kentucky, and the invasion of the country of the mischief-makers, under the command of the leading United States' officer.* We do not learn that it was nominally under this resolution that General Clark's expedition of the ensuing fall was undertaken; but at any rate this act on the part of Congress justified offensive measures on the part of the Kentuckians when they became necessary; and it being thought necessary to act upon the Wabash before winter, a body of a

* Old Journals, iv. 657 to 660.

thousand men, or more, gathered at the Falls, and marched thence toward Vincennes, which place they reached some time in September, 1786.

Here the army remained inactive during nine days, waiting the arrival of their provisions and ammunition, which had been sent down to the mouth of the Wabash in boats, and were delayed by the low water. This stay, so different from Clark's old mode of proceeding, was in opposition to his advice,* and proved fatal to the expedition. The soldiers became restive, and their confidence in the General being destroyed, by discovering the fact, that his clear mind was too commonly confused and darkened by the influence of ardent spirits, they at last refused obedience; a body of three hundred turned their faces homeward, and the rest soon followed in their track.

An expedition conducted by Colonel Logan against the Shawanese, who, in spite of their treaty, had resumed hostilities, terminated very differently from that under the conqueror of Illinois; their towns were burned and their crops wasted.

It was the gathering of the men of Kentucky for these expeditions, which prevented the meeting of the convention that was to have come together in September. So many were absent on military duty that a quorum could not be had, and those who came to the point of assembly, were forced, as a committee merely, to prepare a memorial for the Virginia legislature, setting forth the causes which made a convention at that time impossible, and asking certain changes in the Act of Separation.† This done, they continued their meetings by adjournment during the remainder of the year, hoping a quorum might still be gathered; which was not done, however, until the ensuing January.‡

Meanwhile, beyond the Alleghenies, events were taking place which produced more excitement in Kentucky than Indian wars, or Acts of Separation even: we refer to the Spanish negotiations, involving the navigation of the Mississippi. In 1780, as we have stated, Spain expressed her determination to claim the control of the great western river: in January, 1781, she attacked the fort of St. Joseph's, and took possession of the northwest in the name of his Catholic Majes-

* Marshall, i. 250.—Butler, 153.

† Marshall, i. 251. ‡ Ibid, 253.

ty: on the 15th of the next month, Congress, at the instance of the Virginia Delegates, instructed Mr. Jay, then at Madrid, not to insist on the use of the Mississippi by the Americans, if a treaty could not be effected without giving it up. Through 1782, the court of Madrid labored, not only to induce the United States to give up the stream of the West, but a great part of the West itself, and France backed her pretensions;* and thus matters rested. In July, 1785, Don Diego Gardoqui, appeared before Congress as the representative of Spain;† on the 20th of the same month, Mr. Jay, the Secretary of foreign affairs, was authorised to negotiate with him; and in May, of the year of which we are writing, negotiations begun between them, were brought to the notice of Congress. This was done in consequence of the fact, that in these transactions Mr. Jay asked the special guidance of that body, and explained his reasons for doing so at length.‡ He pointed out the importance of a commercial treaty with Spain, and dwelt upon the two difficulties of making such a treaty; one of which was, the unwillingness of Spain to permit the navigation of the Mississippi, the other, the question of boundaries. Upon the first point Mr. Jay was, and always had been, opposed to yielding to the Spanish claim; but that claim was still as strenuously urged as in 1780; and the court of Madrid, their ambassador said, would never abandon it. Under these circumstances, the interests of the whole Union demanding the conclusion of the Spanish commercial treaty, while that treaty could apparently be secured only by giving up the right to navigate the Mississippi, which was in a manner sacrificing the West, Mr. Jay proposed, as a sort of compromise, to form a treaty with Spain for twenty-five or thirty years, and during that time to yield the right of using the Mississippi below the boundaries of the United States. To this proposition, the Southern members in Congress were vehemently opposed, and an attempt was made by them to take the whole matter out of Mr. Jay's hands, the delegates from Virginia offering a long and able argument in opposition to his scheme; but the members of the eastern and middle states out-voted the south, and the Secretary was authorised to continue his negotiations, without being bound to insist, at all

* Secret Journals, iv. 63 to 80. Diplomatic Correspondence.

† Old Journals. iv. 544.

‡ Secret Journals, iv. 43. 45.

hazards, upon the immediate use of the river.* The discussion in Congress relative to the Spanish claims, took place during August, and the rumor of them, and of the Secretary's proposal, in due time reached the West; but, as is common, the tale spread by report, differed from the truth, by representing the proposition as much more positive than it really was, and as being made by John Jay, without any sanction of Congress. This story, which circulated during the winter of 1786–7, produced among those who dwelt upon the western waters great indignation; and prepared the people to anticipate a contest with Spain, or a union with her, and in either case, action independent of the old Atlantic colonies. And the conduct of Clark, after the failure of the Wabash expedition, was well calculated to cause many to think that the leading minds were already prepared for action. On the 8th of October, a board of field officers at Vincennes, determined to garrison that point, to raise supplies by impressment, and to enlist new troops. Under this determination, Spanish property was seized, soldiers were embodied, and steps were taken to hold a peace council with the natives; all under the direction of General Clark. Soon after this, in December, Thomas Green wrote from Louisville to the Governor, Council and Legislature of Georgia—which State was involved in the boundary quarrel with Spain—that Spanish property had been seized in the north-west as a hostile measure, and not merely to procure necessaries for the troops, which Clark afterward declared was the case; and added, that the General was ready to go down the river with "troops sufficient" to take possession of the lands in dispute, if Georgia would countenance him. This letter Clark said he never saw, but as he paid equally with Green towards the expenses of the messenger who was to take it to the south, it was natural enough to think him privy to all the plans relative to the disputed territory, whatever they may have been. And what they were, in some minds at least, may perhaps, be judged by the following extract from a letter, also written from Louisville, professedly to some one in New England, and very probably by Green; and which was circulated widely in Frankland, Tennessee. It is dated December 4, 1786.

Our situation is as bad as it possibly can be, therefore every

* Secret Journals, iv. 81 to 132.

exertion to retrieve our circumstances must be manly, eligible and just.

We can raise twenty thousand troops this side the Allegheny and Apalachian Mountains; and the annual increase of them by emigration, from other parts, is from two to four thousand.

We have taken all the goods belonging to the Spanish merchants of Post Vincennes and the Illinois, and are determined they shall not trade up the river, provided they will not let us trade down it. Preparations are now making here (if necessary) to drive the Spaniards from their settlements, at the mouth of the Mississippi. In case we are not countenanced and succored by the United States (if we need it) our allegiance will be thrown off, and some other power applied to. Great Britain stands ready with open arms to receive and support us. They have already offered to open their resources for our supplies. When once re-united to them, "farewell, a long farewell to all your boasted greatness." The province of Canada and the inhabitants of these waters, of themselves, in time, will be able to conquer you. You are as ignorant of this country as Great Britain was of America. These are hints, if rightly improved, may be of some service; if not, blame yourselves for the neglect.*

Wells, Green's messenger, on his way to Georgia, showed his papers to various persons at Danville; copies were at once taken of them, and enclosed in a letter written on the 22d of December to the Executive of Virginia, by fifteen of the leading citizens of Kentucky, among whom was James Wilkinson. In February, 1787, the Council of Virginia acted upon the subject; condemned Gen. Clark's conduct, disavowed the powers assumed by him, ordered the prosecution of the persons concerned in the seizure of property, and laid the matter before Congress. It was presented in detail to that body upon the 13th of April,† and upon the 24th of that month, it was resolved that the troops of the United States be employed to dispossess the unauthorized intruders who had taken possession of St. Vincents.‡

All these things naturally tended to excite speculation, inquiry and fear throughout the West; and though no action was had in reference to the Mississippi question beyond the mountains, until the next spring, we may be sure there was talking and feeling enough in the interval.

* Secret Journals, iv. 323.
† Secret Journals, iv. 301 to 323.
‡ Old Journals, iv. 740.

But in giving the history of 1786, we must not omit those steps which resulted in the formation of the New England Ohio Company, and the founding of the first colony, authorized by government, north-west of the Belle Riviere.

Congress, by the resolutions of September 16, 1776, and August 12, 1780, had promised land bounties to the officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army, who should continue in the service till the close of the war, or until discharged by Congress; and to the representatives of those who should be slain by the enemy.* In June, 1783, peace having been proclaimed, General Rufus Putnam forwarded to Washington a memorial from certain of those having claims under these resolutions; which Washington transmitted to Congress, together with General Putnam's letter.† But as the States claiming the western territory had not made their final cessions, Congress was forced, on the 29th of October, 1783, to announce their inability to make any appropriation of land.‡ From that time, nothing further was done until, upon the 18th of July, 1785, Benjamin Tupper, a Revolutionary officer belonging to Massachusetts, was appointed a surveyor of western lands, in the place of General Putnam, who had been before chosen, but was otherwise engaged. He, in the course of that year, visited the West, going, however, no farther than Pittsburgh, as the Indian troubles prevented surveys.§ On his return home, he conferred with his friend, Putnam, as to a renewal of their memorial of 1783, and a removal westward; which conference resulted in a publication, dated January 10, 1786, in which was proposed the formation of a company to settle the Ohio lands; and those taking an interest in the plan, were invited to meet in February, and choose, for each county of Massachusetts, one or more delegates; these delegates were to assemble on the 1st of March, at the Bunch of Grapes tavern in Boston, there to agree upon a system of association. On the day named, eleven persons appeared at the place agreed upon; and by the 3d of March, the outline of the company was drawn up, and subscriptions under it at once commenced. The leading features of that outline were

*Land Laws, 337.

†The letters relating to this petition were sent by Mr. Sparks to the Committee for the Celebration of the Settlement of Ohio, 1835; and were published by them.

‡Land Laws, 339.

§Nye's Address, Transactions Ohio Historical Society, p. 317.

these: a fund of a million dollars, mainly in continental certificates, was to be raised for the purpose of purchasing lands in the western territory; there were to be a thousand shares of one thousand dollars each, and upon each share ten dollars in specie were to be paid, for contingent expenses. One year's interest was to be appropriated to the charges of making a settlement and assisting those unable to remove without aid. The owners of every twenty shares were to choose an agent to represent them, and attend to their interests; and the agents were to choose the Directors.* The plan was approved, and in a year from that time the company was organized; and, before its organization, the last obstacle to the purposed grant from the United States, was done away by the cession of most of her territorial claims on the part of Connecticut. In October, 1780, soon after the first action of Congress relative to the western lands, that State had passed an act respecting the cession of her claim to the United States. This, on the 31st of January, 1781, was referred, together with the resolutions of New York and Virginia, to a committee.† Various reports were made, and discussions had, relative to the matter, but it was not till May 26, 1786, that the views of the State and the Union could be brought to a coincidence. This being done by a resolution of Congress, dated upon that day, the Delegates of Connecticut, upon the 14th of September, made the deed of cession by which all her claims to the country west of a line one hundred and twenty miles beyond the western boundary of Pennsylvania and parallel thereto, were given up to the confederation.‡

We have mentioned that a minority of the Convention called in Kentucky, to meet in September, 1786, was adjourned from time to time until January of this year; when, at length a quorum attended. Upon a vote being then taken relative to separation, the feeling was still, as before, strongly in favor of it. But scarce had this been ascertained when a second act

*See Nye's Address in Transactions of Ohio Historical Society, Part 2d. Also, an article on Ohio, in North American Review, for October, 1841; vol. liii. 320 to 359: this article is full of original matter.

†Old Journals, iii. 571.

‡By this transfer, Connecticut retained both the soil and jurisdiction of what is now known as the Connecticut or Western Reserve. The compromise with her was disapproved by Washington and others. See Sparks' Washington, ix. 178 and note. Virginia, in her cession, (see p. 258) had resigned her jurisdiction, and her "reserve" was merely of the lands necessary to recompense her soldiers.

upon the subject, passed by Virginia in October, 1786,* reached the West, and the whole question was again postponed, to be laid before a *fifth* convention, which was to meet in September; while the time when the laws of Virginia should cease to be of force, was changed to the close of the year 1778. There were many, beyond doubt, to whom this delay was a source of vexation and anger, but the people of the district generally evinced no such feelings; the elections took place in August, and the Convention assembled upon the 17th of September, all in perfect harmony and quietness. The vote was again unanimous in favor of separation, and the act of Virginia was agreed to; to form a constitution, a *sixth* convention was to be chosen in the ensuing April, and to complete the work of independence, Congress was to assent to a formation of Kentucky into a State before July 4, 1788.†

Nor was the spirit of moderation shown this year by the Kentuckians in relation to self-government, confined to that subject; in regard to the vexatious affair of the Spanish claims, there was a like temper manifested. Mr. Jay, as already related, had been authorized by Congress to abandon the right of using the Mississippi for a term of years, but not to yield the pretensions of the United States to its navigation, after that period closed. In October, 1786, under these instructions, he resumed his negotiations with Don Gardoqui, but without success, as Spain required an entire relinquishment of the American claim.‡ In November of that year, also, Virginia had passed several Resolutions against giving up the use of the river, even for a day, and had instructed her delegates to oppose every attempt of the kind. When, therefore, the people of Kentucky met at Danville, early in May, 1787, to act in relation to the subject,—having been called together by Messrs. Muter, Innis, Brown and Sebastian, for that purpose —they found that little or nothing was to be done; the plan of the Secretary was not likely to succeed, and had been fully protested against:—the assembly at Danville, having been informed of these things, quietly adjourned.

What connection, if any, existed between this calmer

*Morehead, 124.

†Marshall, i. 253–256. 274–258. The "date July 4, 1788," is mispriated "1787" in Marshall, 256.

‡Secret Journals, iv. 297–301.

spirit in Kentucky and General Wilkinson's absence, during a part of the year, it is impossible to say; but it is probable that had not his attention at that time been drawn to the advantages of a trade with New Orleans, he would have exerted during 1787, a much greater influence upon his fellow citizens than he seems to have done. In June, we find him on his way to the South; nor did he appear in Kentucky again until the following February; and then it was that he commenced those connections with the Spanish government of Louisiana, which were afterwards brought in question, and by means of which his character became involved in doubts that have never entirely been done away.*

At that period, the feeling expressed in the extract from a letter, which we have already quoted, that the West would separate from the East, seems to have been growing even among those who, in December, 1786, denounced Green and Clark to the Governor of Virginia. Harry Innis, Attorney-General of the district, and one of those who gave information of the Vincennes proceedings, in July, 1787, writes to the executive of the State (Virginia), that he cannot prosecute those guilty of aggressions on the Indians, and adds: "I am decidedly of opinion that this Western country will, in a few years, act for itself, and erect an independent government."† This opinion was based partially upon the failure, on the part of Virginia and the confederation, to protect the frontiers, which, during this whole year, suffered both from the northern and southern Indians; and partly on the uncertain state of the navigation question, in respect to which the western men had reason, perhaps, to think that some of the leaders in the Old Dominion were leagued against them. We find, for example, Washington expressing his willingness that the Mississippi should be closed for a time, because, as he thought, its closure would knit the new colonies of the West more closely to the Atlantic States, and lead to the realization of one of his favorite projects, the opening of lines of internal navigation, connecting the Ohio with the Potomac and James River.‡ In these sentiments both Henry Lee and Rich-

*Marshall, i. 259, 261, 267.

† Marshall, i. 270.

‡ Sparks' Washington, ix. 119, 172, 261. For Washington's views on internal improvements see 30, 291, 471, 301, 326, 80, &c.

ard Henry Lee agreed.* How far these views of the great Virginians were known, we cannot discover; but more or less distinct rumors respecting them, we may presume, were prevalent, so that it was by no means strange that the very foremost men of the West wavered in their attachment to the powerless, almost worthless confederation. Nor did the prospect of a new government at first help the matter. The view which Patrick Henry and others took of the proposed federal constitution, was the favorite view of the Western Virginians; so that of fourteen representatives from the District of Kentucky, in the convention called in 1788, to deliberate upon that constitution, but three voted in favor of it: one of these three was Humphrey Marshall, the historian.† And this rejection of the instrument under which our Union has since so greatly prospered, was not the result of hasty action, or strong party influence. The first point is proved by the fact that it was made known through the press to the people of the West, upon the 27th of October, 1789, having been on that day printed in the Kentucky Gazette.‡ That mere party influence did not govern the opponents of the constitution of the United States, is proved, both by the character of the men, and the debates in the convention.

[The Kentucky Gazette, commenced in Lexington, in August of this year, by Mr. John Bradford, was the second newspaper established west of the Allegheny mountains. The first was the Pittsburgh Gazette, established by John Scull and Joseph Hall, two poor, but enterprizing young men. The first number was issued July 29, 1786. These papers contributed much to the growth and prosperity of this central valley.§]

* For Henry Lee's views, see Sparks, ix. 173, note, 205, note; Richard Henry Lee's views, Washington's letter to him, Sparks, ix. 261.

† Marshall, i. 287.

‡ Butler, 166, note.

§ Marshall, i. 294.—Butler, 163.—American Pioneer, i. 305.

CHAPTER XI.

NORTH WESTERN TERRITORY.

The Ohio Company Negotiate for Land—Their Purchase of Congress—Mr. Jefferson's Project of Ten States—Ordinance of 1787—Settlements on the Muskingum—Symmes' Purchase and Settlements made on the Miami—Cincinnati Founded—Trade opened with New Orleans—General Wilkinson's Movements—Affairs in Kentucky.

While, south of Ohio, dissatisfaction with the federal union was spreading, not secretly and in spirit of treason, but openly and as the necessary consequences of free and unfettered choice, the New England associates for settling the northwest, were by degrees reducing their theories to practice. In March, 1786, it will be remembered, they began their subscription: on the 8th of that month, 1787, a meeting of Agents chose General Parsons, General Putnam, and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, Directors for the Company; and these Directors appointed Dr. Cutler to go to New York and negotiate with Congress for the desired tract of country. On the 5th of July, that gentleman reached the temporary Capital of the Union, and then began a scene of management worthy of more degenerate days. Full extracts from Dr. Cutler's Journal, showing how things went, may be found in the North American Review for October, 1841.* Of these we can give but a few paragraphs. The first relates to the choice of the Muskingum valley as the spot for settlement.

July 7. Paid my respects to Dr. Holton and several other gentlemen. Was introduced, by Dr. Ewings and Mr. Rittenhouse, to Mr. Hutchins, Geographer of the United States. Consulted with him where to make our location.

Monday, July 9. Waited this morning, very early, on Mr. Hutchins. He gave me the fullest information of the western country, from Pennsylvania to the Illinois, and advised me by all means to make our location on the Muskingum, which was decidedly, in his opinion, the best part of the whole western country Attended the committee before Congress opened, and then spent the remainder of the forenoon with Mr. Hutchins.

Attended the committee at Congress chamber; debated on terms, but were so wide apart, there appears little prospect of closing a contract.

* Vol. liii. 334 to 343.

Called again on Mr. Hutchins. Consulted him further about the place of location.

The opinion thus given by Hutchins, who had been long and familiarly acquainted with the West, agreed with that formed by General Parsons, who had visited the Ohio valley, once at least, if not twice; the result of his observations will be found in the letter given at length in the article of the North American Review, of October, 1841, already quoted. The other extracts which we take from the Doctor's Journal, refer to the "manœuvres," as he terms them, by which was effected a contract at least as favorable to the Union as it was to the Company.

Colonel Duer came to me with proposals from a number of the principal characters in the city, *to extend our contract, and take in another company;* but that it should be kept a profound secret. He explained the plan they had concerted and offered me generous conditions if I would accomplish the business for them. The plan struck me agreeably; Sargent insisted on my undertaking; and both urged me not to think of giving the matter up so soon.

I was convinced it was best for me to hold up the idea of giving up a contract with Congress, and making a contract with some of the States, which I did in the strongest terms, and represented to the committee and to Duer and Sargent the difficulties I saw in the way, and the improbability of closing a bargain when we were so far separated; and told them I conceived it not worth while to say anything further to Congress on the subject. This appeared to have the effect I wished. The committee were mortified and did not seem to know what to say; but still urged another attempt. I left them in this state, but afterwards explained my views to Duer and Sargent, who fully approved my plan. Promised Duer to consider his proposals.

I spent the evening (closeted) with Colonel Duer, and agreed to purchase more land, if terms could be obtained, for another company, which will probably forward the negotiation.

Saturday, July 21. Several members of Congress called on me early this morning. They discovered much anxiety about a contract, and assured me that Congress, on finding I was determined not to accept their terms, and had proposed leaving the city, had discovered a much more favorable disposition; and believed, if I renewed my request I might obtain conditions as reasonable as I desired. I was very indifferent and talked much of the advantages of a contract with one of the States. This I found had the desired effect. At length I told him that if Congress would accede to the terms

I proposed, I would extend the purchase to the tenth township from the Ohio to the Scioto inclusively; by which Congress would pay more than four millions of the public debt; that our intention was, an *actual, large,* and *immediate settlement* of the most robust and industrious people in America, and that it would be made systematically, which would instantly advance the price of the Federal lands, and prove an important acquisition to Congress. On these terms, I would renew the negotiation, if Congress was disposed to take the matter up again.

I spent the evening with Mr. Dane and Mr. Milliken. They informed me that Congress had taken up my business again.

July 23. My friends had made every exertion, in private conversation, to bring over my opponents in Congress. In order to get at some of them so as to work more powerfully on their minds, were obliged to engage three or four persons before we could get at them. In some instances we engaged one person who engaged a second, and he a third, before we could effect our purpose. In these manœuvres I am much beholden to Colonel Duer and Major Sargent.

* * * * * *

Having found it impossible to support General Parsons, as a candidate for Governor, after the interest that General Arthur St. Clair had secured, I embraced this opportunity to declare that if General Parsons could have the appointment of first judge, and Sargent Secretary, we should be satisfied; and that I heartily wished his Excellency General St. Clair might be the Governor; and that I would solicit the Eastern members in his favor. This I found rather pleasing to southern members.

* * * * * *

I am fully convinced that it was good policy to give up Parsons and openly appear solicitous that St. Clair might be appointed Governor. Several gentlemen have told me that our matters went on much better since St. Clair and his friends had been informed that we had given up Parsons, and that I had solicited the Eastern members in favor of his appointment. I immediately went to Sargent and Duer, and we now entered into the true spirit of negotiation with great bodies. Every machine in the city that was possible to work we now put in motion. Few, Bingham, and Kearney are our principal opposers. Of Few and Bingham there is hope; but to bring over that stubborn mule of a Kearney, I think is beyond our power.

Friday, July 27. I rose very early this morning, and, after adjusting my baggage for my return, for I was determined to leave New York this day, I set out on a general morning visit, and paid my respects to all the members of Congress in

the city, and informed them of my intention to leave the city that day. My expectations of obtaining a contract, I told them, were nearly at an end. I should, however, wait the decision of Congress; and if the terms I had stated—and which I conceived to be very advantageous to Congress, considering the circumstances of that country—were not acceded to, we must turn our attention to some other part of the country. New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts would sell us lands at half a dollar, and give us exclusive privileges beyond what we have asked of Congress. The speculating plan concerted between the British of Canada, was now well known. The uneasiness of the Kentucky people, with respect to the Mississippi, was notorious. A revolt of that country from the Union, if a war with Spain took place, was universally acknowledged to be highly probable; and most certainly a systematic settlement in that country, conducted by men thoroughly attached to the federal government, and composed of young, robust and hardy laborers, who had no idea of any other than the Federal Government, I conceived to be an object worthy of some attention.

[This business was now managed, carried through Congress and brought to a conclusion in great haste. At that time the fiscal concerns of government were deplorable; the treasury of the nation was exhausted, money could not be raised on loan, as the whole revolutionary debt was a terrible incubus on the national credit, and the only alternative was to sell lands. Dr. Cutler's own journal shows he managed the negotiation shrwedly, but we will not say, quite honorably.

On the 23rd of July, Congress authorized the Board of Treasury to make the contract; on the 26th, Messrs. Cutler and Sargent stated, in writing their conditions; and on the 27th Congress referred their letter to the Board, and an order of the same date was obtained. Of this, his Journal says:

By this ordinance we obtained the grant of near five million of acres of land, amounting to three million and a half of dollars; one million and a half of acres for the Ohio Company, and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the principal characters of America are concerned. Without connecting this speculation, similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company.

Messrs. Cutler and Sargent, the latter of whom the Doctor had associated with himself some days before, at once closed a verbal contract with the Board of Treasury, which was exe-

cuted in form on the 27th of the following October.* By this contract, the vast region bounded south by the Ohio, west by Scioto, east by the seventh range of townships then surveying, and north by a due west line drawn from the north boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio direct to the Scioto, was sold to the Ohio associates and their secret co-partners, for one dollar per acre, subject to a deduction of one-third for bad lands and other contingencies. The whole tract, however, was not paid for, or taken by the company—even their own portion of a million and a half of acres, and extending west to the eighteenth range of townships,† was not taken; and in 1792, the boundaries of the purchase proper were fixed as follows: the Ohio on the south, the seventh range of townships on the east, the sixteenth range on the west, and a line on the north so drawn as to make the grant seven hundred and fifty thousand (750,000) acres, besides reservations; this grant being the portion which it was originally agreed the Company might enter into possession of at once. In addition to this, two hundred and fourteen thousand, two hundred and eighty-five (214,285) acres of land were granted as army bounties, under the resolutions of 1779, and 1780; and one hundred thousand (100,000) as bounties to actual settlers; both of the latter tracts being within the original grant of 1787, and adjoining the purchase as above defined.‡

While Dr. Cutler was preparing to press his suit with Congress, that body was bringing into form an ordinance for the political and social organization of the Territory beyond the Ohio. Virginia made her cession March 1, 1784, and during the month following, a plan for the temporary government of the newly acquired territory, came under discussion.§ On the 19th of April, Mr. Spaight, of North Carolina, moved to strike from that plan, which had been reported by Mr. Jefferson, a provision for prohibiting slavery north-west of the Ohio, after the year 1800,—and this motion prevailed.‖ From that day till the 23d, the plan was debated and altered, and then pass-

* See Land Laws 262, to 264—Old Journals, iv. Appendix, 17, 18.

† North American Review, vol. liii, 343, 344.

‡ Land Laws, 364 to 368—North American Review, liii. 344.

§ See in Old Journals, iv, 293, a proposition to organize a western District, made October 14, 1783.

‖ Old Journals, iv. 373.

ed unanimously, with the exception of South Carolina.* By this proposition the territory was to have been divided into States by parallels of latitude and meridian lines;† this, it was thought, would have made ten States, which were to have been named as follows, beginning at the north-west corner and going southwardly;—Sylvania, Michigania, Chersonisus, Assenispia, Metropotamia, Illinoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia, and Pelisipia.‡ Surely the hero of Mount Vernon must have shuddered to find himself in such company.

[We shall refer to this subject in the Appendix, Annals of Illinois, and give the facts and references concerning the prohibition of slavery in the Western Territory.]

But a more serious difficulty existed to this plan than its catalogue of names—namely, the number of States which it was proposed to form, and their boundaries. The root of this evil was in the resolution passed by Congress, October 10th, 1780, which fixed the size of the States to be formed from the ceded lands, at one hundred to one hundred and fifty miles square; and the terms of that resolution had been referred to, both by Virginia and Massachusetts in their grants, so as to make further legislation, at least by the former, needful to change them. Upon the 7th of July, 1786, this subject was taken up in Congress, and a resolution passed in favor of a division of not less than three nor more than five States, to which resolution, Virginia, at the close of 1788, assented.§ On the 29th of Sept. 1786, Congress, having thus changed the plan for dividing the north-western territory into ten States, proceeded again to consider the terms of an ordinance for the government of that region; and this was taken up from time to time, until July 13th of the year of which we are writing, when it was finally passed, having been somewhat changed just before its passage, at the suggestion of Dr. Cutler.‖ We give it entire as it is the corner-stone of the Constitutions of our north-western States.

* Old Journals, iv, 380.

†Old Journals, iv. 379; Land Laws, 347.

‡Sparks' Washington, ix. 48.

§ Land Laws, 338, 100, 101.

‖ Old Journals, iv, 701, &c., 746, &c., 751, &c, North American Review, lili, 336.

An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio.

Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district, subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates, both of resident, and non-resident proprietors in said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among, their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child, or grand child, to take the share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them: And where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin in equal degree; and, among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parents' share; and there shall, in no case, be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half-blood; saving, in all cases, to the widow of the intestate, her third part of the real estate for life, and one-third part of the personal estate; and this law, relative to descents and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And, until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her, in whom the estate may be, (being of full age,) and attested by three witnesses: and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered, by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers, shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery; saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 1000 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

There shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress,

a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein in 500 acres of land, while in the exercise of his office; it shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his Executive department; and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the Secretary of Congress: There shall also be appointed a court to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate in 500 acres of land while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time; which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but, afterwards, the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

The governor, for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

Previous to the organization of the General Assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same: After the General Assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers, shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

So soon as there shall be 5000 free male inhabitants of full age in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the Governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships

to represent them in the General Assembly: *Provided*, That, for every 500 free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five; after which, the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the Legislature: *Provided*, That no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and, in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same: *Provided*, *also*, That a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

The representatives thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years: and, in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the Governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

The General Assembly, or Legislature, shall consist of the Governor, Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives. The Legislative Council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress; any three of whom to be a quorum: and the members of the Council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as Representatives shall be elected, the Governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together; and when met they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and, whenever a vacancy shall happen in the Council, by death or removal from office, the House of Representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to Congress; one of whom Congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term. And every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of the Council, the said House shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to Congress; five of whom Congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the Council five years, unless sooner removed. And the Governor, Legislative Council, and House of Representatives, shall have authority to make laws in all cases, for the good government of the district, not

repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the House, and by a majority in the Council, shall be referred to the Governor for his assent; but no bill, or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The Governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the General Assembly, when, in his opinion, it shall be expedient.

The Governor, Judges, Legislative Council, Secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office; the Governor before the President of Congress, and all other officers before the Governor. As soon as a Legislature shall be formed in the district, the Council and House assembled in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government.

And, for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide also for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

It is hereby ordained and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

Art. 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

Art. 2. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of the trial by jury, of a proportionate representation of the people in the Legislature; and of judicial proceedings according to the course of common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; and, should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular

services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud, previously formed.

ART. 3. Religion, morality and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall, from time to time, be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

ART. 4. The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted, or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by Congress according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other States; and the taxes, for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the district or districts, or new States, as in the original States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled. The Legislatures of those districts or new States, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the bona fide purchasers.* No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and, in no case, shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other States that may be admitted

*Act of 25th February, 1811, provides the same in Louisiana; and, also, that lands sold by Congress shall not be taxed for five years after sale;—in Mississippi, by act of 1st March, 1817, and so of all others.

into the Confederacy, without any tax, impost or duty, therefor.

ART. 5. There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three nor more than five States; and the boundaries of the States, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: The western State in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post St. Vincent's due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and, by the said territorial line, to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle State shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post St. Vincent's, to the Ohio; by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami, to the said territorial line. The eastern State shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: *Provided, however*, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And, whenever any of the said States shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government: *Provided*, the constitution and government so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the State than sixty thousand.

ART. 6. There shall be neither slavery or involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: *Provided, always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby repealed and declared null and void. Done, &c.*

*Land Laws, p. 356.

The passage of this ordinance, and the grant to the New England associates, was soon followed by an application to government by John Cleve Symmes, of New Jersey, for the country between the Miamis.* This gentleman had been led to visit that region by the representations of Benjamin Stites, of Red Stone, (Brownsville,) who had examined the vallies of the Shawanese soon after the treaty of January, 1786.† Symmes found them all, and more than all they had been represented to be, and upon the 29th of August, 1787, wrote to the President of Congress, asking that the Treasury Board might be empowered to contract with him for the district above named. This petition, on the 2d of October, was referred to the Board, with power to act, and a contract was concluded the next year. Upon the 18th of the month last named, another application was made by Royal Flint and Joseph Parker, for lands upon the Wabash and Mississippi ;‡ this was also referred to the Board of Treasury.

During this autumn the directors of the company organized in New England, were preparing for an actual settlement in the ensuing spring, and upon the 23d of November, made arrangements for a party of forty-seven men, under the superintendence of General Rufus Putnam, to set forward. Six boat-builders were to leave the next week ; on the 1st of January, 1788, the surveyors and their assistants, twenty-six in number, were to meet at Hartford, and go westward ; and the remainder to follow as soon as possible. Congress, meantime, upon the 3d of October, had ordered seven hundred troops for the defence of the western settlers, and to prevent unauthorized intrusions; and two days later appointed St. Clair governor of the North-western Territory.‖

The two leading causes of disquiet to the western people through 1787, the Indian incursions, and the Spanish possession of the Mississippi, did not cease to irritate them during the next year also.

* Land Laws, 372. See also Burnet's Letters in the Ohio Historical Transactions, p. 335 to 347.

† Cincinnati Directory, 1819, p. 16. The Historical sketch in this volume was compiled from the statements of the earliest settlers. The Miami country had been entered in 1785, and some "improvements" made. Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 33.

‡ Old Journals, iv. Appendix 19.

‖ North American Review, liii. 344. Old Journals, iv. 785, 786.

When Clark took his unauthorized possession of Vincennes, in October, 1786, he had asked the savages of the north-west to meet him in council in November; they replied that it was too late in the year, and the proposed meeting was postponed till April. Of this meeting Messrs. Marshall, Muter, and others, when writing to Virginia, gave information, and suggested that the government should take Clark's place in it. The Council of Virginia coincided with the suggestion, and recommended to Congress James Wilkinson, Richard C. Anderson and Isaac Shelby,* as commissioners on behalf of the United States. Congress, however, received notice of Clark's movements too late† for the proposed treaty, and nothing seems to have been done until July 21st, when the superintendant of Indian affairs in the north, or, if he could not go, Colonel Harmar, was instructed to proceed to Vincennes, or some other convenient place, and there hold a council with the Wabash Indians and Shawanese, for the purpose of putting an end to warfare.‡ Favorable notice was also taken of a council which had been held at the mouth of Detroit river. in December, 1786, by the Iroquois, Wyandots and others, the purpose of which was pacific, and from which an address relative to the Indian troubles had been sent to Congress. This was considered, and upon the 5th of October it was resolved, that a treaty should be held early in the year 1788, with these tribes, by the governor of the new territory, who was instructed on the subject, on the 26th of the month last mentioned.‖ At the same time, however, that measures were thus taken to preserve peace, troops were placed at Venango, Fort Pitt, Fort McIntosh, the Muskingum, the Miami, Vincennes, and Louisville, and the governor of Virginia was requested to have the militia of Kentucky in readiness for any emergency.§ All these measures, however, produced no results during 1788; the Indians were neither overawed, conquered, nor satisfied; from May until the middle of July they were expected to meet the whites upon the Muskingum, but the point which had been

* Secret Journals, iv. 313, 314, 309, 306.

† April 12th. Secret Journals, iv. 301.

‡ Old Journals, iv. 761.

‖ Lanman's History of Michigan, 149. Old Journals, iv. 762, 763, 786. Secret Journals, i. 276.

§ Old Journals, iv. 762.

selected, and where goods had been placed, being at last attacked by the Chippeways, it was thought best to adjourn the meeting and hold it at Fort Harmar, where it was at length held, but not until January, 1789.

These Indian uncertainties, however, did not prevent the New England associates from going forward with their operations. During the winter of 1787–8, their men were pressing on over the Alleghenies by the old Indian path which had been opened into Braddock's road, and which has since been followed by the national turnpike from Cumberland westward. Through the dreary winter days they trudged on, and by April were all gathered on the Yohiogany,* where boats had been built, and started for the Muskingum. On the 7th of April they landed at the spot chosen, and became the founders of Ohio, unless we regard as such the Moravian Missionaries.

As St. Clair, who had been appointed governor the preceding October, had not yet arrived, it became necessary to erect a temporary government for their internal security; for which purpose a set of laws was passed, and published by being nailed to a tree in the village, and Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed to administer them. It is a strong evidence of the good habits of the people of the colony, that during three months, but one difference occurred, and that was compromised.† Indeed, a better set of men altogether, could scarce have been selected for the purpose, than Putnam's little band. Washington might well say, "no colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has first commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community."‡

On the 2d of July, a meeting of the directors and agents was held on the banks of the Muskingum, for the purpose of naming the new born city and its public squares.§ As yet the settlement had been merely "The Muskingum,"‖ but the name

* A list of the forty-eight is given, North American Review, liii. 346.

† Western Monthly Magazine, 1833, vol. i. p. 395.

‡ Sparks' Washington, ix. 384.

§ American Pioneer, i. 83.

‖ Some of the settlers called it the city of Adelphi: See a letter dated May 16th, 1788, to the Massachusetts Spy in Imlay (Ed. 1797) p. 595.

Marietta was now formally given it, in honor of Marie Antoinette; the square upon which the block-houses stood was christened *Campus Martius;* the square No. 19, *Capitolium;* the square No. 61, *Cecilia;* and the great road through the covert way, *Sacra Via.**

On the 4th of July an oration was delivered by James M. Varnum,† who, with H. S. Parsons and John Armstrong,‡ had been appointed to the judicial bench of the territory, on the 16th of October, 1787. Five days after the Governor arrived, and the colony began to assume form. The ordinance of 1787 provided two distinct grades of government for the northwest territory, under the first of which the whole power was in the hands of the governor and the three judges, and this form was at once organized upon the governor's arrival. The first law, which was "for regulating and establishing the militia," was published upon the 25th of July; and the next day, appeared the governor's proclamation, erecting all the country that had been ceded by the Indians east of the Scioto river into the county of Washington.§

From that time forward, notwithstanding the doubt yet existing as to the Indians, all at Marietta went on prosperously and pleasantly. On the 2d of September the first court was held, with becoming ceremonies.

The procession was formed at the Point, (where most of the settlers resided,) in the following order;—1st, the high Sheriff, with his drawn sword; 2d, the citizens; 3d, the officers at the garrison at Fort Harmar; 4th, the members of the bar; 5th, the Supreme Judges; 6th, the Governor and Clergyman; 7th, the newly appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, Generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper.

They marched up a path that had been cut and cleared through the forest to Campus Martius Hall, (stockade,) where the whole counter-marched, and the Judges, (Putnam and Tupper) took their seats. The Clergyman, Rev. Dr. Cutler, then invoked the divine blessing. The Sheriff, Col. Ebenezer

*Carey's Museum, vol. iv. p. 390. In the fifth volume (March, 1789) of that periodical, page 284, is an account of the city of Athens, which the Spaniards at this time proposed to build at the mouth of the Missouri. "On the very point" where the rivers joined, was to be Fort Solon; not for defence, however, "but for the retirement of the Governor from the busy scenes of public employment."

†See this oration in Carey's Museum for May, 1789, 453 to 455.

‡Mr. Armstrong declined serving. John Cleve Symmes was chosen in his stead, Feb. 19th, 1788.

§Chase, vol. i. p. 92. Carey's Museum, iv, 433.

Sproat, (one of nature's nobles,) proclaimed with his solemn 'O yes, that a court is opened for the administration of even-handed justice, to the poor and the rich, to the guilty and the innocent, without respect to persons; none to be punished without a trial by their peers, and then in pursuance of the laws and evidence in the case.' Although this scene was exhibited thus early in the settlement of the State, few ever equalled it in the dignity and exalted character of its principal participators. Many of them belonged to the history of our country, in the darkest as well as the most splendid periods of the Revolutionary war. To witness this spectacle, a large body of Indians was collected, from the most powerful tribes then occupying the almost entire West. They had assembled for the purpose of making a treaty. Whether any of them entered the hall of justice, or what were their impressions, we are not told. (American Pioneer, i. p. 165.)

The progress of the settlement, says a letter from Muskingum, "is sufficiently rapid for the first year. We are continually erecting houses, but arrivals are faster than we can possibly provide convenient covering. Our first ball was opened about the middle of December, at which were fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles as any I have ever seen in the old States. I mention this to show the progress of society in this new world; where I believe we shall vie with, if not excel, the old States, in every accomplishment necessary to render life agreeable and happy."

The emigration westward, even at this time, was very great; the commandant at Fort Harmar reporting four thousand five hundred persons as having passed that post between February and June, 1788; many of whom would have stopped on the purchase of the Associates, had they been ready to receive them.

During the following year, and indeed until the Indians, who, in spite of treaties, had been committing small depredations all the time, stealing horses and sinking boats, went fairly and openly to war, the settlement on the Muskingum grew slowly, but steadily, and to good purpose; the first attack made by Indians on the Muskingum settlements, began January 2d, 1791.

Nor were Symmes and his New Jersey friends idle during this year, though his purchase was far more open to Indian depredations than that of the Massachusetts men. His first proposition had been referred, as we have said, to the Board of Treasury, with power to contract, upon the 2d of Oct. 1787.

Upon the 26th of the next month, Symmes issued a pamphlet, addressed "to the respectable public," stating the terms of his contract, and the scheme of sale which he proposed to adopt. This was, to issue his warrants for not less than a quarter section, (a hundred and sixty acres,) which might be located any where, except, of course, on reservations, and spots previously chosen. No section was to be divided, if the warrant held by the locator would cover the whole. The price was to be sixty cents and two-thirds per acre, till May, 1788; then one dollar till November; and, after that time, was to be regulated by the demand for land. Every locator was bound to begin improvements within two years, or forfeit one-sixth of his purchase to whoever would settle thereon and remain seven years. Military bounties might be taken in this as in the purchase oft he associates. For himself, Symmes retained one township at the mouth of the Great Miami, at the junction of which stream with the Ohio, he proposed to build his great city; to help the growth of which he offered each alternate lot to any one that would build a house and live therein three years.

As Continental certificates were rising, in consequence of the great land purchases then making with them, and as difficulty was apprehended in procuring enough to make his first payment, Symmes was anxious to send forward settlers early, that the true value of his purchase might become known at the east. He had, however, some difficulty in arranging with the Board of Treasury the boundaries of the first portion he was to occupy.*

In January, 1788, Mathias Denman, of New Jersey, took an interest in Symmes' purchase, and located, among other tracts, the sectional and fractional section upon which Cincinnati has been built.† Retaining one-third of this particular locality, he sold another third to Robert Patterson, and the remainder to John Filson; and the three, about August, 1788, agreed to lay out a town on the spot, which was designated as being opposite Licking river, to the mouth of which they proposed to have a road cut from Lexington, Kentucky, to be

* Manuscript Letters of Symmes. See Burnet's Letters, 136.

† Many facts relative to the settlement of Cincinnati, we take from the depositions of Denman, Patterson, Ludlow, and others, contained in the report of the chancery trial of City of Cincinnati vs. Joel Williams, in 1807.

connected with the northern shore by a ferry. Mr. Filson, who had been a schoolmaster, was appointed to name the town; and, in respect to its situation, and as if with a prophetic perception of the mixed race that were in after days to inhabit there, he named it Losantiville, which, being interpreted, means *ville*, the town; *anti*, opposite to; *os*, the mouth; *L*, of Licking.‡ This may well put to the blush the *Campus Martius* of the Marietta scholars, and the Fort Solon of the Spaniards.

Meanwhile, in July, Symmes got thirty people and eight four-horse wagons under way for the West. These reached Limestone (now Maysville) in September, where they found Mr. Stites with several persons from Red Stone. But the mind of the chief purchaser was full of trouble. He had not only been obliged to relinquish his first contract, which was expected to embrace two millions of acres, but had failed to conclude one for the single million which he now proposed taking. This arose from a difference between him and the government, he wishing to have the whole Ohio from between the Miamies, while the Board of Treasury wished to confine him to twenty miles upon the Ohio. This proposition, however, he would not for a long time agree to, as he had made sales along nearly the whole Ohio shore. Leaving the bargain in this unsettled state, Congress considered itself released from its obligation to sell; and, but for the representations of some of his friends, our adventurer would have lost his bargain, his labor, and his money. Nor was this all. In February, 1788, he had been appointed one of the judges of the North-west Territory, in the place of Mr. Armstrong, who declined serving. This appointment gave offence to some; and others were envious of the great fortune which it was thought he would make. Some of his associates complained of him, also, probably of his endangering the contract to which they had become parties. With these murmurs and reproaches behind him, he saw before him danger, delay, suffering, and, perhaps, ultimate failure and ruin, and, although hopeful by nature, apparently he felt discouraged and sad. However, a visit to his purchase, where he landed upon the 22d of September, revived his spirits, and upon his return to Maysville, he wrote to Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, who had become in-

‡ Cincinnati Directory for 1819, p. 18.

terested with him, that he thought some of the land near the Great Miami "positively worth a silver dollar the acre in its present state."

It may be as well to give here a sketch of the changes made in Symmes' contract. His first application was for all the country between the Miamies, running up to the north line of the Ohio Company's purchase, extending due west. On the 22d of October, 1787, Congress resolved, that the Board of Treasury be authorized to contract with any one for tracts of not less than a million acres of western lands, the front of which, on the Ohio, Wabash and other rivers, should not exceed one-third the depth. On the 15th of May, 1788, Dayton and Marsh, as Symmes' agents, concluded a contract with the Commissioners of the Treasury for two millions of acres in two equal tracts. In July, Symmes concluded to take only one tract, but differed with the Commissioners on the grounds stated in the text. After much negotiation, upon the 15th of October, 1788, Dayton and Marsh concluded a contract with government, bearing date May 15th, for one million of acres, beginning twenty miles up the Ohio from the mouth of the Great Miami, and to run back for quantity between the Miami and a line drawn from the Ohio parallel to the general course of that river. In 1791, Symmes found this would throw his purchase too far back from the Ohio, and applied to Congress to let him have all between the Miamies, running back so as to include a million acres, which that body, on the 12th of April, 1792, agreed to do. When the lands between the Miamies were surveyed, however, it was found that the tract south of a line drawn from the head of the Little, due west to the Great Miami, would include less than six hundred thousand acres; but even this Symmes could not pay for, and, when his patent issued upon the 30th September, 1794, it gave him and his associates but two hundred and forty-eight thousand five hundred and forty acres, exclusive of reservations, which amounted to sixty-three thousand one hundred and forty-two acres. This tract was bounded by the Ohio, the two Miamies, and a due east and west line, run so as to comprehend the desired quantity. As Symmes made no farther payments after this time, the rest of his purchase reverted to the United States, who gave those that had bought under Symmes ample pre-emption rights. See *Land Laws*, pp. 272–382, *et seq and post.*

About this time the Indians were threatening; in Kentucky, he says, "they are perpetually doing mischief; a man a week, I believe, falls by their hands; but still government gave him little help toward defending himself; for, while three hundred men were stationed at Muskingum, he had 'but one ensign

and seventeen men for the protection and defence of 'the slaughter-house,'" as the Miami valley was called by the dwellers upon the "dark and bloody ground" of "Kentucke." And when Captain Kearny and forty-five soldiers came to Maysville in December, they came without provisions, and but made bad worse. Nor did their coming answer any purpose; for when a little band of settlers were ready to go, under their protection, to the mouth of the Miami, the grand city of Symmes that was to be, the ice stove their boats, their cattle were drowned, and their provisions lost, and so the settlement was prevented. But the fertile mind of a man like our adventurer could, even under these circumstances, find comfort in the anticipation of what was to come. In the words of Return Jonathan Meigs, the first Ohio poet with whom we have any acquaintance,

> "To him glad Fancy brightest prospects shows,
> Rejoicing Nature all around him glows;
> Where late the savage, hid in ambush, lay,
> Or roamed the uncultured valleys for his prey,
> Her hardy gifts rough Industry extends,
> The groves bow down, the lofty forest bends;
> And see the spires of towns and cities rise,
> And domes and temples swell unto the skies."*

But alas! so far as his pet city was concerned, "glad Fancy" proved but a gay deceiver; for there came "an amazing high freshet," and "the Point," as it was, and still is called, was fifteen feet under water.

But, before Symmes left Maysville, which was upon the 29th of January, 1789, two settlements had been made within his purchase. The first was by Mr. Stites, the original projector of the whole plan; who, with other Redstone people, had located themselves at the mouth of the Little Miami, where the Indians had been led by the great fertility of the soil to make a partial clearing. To this point, on the 18th of November, 1788, came twenty-six persons, who built a block-house, named their town Columbia, and prepared for a winter of want and hard fighting.† The land at this point was so fertile, that from nine acres were raised nine hundred and sixty-three bushels of Indian corn. But they were agreeably

* Poem delivered at Marietta, July 4th, slightly altered.

† Cincinnati Directory for 1849, and Symmes' Letters.

disappointed: the Indians came to them, and though the whites answered, as Symmes says, "in a blackguarding manner," the savages sued for peace. One, at whom a rifle was presented, took off his cap, trailed his gun, and held out his right hand, by which pacific gestures he induced the Americans to consent to their entrance into the block-houses. In a few days this good understanding ripened into intimacy, the "hunters frequently taking shelter for the night at the Indian camps;" and the red-men and squaws "spending whole days and nights" at Columbia, "regaling themselves with whisky." This friendly demeanor on the part of the Indians was owing to the kind and just conduct of Symmes himself; who, during the preceding September, when examining the country about the Great Miami, had prevented some Kentuckians, who were in his company, from injuring a band of the savages that came within their power; which proceeding, he says, "the Kentuckians thought unpardonable."

The Columbia settlement was, however, like that proposed at the Point, upon land that was under water during the high rise in January, 1789. "But one house escaped the deluge." The soldiers were driven from the ground-floor of the block-house into the loft, and from the loft into the solitary boat which the ice had spared them.

This flood deserves to be commemorated in an epic; for, while it demonstrated the dangers to which the three chosen spots of all Ohio, Marietta, Columbia, and the Point, must be ever exposed, it also proved the safety, and led to the rapid settlement of Losantiville. The great recommendation of the spot upon which Denman and his comrades proposed to build their "Mosaic" town, as it has been called, appears to have been the fact, that it lay opposite the Licking; the terms of Denman's purchase having been, that his warrants were to be located, as nearly as possible, over against the mouth of that river; though the advantage of the noble and high plain at that point could not have escaped any eye. But the freshet of 1789 placed its superiority over other points more strongly in view than anything else could have done.

[John Filson was killed by the Indians in the Miami valley in the autumn of 1788.] As nothing had been paid upon his third of the plat of Losantiville, his heirs made no claim upon it, and it was transferred to Israel Ludlow, who had been

Symmes' surveyor. This gentleman, with Colonel Patterson, one of the other proprietors, and well known in the Indian wars, with about fourteen others, left Maysville upon the 24th of December, 1788, "to form a station and lay of a town opposite Licking." The river was filled with ice "from shore to shore;" but, says Symmes, in May, 1789, "perseverance triumphing over difficulty, they landed safe on a most delightful high bank of the Ohio, where they founded the town of Losantiville, which *populates* considerably."

It is a curious fact, and one of many in western history, that may well tend to shake our faith in the learned discussions as to dates and localities with which scholars now and then amuse the world, that the date of the settlement of Cincinnati is unknown, even though we have the testimony of the very men that made the settlement. Judge Symmes says in one of his letters, "On the 24th of December, 1788, Colonel Patterson, of Lexington, who is concerned with Mr. Denman in the section at the mouth of Licking river, sailed from Limestone," &c. Some, supposing it would take about two days to make the voyage, have dated the being of the Queen City of the West from December 26th. This is but guess-work, however; for, as the river was full of ice, it might have taken ten days to have gone the sixty-five miles from Maysville to Licking. But, in the case in chancery, to which we have referred, we have the evidence of Patterson and Ludlow, that they landed opposite the Licking "in the month of January, 1789;" while William McMillan testifies that he "was one of those who formed the settlement of Cincinnati on the 28th day of December, 1788." As we know of nothing more conclusive on the subject than these statements, we must leave this question in the same darkness that we find it.

The settlers of Losantiville built a few log huts and block-houses, and proceeded to lay out the town; though they placed their dwellings in the most exposed situation, yet, says Symmes they "suffered nothing from the freshet."

South of the Ohio, during this year, matters were in scarce as good a train as upon the "Indian" side of the river. The savages continued to annoy the settlers, and the settlers to retaliate upon the savages, as Judge Symmes' letters have already shown. But a more formidable source of trouble to the district than any attack the red men were capable of

making, was the growing disposition to cut loose from the Atlantic colonies, and either by treaty or warfare obtain the use of the Mississippi from Spain. We have already mentioned Wilkinson's trip to New Orleans, in June, 1787; but as that voyage was the beginning of that long and mysterious Spanish intrigue with the citizens of the West, it seems worth while to quote part of a paper, believed to be by Daniel Clark, the younger, whose uncle of the same name was the agent and partner* of Wilkinson, in New Orleans, and who was fully acquainted with the government officers of Louisiana.†

About the period of which we are now speaking, in the middle of the year 1787, the foundation of an intercourse with Kentucky and the settlements on the Ohio was laid, which daily increased. Previous to that time, all those who ventured on the Mississippi had their property seized by the first commanding officer they met, and little or no communication was kept up between the two countries. Now and then, an emigrant who wished to settle in Natchez, by dint of entreaty, and solicitation of friends who had interests in New Orleans, procured permission to remove there with his family, slaves, cattle, furniture and farming utensils; but was allowed to bring no other property, except cash. An unexpected incident, however, changed the face of things, and was productive of a new line of conduct. The arrival of a boat, belonging to General Wilkinson, loaded with tobacco and other productions of Kentucky, was announced in town, and a guard was immediately sent on board of it. The general's name had hindered this being done at Natchez, as the commandant was fearful that such a step might be displeasing to his superiors, who might wish to show some respect to the property of a general officer; at any rate, the boat was proceeding to Orleans, and they would then resolve on what measures they ought to pursue, and put into execution. The government, not much disposed to show any mark of respect or forbearance towards the general's property, he not having at that time arrived, was about proceeding in the usual way of confiscation, when a merchant in Orleans, who had considerable

* Wilkinson says the partnership was formed without his knowledge or consent. (Memoirs, ii. 113.)

† American State Papers, xx. 704.

influence there, and who was formerly acquainted with the general, represented to the governor that the measures taken by the Intendant would very probably give rise to disagreeable events; that the people of Kentucky were already exasperated at the conduct of the Spaniards in seizing on the property of all those who navigated the Mississippi; and if this system was pursued, they would very probably, in spite of Congress and the Executive of the United States, take upon themselves to obtain the navigation of the river by force, which they were well able to do; a measure for some time before much dreaded by this government, which had no force to resist them, if such a plan was put in execution. Hints were likewise given that Wilkinson was a very popular man, who could influence the whole of that country; and probably that his sending a boat before him, with a wish that she might be seized, was but a snare at his return to influence the minds of the people, and, having brought them to the point he wished, induce them to appoint him their leader, and then like a torrent, spread over the country, and carry fire and desolation from one end of the province to the other.

Governor Miro, a weak man, unacquainted with the American Government, ignorant even of the position of Kentucky with respect to his own province, but alarmed at the very idea of an irruption of Kentucky men, whom he feared without knowing their strength, communicated his wishes to the Intendant that the guard might be removed from the boat, which was accordingly done; and a Mr. Patterson, who was the agent of the general, was permitted to take charge of the property on board, and to sell it, free of duty. The general, on his arrival in Orleans, some time after, was informed of the obligation he lay under to the merchant who had impressed the government with such an idea of his importance and influence at home, waited on him, and, in concert with him, formed a plan for their future operations. In his interview with the governor, that he might not seem to derogate from the character given of him, by appearing concerned in so trifling a business as a boat-load of tobacco, hams, and butter, he gave him to understand that the property belonged to many citizens of Kentucky, who, availing themselves of his return to the Atlantic States, by way of Orleans, wished to make a trial of the temper of this government, as he, on his

arrival, might inform his own what steps had been pursued under his eye, that adequate measures might be afterwards taken to procure satisfaction. He acknowledged with gratitude the attention and respect manifested by the governor towards himself in the favor shown to his agent; but at the same time mentioned that he would not wish the governor to expose himself to the anger of his court by refraining from seizing on the boat and cargo, as it was but a trifle, if such were the positive orders from the court, and he had not the power to relax them according to circumstances. Convinced by this discourse that the general rather wished for an opportunity of embroiling affairs, than sought to avoid it, the governor became more alarmed. For two or three years before, particularly since the arrival of the commissioners from Georgia, who had come to Natchez to claim that country, he had been fearful of an invasion at every annual rise of the waters, and the news of a few boats being seen was enough to alarm the whole province. He revolved in his mind what measures he ought to pursue (consistent with the orders he had from home to permit the free navigation of the river) in order to keep the Kentucky people quiet; and, in his succeeding interviews with Wilkinson, having procured more knowledge than he had hitherto acquired of their character, population, strength, and disposition, he thought he could do nothing better than hold out a bait to Wilkinson to use his influence in restraining the people from an invasion of this province till he could give advice to his court, and require further instructions. This was the point to which the parties wished to bring him; and, being informed that in Kentucky two or three crops were on hand, for which, if an immediate vent was not to be found, the people could not be kept within bounds, he made Wilkinson the offer of a permission to import, on his own account, to New Orleans, free of duty, all the productions of Kentucky, thinking by this means to conciliate the good-will of the people, without yielding the point of navigation, as the commerce carried on would appear the effect of an indulgence to an individual, which could be withdrawn at pleasure. On consultation with his friends, who well knew what further concessions Wilkinson would extort from the fears of the Spaniards, by the promise of his good offices in preaching peace, harmony, and good understanding with his govern-

ment, until arrangements were made between Spain and America, he was advised to insist that the governor should insure him a market for all the flour and tobacco he might send, as in the event of an unfortunate shipment, he would be ruined whilst endeavoring to do a service to Louisiana. This was accepted. Flour was always wanted in New Orleans, and the king of Spain had given orders to purchase more tobacco for the supply of his manufactories at home than Louisiana at that time produced, and which was paid for at about $9.50 per cwt. In Kentucky it cost but $2, and the profit was immense. In consequence, the general had appointed his friend, Daniel Clark, his agent here, returned by way of Charleston in a vessel, with a particular permission to go to the United States, even at the very moment of Gardoqui's information; and, on his arrival in Kentucky, bought up all the produce he could collect, which he shipped and disposed of as before mentioned; and for some time all the trade for the Ohio was carried on in his name, a line from him sufficing to ensure the owner of the boat every privilege and protection.*

[This Daniel Clark, we suppose, was the father of Mrs. Gaines]

Whatever Wilkinson's views may have been, (and we should never forget that there was no treachery or treason against the United States in leaving the old colonies and forming an alliance with Spain at that period)—such a reception as he had met with at New Orleans, was surely calculated to make him and his friends feel that by either intimidation, or alliance, the free trade they wished might be had from Spain, could the act of Independence but be finally made binding by the consent of Congress, which was to be given before July 5th, 1788. It is not to be doubted that this agreement on the part of the Union was looked for as a matter of course almost;—Kentucky had spoken her wishes over and over again, and Virginia had acquiesced in them. When John Brown, therefore, who in December, 1787, had been sent as the first Western representative to Congress, brought the subject of admitting Kentucky as a Federal State before that body upon the 29th February,† it was hoped the matter would soon be disposed of. But such was not the case; from

* See American State Papers, xx. p. 707.—Clark's Memoir said by Wilkinson to be substantially correct. (Memoirs, ii. 110.)

† Old Journals, iv. 811, 819, 828, 829, 830.

February to May, from May to June, from June to July, the admission of the District was debated, and at length the whole subject, on the 3d of July, was referred to the new government about to be organized, and once more the Pioneers found themselves thwarted, and self-direction withheld.

On the 28th of July the sixth Convention met at Danville, to proceed with the business of making a Constitution, when news reached them* that their coming together was all to no purpose, as the Legislature of the Union had not given the necessary sanction to the act of Virginia. This news amazed and shocked them, and being accompanied or followed by intimations from Mr. Brown that Spain would make easy terms with the West, were the West once her own mistress, we surely cannot wonder that the leaders of the "Independence" party were disposed to act with decision and show a spirit of self-reliance. Wilkinson, on the one hand, could speak of his vast profits and the friendly temper of the south-western rulers, while Brown wrote home such sentiments as these:—

"The eastern States would not, nor do I think they ever will assent to the admission of the district in the Union, as an independent State, unless Vermont, or the province of Maine, is brought forward at the same time. The change which has taken place in the general government is made the ostensible objection to the measure; but, the jealousy of the growing importance of the western country, and an unwillingness to add a vote to the southern interest, are the real causes of opposition. The question which the district will now have to determine upon, will be—whether, or not, it will be more expedient to continue the connexion with the State of Virginia, or to declare their independence and proceed to frame a constitution of government?

In private conferences which I have had with Mr. Gardoqui, the Spanish minister, at this place, I have been assured by him in the most explicit terms, that if Kentucky will de-

*The difficulty of communicating news to the West may be judged of by the following extract from a letter by John Brown to Judge Muter.

"An answer to your favor of the 16th of March was, together with several other letters, put into the hands of one of General Harmar's officers, who set out in May last for the Ohio, and who promised to forward them to the district; but I fear they have miscarried, as I was a few days ago informed that his orders had been countermanded, and that he had been sent to the garrison at West Point. Indeed I have found it almost impracticable to transmit a letter to Kentucky, as there is scarce any communication between this place and that country. A post is now established from this place to Fort Pitt, to set out once in two weeks, after the 20th instant; this will render the communication easy and certain."—(Marshall, i. 304.)

clare her independence, and empower some proper person to negotiate with him, that he has authority, and will engage to open the navigation of the Mississippi, for the exportation of their produce, on terms of mutual advantage. But that this privilege never can be extended to them while part of the United States, by reason of commercial treaties existing between that court and other powers of Europe.

As there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this declaration, I have thought proper to communicate it to a few confidential friends in the district, with his permission, not doubting but that they will make a prudent use of the information—which is in part confirmed by despatches yesterday received by Congress, from Mr. Carmichal, our minister at that court, the contents of which I am not at liberty to disclose.*

But even under the excitement produced by such prospects offered from abroad, and such treatment at the hands of their fellow-citizens, the members of the July Convention took no hasty or mischievous steps. Finding their own powers legally at an end in consequence of the course pursued by Congress, they determined to adjourn, and in doing so advised the calling of a *seventh* Convention to meet in the following November, and continue in existence until January, 1790, with full power

To take such measures for obtaining admission of the district, as a separate and independent member of the United States of America, and the navigation of the Mississippi, as may appear most conducive to those important purposes: and also to form a constitution of government for the district, and organize the same when they shall judge it necessary; or to do and accomplish whatsoever, on a consideration of the state of the district, may in their opinion promote its interests.†

These terms, although they contain nothing necessarily implying a separation from Virginia against her wish, or directly authorizing the coming Convention to treat with Spain, were still supposed to have been used for the purpose of enabling or even inviting that body to take any steps, however much against the letter of the law; and as Mr. Brown's letters showed that strong temptations were held out to the people of the District to declare themselves independent and then enter into negotiations with Spain, George Muter, Chief Justice of the District, on the 15th of October, published a letter in the Kentucky Gazette, calling attention to the fact that a

* Marshall's History of Kentucky, i. p. 305.

† See Marshall's History of Kentucky, i. p. 290.

separation without legal leave from the parent State, would be treason against that State, and a violation of the Federal Constitution then just formed.

This letter, and the efforts of the party who favored strict adherence to legal proceedings, were not in vain. The elections took place, and on the 4th of November the Convention met; the contest at once began, but the two parties being happily balanced, both in and out of the Convention, the greatest caution was observed by both, and all excess prevented. An address to the people of the District was proposed by Wilkinson, the purpose of which was, doubtless, to procure instructions as to the contested points of illegal independence and negotiation with Spain;—but the plan of issuing such a paper was afterwards dropped, Congress was memorialized respecting the Mississippi, Virginia was again asked for an act of separation, and the Convention quietly adjourned until the 1st Monday of the following August.* It is not improbable that one tranquilizing influence was, the contradiction by members of Congress, of the report that the navigation of the Mississippi was to be relinquished by the United States. This contradiction had been authorized on the 16th of September.† It was during the autumn of this same year of trouble and intrigue, that there appeared again in Kentucky, John Connolly, formerly of Pittsburgh, of whom we last heard as organizing an expedition to attack the frontiers in 1781. Of his purposes and movements nothing of consequence can be added, we believe, to the following statement sent by Colonel Thomas Marshall, to General Washington, in the month of February, 1789.

About this time, (November, 1788,) arrived from Canada the famous Doctor (now Colonel) Connolly; his ostensible business was to enquire after, and repossess himself of, some lands he formerly held at the Falls of the Ohio; but I believe his real business was to sound the disposition of the leading men of this district respecting this Spanish business. He knew that both Colonel Muter and myself had given it all the opposition in Convention we were able to do, and before he left the district paid us a visit, though neither of us had the honor of the least acquaintance with him.

He was introduced by Colonel John Campbell, his old co-

*See Marshall, i. 288 to 341.—Marshall gives all the papers.—Butler 162 to 181—517 to 523.—Carey's Museum, April 1789, p. 331 to 333.

† Secret Journals, iv. 449 to 454.

purchaser of the land at the Falls, formerly a prisoner taken by the Indians, and confined in Canada, who previously informed us of the proposition he was about to make. He (Connolly) presently entered upon his subject, urged the great importance the navigation of the Mississippi must be to the inhabitants of the western waters, showed the absolute necessity of our possessing it, and concluded with assurances that were we disposed to assert our right respecting that navigation, Lord Dorchester, (formerly Sir Guy Carlton,) was cordially disposed to give us powerful assistance, that his Lordship had (I think he said) four thousand British troops in Canada, besides two regiments at Detroit, and could furnish us with arms, ammunition, clothing, and money; that, with this assistance, we might possess ourselves of New Orleans, fortify the Balize at the mouth of the river, and keep possession in spite of the utmost efforts of Spain to the contrary. He made very confident professions of Lord Dorchester's wishes to cultivate the most friendly intercourse with the people of this country, and of his own desire to become serviceable to us, and with so much seeming sincerity, that had I not before been acquainted with his character as a man of intrigue and artful address, I should in all probability have given him my confidence.

I told him that the minds of the people of this country were so strongly prejudiced against the British, not only from circumstances attending the late war, but from a persuasion that the Indians were at this time stimulated by them against us, and that so long as those savages continued to commit such horrid cruelties on our defenceless frontiers, and were received as friends and allies by the British at Detroit, it would be impossible for them to be convinced of the sincerity of Lord Dorchester's offers, let his professions be ever so strong; and that, if his Lordship would have us believe him really disposed to be our friend, he must begin by showing his disapprobation of the ravages of the Indians.

He admitted the justice of my observation, and said he had urged the same to his Lordship before he left Canada. He denied that the Indians are stimulated against us by the British, and says, Lord Dorchester observed, that the Indians are free and independent nations, and have a right to make peace or war as they think fit, and that he could not with propriety interfere. He promised, however, on his return to Canada to repeat his arguments to his Lordship on the subject, and hopes, he says, to succeed. At taking his leave he begged very politely the favor of our correspondence; we both promised him, providing he would begin it, and devise a means of carrying it on. He did not tell me that he was authorized by Lord Dorchester to make us these offers in his name, nor did I ask him; but General Scott informs me that

he told him that his Lordship had authorized him to use his name in this business.*

Colonel George Morgan, during this year, was induced to remove for a time to the Spanish territories west of the Mississippi, and remained at New Madrid between one and two months; thence he went to New Orleans.†

[The projected city and settlement of New Madrid by Col. Morgan, may be found in the Appendix, Annals of Missouri.]

Preparations, as we have stated, had been made early in 1788, for a treaty with the Indians, and during the whole autumn, the representatives of the Indian tribes were lingering about the Muskingum settlement: but it was not till Jan. 9th of this year, that the natives were brought to agree to distinct terms. On that day, one treaty was made with the Iroquois,‡ confirming the previous one of October, 1784, at Fort Stanwix; and another with the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatamies and Sacs, confirming and extending the treaty of Fort McIntosh, made in January, 1785.§ Of the additions we quote the following:

Art. 4. It is agreed between the United States and the said nations, that the individuals of said nations shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury or annoyance to any of the subjects or citizens of the said United States.

Art. 7. Trade shall be opened with the said nations, and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to the persons and property of such as may be duly licensed to reside among them for the purpose of trade, and to their agents, factors, and servants; but no person shall be permitted to reside at their towns, or at their hunting camps, as a trader, who is not furnished with a license for that purpose, under the hand and seal of the Governor of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio, for the time being, or under the hand and seal of one of his deputies for the management of Indian Affairs; to the end that they may not be imposed upon in their traffic. And if any person or persons shall intrude themselves without such license, they prom-

* See Butler, 520.

† American State Papers, xx. 504.

‡ Collection of Indian treaties. Land Laws, 123.

§ Land Laws, 149.—See also Carey's Museum for April, 1789, p. 415.

ise to apprehend him or them, and to bring them to the said Governor, or one of his deputies, for the purpose beforementioned, to be dealt with according to law; and that they may be defended against persons who might attempt to forge such licenses, they further engage to give information to the said Governor, or one of his deputies, of the names of all traders residing among them, from time to time, and at least once every year.

ART. 8. Should any nation of Indians meditate a war against the United States, or either of them, and the same shall come to the knowledge of the beforementioned nations, or either of them, they do hereby engage to give immediate notice thereof to the Governor, or, in his absence, to the officer commanding the troops of the United States at the nearest post. And should any nation, with hostile intentions against the United States, or either of them, attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same, and, in like manner, give information of such attempt to the said Governor or commanding officer, as soon as possible, that all causes of mistrust and suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States: in like manner, the United States shall give notice to the said Indian nations, of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come to their knowledge; and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the friendship between them may be uninterrupted.*

But these treaties, if meant in good faith by those who made them, were not respected, and the year of which we now write, saw renewed the old frontier troubles in all their barbarism and variety. The Wabash Indians especially, who had not been bound by any treaty as yet, kept up constant incursions against the Kentucky settlers, and the emigrants down the Ohio,† and the Kentuckians retaliated, striking foes and friends, even "the peaceable Piankeshaws who prided themselves on their attachment to the United States."‡ Nor could the President take any effectual steps to put an end to this constant partisan warfare. In the first place, it was by no means clear that an attack by the forces of the government upon the Wabash tribes, could be justified. Says Washington:

I would have it observed forcibly, that a war with the Wabash Indians ought to be avoided by all means consistently

* See Land Laws, p. 152.

† Marshall. i, 348, 354.—American State Papers, vol. v. 84, 85.—Carey's Museum, April 1789, p. 416, and May, pp. 504, 608.

‡ Gen. Knox. American State Papers, v. 13.

with the security of the frontier inhabitants, the security of the troops, and the national dignity. In the exercise of the present indiscriminate hostilities, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to say that a war without further measures would be just on the part of the United States. But, if, after manifesting clearly to the Indians the disposition of the General Government for the preservation of peace, and the extension of a just protection to the said Indians, they should continue their incursions, the United States will be constrained to punish them with severity.*

But how to punish them was a difficult question, again, even supposing punishment necessary. Says Gen. Knox:

By the best and latest information it appears that, on the Wabash and its communications, there are from fifteen hundred to two thousand warriors. An expedition against them, with a view of extirpating them, or destroying their towns, could not be undertaken with a probability of success, with less than an army of two thousand five hundred men. The regular troops of the United States on the frontiers, are less than six hundred: of that number, not more than four hundred could be collected from the posts for the purpose of the expedition. To raise, pay, feed, arm, and equip one thousand nine hundred additional men, with the necessary officers, for six months, and to provide every thing in the hospital and quartermaster's line, would require the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, a sum far exceeding the ability of the United States to advance, consistently with a due regard to other indispensable objects.

Such, however, were the representations of the Governor of the new territory, and of the people of Kentucky, that Congress, upon the 29th of September, empowered the President to call out the militia to protect the frontiers, and he, on the 6th of October, authorized Governor St. Clair to draw 1500 men from the western counties of Virginia and Pennsylvania, if absolutely necessary; ordering him, however, to ascertain, if possible, the real disposition of the Wabash and Illinois Indians.† In order to do this, speeches to them were prepared, and messengers sent among them, of whose observations we shall have occasion to take notice under the year 1790.

Kentucky, especially, felt aggrieved this year by the withdrawal of the Virginia scouts and rangers, who had hitherto

* American State Papers, v. 13, 97, pp. 84 to 93.

† American State Papers, 97, 101, 102.

helped to protect her. This was done in July, by the Governor, in consequence of a letter from the federal executive, stating that national troops would thenceforward be stationed upon the western streams. The Governor communicated this letter to the Kentucky convention held in July, and that body at once authorized a remonstrance against the measure, representing the inadequacy of the federal troops, few and scattered as they were, to protect the country, and stating the amount of injury received from the savages since the first of May.*

[We have the authority of Judge Innis, of Kentucky (Amer. State Papers, v. p. 88,) that in seven years, 1500 persons, 20,000 horses, and £15,000 worth of property had been destroyed or taken away from that district, by the savages.]

Nor was the old separation sore healed yet. Upon the 29th of December, 1788, Virginia had passed her third act to make Kentucky independent; but as this law made the District liable for a part of the State debt, and also reserved a certain control over the lands set apart as army bounties, to the Old Dominion,—it was by no means popular; and when, upon the 20th of July, the eighth Convention came together at Danville, it was only to resolve upon a memorial requesting that the obnoxious clauses of the late law might be repealed. This, in December, was agreed to by the present State, but new proceedings throughout were at the same time ordered, and a ninth Convention directed to meet in the following July.†

North of the Ohio, during this year, there was less trouble from the Indians than south of it, especially in the Muskingum country. There all prospered: the Rev. Dan'l. Story, under a resolution of the Directors of the Ohio Company, passed in March, 1788, in the spring of this year came westward as a teacher of youth and a preacher of the Gospel.§ By November, nine associations, comprising two hundred and fifty persons, had been formed for the purpose of settling different points within the purchase; and by the close of 1790, eight settlements had been made; two at Belpre, (belle prairie,) one at Newbury, one at Wolf Creek,‖ one at Duck Creek, one at the

* Marshall, i. 352.—American State Papers, v. 84, &c.

† Ibid, 342, 350.—Butler, 187.

‡ American Pioneer, i. 86.

‖ Here was built the first mill in Ohio. (American Pioneer, ii. 99, and plate.)

mouth of Meigs' Creek, one at Anderson's Bottom, and one at Big-Bottom.*

Between the Miamies, there was more alarm at this period, but no great amount of actual danger. Upon the 15th of June, news reached Judge Symmes that the Wabash Indians threatened his settlements, and as yet he had received no troops for their defence, except nineteen from the Falls.† Before July, however, Major Doughty arrived at the "Slaughter House," and commenced the building of Fort Washington on the site of Losantiville. In relation to the choice of that spot, rather than the one where Symmes proposed to found his great city, Judge Burnet tells the following story:

"Through the influence of the Judge (Symmes,) the detachment sent by General Harmar, to erect a fort between the Miami rivers, for the protection of the settlers, landed at North Bend. This circumstance induced many of the first emigrants to repair to that place, on account of the expected protection, which the garrison would afford. While the officer commanding the detachment was examining the neighborhood, to select the most eligible spot for a garrison, he became enamored with a beautiful black-eyed female, who happened to be a married woman. The vigilant husband saw his danger, and immediately determined to remove, with his family, to Cincinnati, where he supposed they would be safe from intrusion. As soon as the gallant officer discovered that the object of his admiration had been removed beyond his reach, he began to think that the Bend was not an advantageous situation for a military work. This opinion he communicated to Judge Symmes, who contended, very strenuously, that it was the most suitable spot in the Miami country; and protested against the removal. The arguments of the judge, however, were not as influential as the sparkling eyes of the fair female, who was then at Cincinnati. To preserve the appearance of consistency, the officer agreed, that he would defer a decision till he had explored the ground, at and near Cincinnati; and that, if he found it to be less eligible than the Bend, he would return and erect the garrison at the latter place. The visit was quickly made, and resulted in a conviction, that the Bend was not to be compared with Cincinnati. The troops were accordingly removed to that place, and the building of Fort Washington was commenced. This movement, apparently trivial in itself, and certainly produced by a whimsical cause, was attended by results of incalculable importance. It settled the question at once whether Symmes

* Harris Tour, 191, 192.

† Symmes' Letters in Cist's Cincinnati, 231, 229, 219.

or Cincinnati was to be the great commercial town on the Miami purchase. This anecdote was communicated by Judge Symmes, and is unquestionably authentic. As soon as the troops removed to Cincinnati, and established the garrison, the settlers at the Bend, then more numerous than those at Cincinnati, began to remove; and in two or three years, the Bend was literally deserted, and the idea of establishing a town at that point was entirely abandoned.

Thus, we see, what great results are sometimes produced by trivial circumstances. The beauty of a female, transferred the commercial emporium of Ohio from the place where it was commenced, to the place where it now is. Had the black-eyed beauty remained at the Bend, the garrison would have been erected there, population, capital, and business would have centered there, and our city must have been now of comparatively small importance.*"

We suspect the influence of this bright-eyed beauty upon the fate of Cincinnati, is over estimated, however. Upon the 14th of June, before Fort Washington was commenced, and when the only soldiers in the purchase were at North Bend, Symmes writes to Dayton:

"It is expected, that on the arrival of Governor St. Clair, this purchase will be organized into a county; it is therefore of some moment which town shall be made the county town. Losantiville, at present, bids the fairest; it is a most excellent site for a large town, and is at present the most central of any of the inhabited towns; but if South Bend might be finished and occupied, that would be exactly in the centre, and probably would take the lead of the present villages until the city can be made somewhat considerable. This is really a matter of importance to the proprietors, but can only be achieved by their exertions and encouragement. The lands back of South Bend are not very much broken, after you ascend the first hill, and will afford rich supplies for a county town. A few troops stationed at South Bend will effect the settlement of this new village in a very short time.†"

The truth is, that neither the proposed city on the Miami, North Bend or South Bend, could compete, in point of natural advantages, with the plain on which Cincinnati has since arisen; and had Fort Washington been built elsewhere, after the close of the Indian war, nature would have ensured the rapid growth of that point where even the ancient and mysterious dwellers along the Ohio had reared the earthen walls of one of their vastest temples.‡

*Transactions Historical Society, Ohio, p. 17. †Cist's Cincinnati, p. 230.

‡See Transactions of Ohio Historical Society, part ii. vol. i. 35.—Drake's Picture of Cincinnati, 202.

We have referred to Wilkinson's voyage to New Orleans, in 1787; in January of this year, (1789,) he fitted out twenty-five large boats, some of them carrying three pounders, and all of them swivels, manned by 150 men, and loaded with tobacco, flour, and provisions, with which he set sail for the south; and his lead was soon followed by others.* Among the adventurers was Colonel Armstrong of the Cumberland settlements, who sent down six boats manned by thirty men; these were stopped at Natchez, and the goods being there sold without permission, an officer and fifty soldiers were sent by the Spanish commander to arrest the transgressors. They, meanwhile, had returned within the lines of the United States and refused to be arrested; this led to a contest, in which, as a cotemporary letter states, five Spaniards were killed and twelve wounded.†

*Letter in Carey's Museum for February, 1789, pp. 209, 313.—Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 113.

†Carey's Museum, April, 1789, p. 417.

CHAPTER XII.

THE INDIAN WAR OF 1790—1795.

Organization of the North-western Territory—Sketch of Governor St. Clair—The Excursion to the Illinois Country—Claims of the United States on Indian Lands—Difficulties with the Indians—Gamelin's Mission—Agency of British Officers and Traders—Harmar's Campaign—Expedition of General Charles Scott—Campaign of St. Clair—Disastrous Defeat.

[The ordinance of Congress, as already shown, passed in August, 1787, but the government was not organized until the following year. In the month of July, General Arthur St. Clair, who had been appointed Governor by the Old Congress, appeared at Marietta, and put the machinery of the new government in motion. This was on the 15th of July, 1788, when the governor, who had arrived on the 9th, published the ordinance of Congress for the government of the Territory, and the commissions of the officers.* The organization was what has been called, the first grade; consisting of a Governor, Secretary, and three Judges, who, conjointly, constituted the law-making power.

Winthrop Sargent, one of the Ohio immigrants of the preceding year, was appointed Secretary, and Samuel H. Parsons, James M. Varnum and John Armstrong, Judges. The latter not accepting the office, John Cleves Symmes was appointed in his stead. On the 26th of July, by proclamation of the governor, the county of Washington was organized. This was the first organized county in the North-western Territory. It contained within its limits about one-half of the present State of Ohio.

In September the Governor and Judges prepared and adopted a code of laws, which have been perpetuated, with few alterations, in all the North-western States.

As the executive authority of Governor St. Clair extended over the vast territory out of which five states had been organized, a brief sketch of his life will be read with interest.

He was a native of Scotland, from which country he came to the British Colonies of North America in 1755; having

* Atwater's *History of Ohio*, p. 129;—Dillon's *Indiana*, 232.

joined the Royal American or 60th British regiment, and served under General Amherst at the taking of Louisburg, in 1758. He carried a standard at the storming and capture of Quebec, under General Wolfe, in 1759.

Soon after the peace of 1763, he settled in Ligonier valley, in Western Pennsylvania, where he continued to reside until the revolutionary war. Being a firm friend of liberty and the rights of the colonies, he received from Congress the commission of Colonel, and joined the American army with a regiment of seven hundred and fifty men. Having been promoted to the rank of Major-General, he was tried by a court martial, in 1778, for evacuating Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and unanimously acquitted with the highest honors.* The late General James Wilkinson, who was a Major under St. Clair, at the time, states in the "Memoir of his own Times," that the General said to him, "I know I can save my character by sacrificing the army, but were I to do so, I should forfeit that which the world cannot restore, and which the world cannot take away—my own conscience."†

He continued in the service with honor until peace. He was rigid, some thought arbitrary, in his government, and, therefore unpopular, but he was scrupulously honest—had no talent for speculation, and died poor. In a letter to the Hon. W. B. Giles, of Virginia, he wrote as follows:

In the year 1786, I entered into the public service in civil life, and was a member of Congress, and President of that body, when it was determined to erect a government in the country to the west, that had been ceded by Virginia to the United States; and in the year 1788, the office of Governor was in a great measure forced on me. The losses I had sustained in the revolutionary war, from the depreciation of the money and other causes, had been very great; and my friends saw in this new government means that might be in my power to compensate myself, and to provide handsomely for my numerous family. They did not know how little I was qualified to avail myself of those advantages, if they had existed, I had neither taste nor genius for speculation in land, neither did I think it very consistent with the office.‡

On entering upon the responsible office of Governor of this new Territory, instructions were received by him from Congress. He was authorized and required:

* Dillon's *Indiana*, 231.
† Wilkinson's *Memoirs*, i. 85.
‡ Dillon's Indiana, 231.

1. To examine carefully into the real temper of the Indians.

2. To remove, if possible, all causes of controversy with them, so that peace and harmony might exist between them and the United States.

3. To regulate the trade with them.

4. To use his best efforts to extinguish the rights of the Indians to lands westward to the Mississippi, and northward to the forty-first degree of latitude.

5. To ascertain, as far as possible, the names of the real head men and leading warriors of each tribe, and to attach these men to the United States.

6. To defeat all combinations among the tribes by conciliatory means.*

About the first of January, 1790, the Governor and Judges, with Winthrop Sargent, the Secretary, proceeded down the river from Marietta to Fort Washington, (now Cincinnati,) and the Governor laid off the county of Hamilton, and appointed magistrates and other civil officers for the administration of justice. At this time Losantiville received the name of Cincinnati. On the 5th of January, a law was enacted by the Governor and Judges, requiring courts to be held four times in a year.

The Governor and Secretary continued down the river, and on the 8th of January, they were at Clarksville, near the foot of the Falls, where magistrates were appointed for that portion of the North-western Territory, now included within the State of Indiana. From this point, the Governor and Secretary proceeded by land to Vincennes. Here Major Hamtramck was in command. At that period corn was very scarce, and the people were suffering, and the Governor proffered to have corn transported from the Falls, where it was plenty and cheap, provided the citizens could pay for it. And although he had no authority from the government, he offered to provide for the starving who had not means to pay, and trust to the liberality of Congress.† Such was also the condition of the inhabitants in the Illinois country.

Governor St. Clair and the Secretary reached Kaskaskia in February, and soon after organized the county of St. Clair,

* Dillon's Indiana, i. 232.

† Dillon's Indiana, i. 242.

appointed magistrates and other civil officers, and directed the citizens to exhibit to him their titles and claims to the lands which they held, that they might be confirmed in their possessions.

As many of the events of Illinois will appear more in detail, in the Appendix, we pass to the annals of the Indian wars of this period.

The most important and interesting events connected with the West, from the commencement of 1790 to the close of 1795, were those growing out of these wars. In order to present them in one unbroken and intelligible story, we shall abandon for a time our division by single years, and relate the events of the six referred to as composing one period. But to render the events of that period distinct, we must recall to our readers some matters that happened long before.

And in the first place, we would remind them that the French made no large purchases from the western Indians; so that the treaty of Paris, in 1763, transferred to England only small grants about the various forts, Detroit, Vincennes, Kaskaskia, &c. Then followed Pontiac's war and defeat; and then the grant by the Iroquois at Fort Stanwix, in 1768, of the land *south* of the Ohio; and even this grant, it will be remembered, was not respected by those who actually hunted on the grounds transferred. Next came the war of 1774, Dunmore's war, which terminated without any transfer of the Indian possessions to the whites; and when, at the close of the Revolution, in 1783, Britain made over her western claims to the United States, she made over nothing more than she had received from France, save the title of the Six Nations and the southern savages to a portion of the territory *south* of the Ohio: as against the Miamies, western Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots or Hurons, and the tribes still farther north and west, she transferred nothing. [Mr. Perkins has overlooked the cession by the Iroquois to Great Britain, of a large portion of the North-Western Territory in 1701, which they claimed by right of conquest.] But this, apparently, was not the view taken by the Congress of the time; and they, conceiving that they had, under the treaty with England, a full right to all the lands thereby ceded, and regarding the Indian title as forfeited by the hostilities of the Revolution, proceeded, not to buy the lands of the savages, but to grant them

peace, and dictate their own terms as to boundaries.* In October, 1784, the United States acquired in this way whatever title the Iroquois possessed to the western country, both north and south of the Ohio, by the second treaty of Fort Stanwi : a treaty openly and fairly made, but one, the validity of which, many of the Iroquois always disputed. The ground of their objection appears to have been, that the treaty was with a part only of the Indian nations, whereas the wish of the natives was, that every act of the States with them, should be as with a confederacy, embracing all the tribes bordering upon the great lakes. Our readers may remember that the instructions given the Indian Commissioners in October, 1783, provided for one convention with all the tribes; and that this provision was changed in the following March for one, by which as many separate conventions were to be had, if possible, as there were separate tribes. In pursuance of this last plan, the Commissioners, in October, 1784, refused to listen to the proposal which is said then to have been made for one general congress of the northern tribes, and in opposition to Brant, Red Jacket and other influential chiefs of the Iroquois, concluded the treaty of Fort Stanwix. Then came the treaty of Fort McIntosh, in January, 1785, with the "Wyandot, Delaware, Chippewa and Ottawa nations"—open to the objections above recited, but the validity of which, so far as we know, was never disputed, at least by the Wyandots and Delawares; although the general council of north-western Indians, representing sixteen tribes, asserted in 1793, that the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Fort Finney, (mouth of the Great Miami,) were not only held with separate tribes, but were obtained by intimidation, the red-men having been asked to make treaties of peace, and forced to make cessions of territory. The third treaty made by the United States was with the Shawanese at Fort Finney, in January, 1786; which, it will be remembered, the Wabash tribes refused to attend. The fourth and fifth, which were acts of confirmation, were made at Fort Harmar, in 1789, one with the Six Nations, and the other with the Wyandots and their asso-

* See in proof, the Report to Congress of October 15, 1783, (Old Journals, iv. 294;) the instructions to the Indian Commissioners, October 15th, 1783, (Secret Journals, i. 257;) the various treaties of 1784, '85, and '86 (*ante*); General Knox's Report of June 15, 1789, (American State Papers, v. 13); and the distinct acknowledgment of the commissioners in 1793, (American State Papers, v. 353.)

ciates, namely, the Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatamies, and Sacs. This last, fifth treaty, the confederated nations of the lake especially, refused to acknowledge as binding: their council using in relation to it, in 1793, these words:

Brothers: A general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place; and that general council was invited by your commissioner, Governor St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty, with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

Brothers: We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by the confederate Indians, and Governor St. Clair, the commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, after having been informed by the general council, of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding, unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested, than as a branch of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or cession whatever.

Brothers: How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands, when your commissioner was informed, long before he held the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States.*

And in 1795, at Greenville, Massas, a Chippewa chieftain, who signed the treaty at Fort Harmar, said:

Elder Brother: When you yesterday read to us the treaty of Muskingum, I understood you clearly: at that treaty we had not good interpreters, and we were left partly unacquainted with many particulars of it. I was surprised when I heard your voice, through a good interpreter, say that we had received presents and compensation for those lands which were thereby ceded. I tell you, now, that we, the three fires, never were informed of it. If our uncles, the Wyandots, and grandfathers, the Delawares, have received such presents, they have kept them to themselves. I always thought that we, the Ottawas, Chippewas, and Potawatamies, were the true

* American State Papers, v. p. 356, 357.

owners of those lands, but now I find that new masters have undertaken to dispose of them; so that, at this day, we do not know to whom they, of right, belong. We never received any compensation for them. I don't know how it is, but ever since that treaty we have become objects of pity, and our fires have been retiring from this country. Now, elder brother, you see, we are objects of compassion; and have pity on our weakness and misfortunes; and, since you have purchased these lands, we cede them to you: they are yours.

The Wyandots, however, acknowledged even the transfer made on the Muskingum, to be binding: "Brother," said Tarke, who signed foremost among the representatives of that tribe at Greenville, and who had also signed at Fort Harmar—

You have proposed to us to build our good work on the treaty of Muskingum: that treaty I have always considered as formed upon the fairest principles. You took pity on us Indians. You did not do as our fathers the British agreed you should. You might by that agreement have taken all our lands; but you pitied us, and let us hold part. I always looked upon that treaty to be binding upon the United States and us Indians.*

The truth in reference to this treaty of Fort Harmar seems to have been, that the confederated nation, as a whole, did not sanction it, and in their council of 1778 could not agree one with another in relation to it. "I have still my doubts," says Brant, before the council met—

I have still my doubts whether we will join or not, some being no ways inclined for peaceable methods. The Hurons, Chippewas, Ottawas, Potawatomies, and Delawares, will join with us in trying lenient steps, and having a boundary line fixed; and, rather than enter headlong into a destructive war, will give up a small part of their country. On the other hand, the Shawanese, Miamies and Kickapoos, who are now so much addicted to horse-stealing, that it will be a difficult task to break them of it, as that kind of business is their best harvest, will of course declare for war, and not giving up any of their country, which, I am afraid, will be the means of our separating. They are, I believe, determined not to attend the treaty with the Americans. Still I hope for the best. As the major part of the nations are of our opinions, the rest may be brought to, as nothing shall be wanting on my part to convince them of their error.†

* American State Papers, v. p. 570, 571.

† Stone, ii. 278.

Le Gris, the great chief of the Miamies, in April, 1790, said to Gamelin, that the Muskingum treaty was not made by chiefs or delegates,* but by young men acting without authority, although Tarke, the head of the Wyandots, signed and sanctioned it, as well as Captain Pipe of the Delawares, while Brant himself was present.†

Thus then stood the relations of the Indians and the United States in 1789. Transfers of territory had been made by the Iroquois, the Wyandots, the Delawares and the Shawanese, which were open to scarce any objection; but the Chippewas, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Weas, Piankeshaws, Potawatomies, Eel River Indians, Kaskaskias, and above all the Miamies, were not bound by any existing agreement to yield the lands north of the Ohio. [If the story of a confederacy being in reality formed between these nations, and their statement is correct, which we doubt, then, as they afterwards said, they had forbidden the treaty at Fort Harmar, and warned Governor St. Clair that it would not be binding.] They wished the Ohio to be a perpetual boundary between the white and red men of the West, and would not sell a rod of the region north of it. So strong was this feeling that their young men, they said, could not be restrained from warfare upon the invading Long Knives, and thence resulted the unceasing attacks upon the frontier stations and the emigrants. [Probably they had been put up to take this ground by the British traders. They were interested in keeping the Americans from the north side of the Ohio river, and did much to disaffect these Indians.]

Washington expressed doubts as to the justness of an offensive war upon the tribes of the Wabash and Maumee; and had the treaty of Fort Harmar been the sole ground whereon the United States could have claimed of the Indians the North-western Territory, it may be doubted whether right would have justified the steps taken in 1790, '91, and '94; but the truth was, that before that treaty, the Iroquois, Delawares, Wyandots, and Shawanese had yielded the south of Ohio, the ground on which they had long dwelt; and neither the sale to Putnam and his associates, nor that to Symmes, was intended to reach beyond the lands ceded. Of this we have proof in the third article of the ordinance of 1787, passed the day

* American State Papers, v. 94. †Stone, ii. 281.

before the proposition to sell to the Ohio Company was for the first time debated; which article declares that the lands of the Indians shall never be taken from them without their consent. It appears to us, therefore, that the United States were fully justified in taking possession of the north-west shore of the Belle Riviere, and that without reference to the treaty at Fort Harmar, which we will allow to have been, if the Indians spoke truly, (and they were not contradicted by the United States commissioners,) morally worthless. But it also appears to us, that in taking those steps in 1790 and 1791, which we have presently to relate, the federal government acted unwisely; and that it should then, at the outset, have done what it did in 1793, after St. Clair's terrible defeat, —namely, it should have sent *commissioners of the highest character* to the lake tribes, *and in the presence of the British*, learnt their causes of complaint, and offered fair terms of compromise. That such a step was wise and just, the government acknowledged by its after-action; and surely none can question the position that it was more likely to have been effective before the savages had twice defeated the armies of the confederacy than afterward. The full bearing of these remarks will be best seen, however, when the whole tale is told, and to that we now proceed.

In June, 1789, Major Doughty, with a hundred and forty men, began the building of Fort Washington at Cincinnati. Upon the 29th of December, General Harmar himself came down with three hundred additional troops.*

[Having learned from Major Hamtramck, commanding at Vincennes, the hostile feelings of the Wabash and Maumee tribes, he left Kaskaskia, on the 11th of June, started for Fort Washington, and reached that point upon the 13th day of July.]

The feelings alluded to had been obtained in the following manner. Washington having desired that great pains should be taken to learn the real sentiments of the north-western Indians, Governor St. Clair instructed Major Hamtramck at Vincennes, (Fort Knox,) to send some experienced persons to ascertain the views and feelings of the Miamis and their confederates. The person chosen was Anthony Gamelin, an in-

* Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 124.

telligent French trader, of Vincennes, who, on the fifth of April, proceeded upon his mission. The Piankeshaws, Kickapoos, and Ouiatenons, (Onias or Weas,) all referred him to their elder brethren, the Miamis, so that he had to journey on to the point where the Miamis, Chaouanons,* (Shawanese) and Delawares resided; upon the 23d of April he reached that point, and upon the 24th assembled the savages.

I gave to each nation, he says, two branches of wampum, and began the speeches, before the French and English traders, being invited by the chiefs to be present, having told them myself I would be glad to have them present, having nothing to say against any body. After the speech, I showed them the treaty concluded at Muskingum, (Fort Harmar,) between his excellency Governor St. Clair and sundry nations, which displeased them. I told them that the purpose of this present time was not to submit them to any condition, but to offer them the peace, which made disappear their pleasure. The great chief told me that he was pleased with the speech; that he would give me an answer. In a private discourse with the great chief, he told me not to mind what the Shawanese would tell me, having a bad heart, and being the perturbators of all the nations. He said the Miamies had a bad name, on account of mischief done on the River Ohio; but he told me it was not occasioned by his young men, but by the Shawanese; his young men going out only for to hunt.

The 25th of April, Blue Jacket, chief warrior of the Shawanese, invited me to go to his house, and told me, "My friend, by the name and consent of the Shawanese and Delawares I will speak to you. We are all sensible of your speech, and pleased with it: but, after consultation, we cannot give an answer without hearing from our father at Detroit; and we are determined to give you back the two branches of wampum, and to send you to Detroit to see and hear the chief, or to stay here twenty nights for to receive his answer. From all quarters we receive speeches from Americans, and not one is alike. We suppose that they intend to deceive us. Then take back your branches of wampum."

The 26th, five Potawatomies arrived here with two negro men, which they sold to English traders. The next day I went to the great chief of the Miamies, called Les Gris. His chief warrior was present. I told him how I had been served by the Shawanese. He answered me that he had heard of it: that the said nations had behaved contrary to his intentions. He desired me not to mind those strangers, and that he would soon give me a positive answer.

* The old French orthography used by Charlevoix and all others.

The 28th April, the great chief desired me to call at the French trader's and receive his answer. "Don't take bad," said he, "of what I am to tell you. You may go back when you please. We cannot give you a positive answer. We must send your speeches to all our neighbors, and to the lake nations. We cannot give a definitive answer without consulting the commandant at Detroit." And he desired me to render him the two branches of wampum refused by the Shawanese and a copy of speeches in writing. He promised me that, in thirty nights, he would send an answer to Post Vincennes, by a young man of each nation. He was well pleased with the speeches, and said to be worthy of attention, and should be communicated to all their confederates, having resolved among them not to do anything without an unanimous consent. I agreed to his requisitions, and rendered him the two branches of wampum, and a copy of the speech. Afterwards, he told me that the Five Nations, so called, or Iroquois, were training something; that five of them, and three Wyandots, were in this village with branches of wampum. He could not tell me presently their purpose; but he said I would know of it very soon.

The same day, Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawanese, invited me to his house for supper; and, before the other chiefs, told me that, after another deliberation, they thought necessary that I should go myself to Detroit, for to see the commandant, who would get all his children assembled for to hear my speech. I told them I would not answer them in the night: that I was not ashamed to speak before the sun.

The 29th April I got them all assembled. I told them that I was not to go to Detroit: that the speeches were directed to the nations of the river Wabash and the Miami; and that, for to prove the sincerity of the speech, and the heart of Governor St. Clair, I have willingly given a copy of the speeches, to be shown to the commandant of Detroit: and, according to a letter wrote by the commandant of Detroit to the Miamies, Shawanese, and Delawares, mentioning to you to be peaceable with the Americans, I would go to him very willingly, if it was in my directions, being sensible of his sentiments. I told them I had nothing to say to the commandant; neither him to me. You must immediately resolve, if you intend to take me to Detroit, or else I am to go back as soon as possible. Blue Jacket got up and told me, "My friend, we are well pleased with what you say. Our intention is not to force you to go to Detroit: it is only a proposal, thinking it for the best. Our answer is the same as the Miamies. We will send, in thirty nights, a full and positive answer, by a young man of each nation, by writing, to Post Vincennes." In the evening, Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawanese, having taken me to supper with him, told me, in a private manner, that the Sha-

wanese nation was in doubt of the sincerity of the Big Knives, so called, having been already deceived by them. That they had first destroyed their lands, put out their fire, and sent away their young men, being a hunting, without a mouthful of meat: also, had taken away their women; wherefore, many of them would, with a great deal of pain, forget these affronts. Moreover, that some other nations were apprehending that offers of peace would, may be, tend to take away, by degrees, their lands; and would serve them as they did before: a certain proof that they intend to encroach on our lands, is their new settlement on the Ohio. If they don't keep this side (of the Ohio) clear, it will never be a proper reconcilement with the nations Shawanese, Iroquois, Wyandots, and, perhaps many others. Le Gris, chief of the Miamies, asked me, in a private discourse, what chief had made a treaty with the Americans at Muskingum, (Fort Harmar.) I answered him, that their names were mentioned in the treaty. He told me he had heard of it some time ago; but they are not chiefs, neither delegates, who made that treaty: they are only young men, who without authority and instructions from their chiefs, have concluded that treaty, which will not be approved. They went to the treaty clandestinely, and they intend to make mention of it in the next council to be held.*

On the 8th of May, Gamelin returned to Fort Knox, and on the 11th, some traders from the Upper Wabash arrived, bringing news that parties from the north had joined the Wabash savages; that the whole together had already gone to war upon the Americans; and that three days after Gamelin left the Miamis, an American captive had been burned in their village:† all which things so plainly foretold trouble on the frontier, that St. Clair, as we have stated, hastened to Fort Washington to concert with General Harmar a campaign into the country of the hostile tribes.

Before we proceed with the history of Harmar's campaign, however, it seems proper to give in one view all that we know relative to the agency of the British in keeping up Indian hostility after the peace of 1783.

Most of the tribes, as our readers have seen, adhered to England during the Revolutionary struggle. When the war ceased, however, England made no provision for them, and transferred the Northwest to the United States, without any stipulation as to the rights of the natives. The United States,

* American State Papers, v. p. 93.

† American State Papers, v. 87.

regarding the lands of the hostile tribes as conquered and forfeited, proceeded to give peace to the savages, and to *grant* them portions of their own lands. This produced discontent, and led to the formation of the confederacy headed by Brant.* To assist the purposes of this union, it was very desirable that the British should still hold the posts along the lakes, and supply the red men with all needful things. The forts they claimed a right to hold, because the Americans disregarded the treaty of 1783; the trade with the Indians, even though the latter might be at war with the United States, they regarded as perfectly fair and just. Having thus a sort of legal right to the position they occupied, the British did, undoubtedly and purposely, aid and abet the Indians hostile to the United States. In 1785, after the formation of his confederacy, Brantwent to England, and his arrival was thus announced in the London prints:

This extraordinary personage is said to have presided at the late grand Congress of confederate chiefs of the Indian nations in America, and to be by them appointed to the conduct and chief command in the war which they now meditate against the United States of America. He took his departure for England immediately as that assembly broke up; and it is conjectured that his embassy to the British Court is of great importance. This country owes much to the services of Colonel Brant during the late war in America. He was educated at Philadelphia; is a very shrewd, intelligent person, possesses great courage and abilities as a warrior, and is inviolably attached to the British nation.†

On the 4th of January, 1786, he visited Lord Sidney, the Colonial Secretary, and after plainly and boldly stating the trouble of the Indians at the forgetfulness of Britain—the encroachments of the Americans—and their fear of serious consequences, i. e. war, he closed with these words:

This we shall avoid to the utmost of our power, as dearly as we love our lands. But should it, contrary to our wishes, happen, we desire to know whether we are to be considered as His Majesty's faithful allies, and have that support and countenance such as old and true friends expect.‡

The English minister returned a perfectly non-committal answer; and when the Mohawk chieftain, upon his return, met the confederated natives in November, 1786, he could

* Heckewelder's Narrative, 379. Stone's Life of Brant, ii. 247. 240.
† Stone, ii. 249. ‡ Ibid, 254.

give them no distinct assurances of aid from England. But while all definite promises were avoided, men situated as John Johnson, the Indian superintendent, did not hesitate to write to him—

Do not suffer an idea to hold a place in your mind, that it will be for your interest to sit still and see the Americans attempt the posts. It is for your sakes chiefly, if not entirely, that we hold them. If you become indifferent about them, they may perhaps be given up; what security would you then have? You would be left at the mercy of a people whose blood calls aloud for revenge; whereas, by supporting them, you encourage us to hold them, and encourage the new settlements, already considerable, and every day increasing by numbers coming in, who find they can't live in the States. Many thousands are preparing to come in. This increase of his Majesty's subjects will serve as a protection for you, should the subjects of the States, by endeavoring to make further encroachments on you, disturb your quiet.*

This letter was written in March, 1787; and two months afterwards, Major Matthews, who had been in the suite of the Government of Canada, Lord Dorchester, after being appointed to command at Detroit, speaks still more explicitly, and in the Governor's name also: "His Lordship was sorry to learn," he says—

That while the Indians were soliciting his assistance in their preparations for war, some of the Six Nations had sent deputies to Albany to treat with the Americans, who, it is said, have made a treaty with them, granting permission to make roads for the purpose of coming to Niagara; but that, notwithstanding these things, the Indians should have their presents, as they are marks of the King's approbation of their former conduct. In future his lordship wishes them to act as is best for their interest; he cannot begin a war with the Americans, because some of their people encroach and make depredations upon parts of the Indian country; but they must see it is his lordship's intention to defend the posts; and that while these are preserved, the Indians must find great security therefrom, and consequently the Americans greater difficulty in taking possession of their lands; but should they once become masters of the posts, they will surround the Indians, and accomplish their purpose with little trouble. From a consideration of all which, it therefore remains with the Indians to decide what is most for their own interest, and to let his lordship know their determination, that he may take his

* Stone, ii, 268,

measures accordingly; but, whatever their resolution is, it should be taken as by one and the same people, by which means they will be respected and become strong; but if they divide, and act one part against the other, they will become weak, and help to destroy each other. This is a substance of what his lordship desired me to tell you, and I request you will give his sentiments that mature consideration which their justice, generosity, and desire to promote the welfare and happiness of the Indians, must appear to all the world to merit.

In your letter to me, you seem apprehensive that the English are not very anxious about the defence of the posts. You will soon be satisfied that they have nothing more at heart, provided that it continues to be the wish of the Indians, and that they remain firm in doing their part of the business, by preventing the Americans from coming into their country, and consequently from marching to the posts. On the other hand, if the Indians think it more for their interest that the Americans should have possession of the posts, and be established in their country, they ought to declare it, that the English need no longer be put to the vast and unnecessary expense and inconvenience of keeping posts, the chief object of which is to protect their Indian allies, and the loyalists who have suffered with them. It is well known that no encroachments ever have or ever will be made by the English upon the lands or property of the Indians in consequence of possessing the posts; how far that will be the case if ever the Americans get into them, may very easily be imagined, from their hostile perseverance, even without that advantage, in driving the Indians off their lands and taking possession of them.*

These assurances on the part of the British, and the delay of Congress in replying to the address of the confederated nations, dated December, 1786, led to the general council of 1788; but the divisions in that body, added to the uncertain support of the English government, at length caused Brant for a time to give up his interest in the efforts of the western natives, among whom the Miamies thenceforth took the lead; although, as our extracts from Gamelin's journal show, a true spirit of union did not, even in 1790, prevail among the various tribes. [Some of the Delawares and Miamies so far quarrelled, that the former left the Miami country, and settled in Upper Louisiana.] At that time, however, the British influence over the Miamies and their fellows, was in no degree lessened, as is plain from the entire reference of their affairs,

* See Stone, iii. 271.

when Gamelin went to them, to the commandant at Detroit. Nor can we wonder at the hold possessed over the red men by the English, when such wretches as McKee, Elliott and Girty,* were the go-betweens, the channels of intercourse.

In 1773, the Rev. D. Jones found Alexander McKee living about three miles from Paint Creek, Ohio, among the Shawanese. (See his Journal in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 262.) On the 29th of February, 1776, Col. Butler, the refugee hero of Wyoming and Indian agent for England, wrote to McKee, then residing as Indian agent at Fort Pitt, to come to Niagara; in consequence of which the committee of Western Augusta, obliged him to bind himself to have nothing to do with the Indians on account of Great Britain; and this parole Congress accepted. (American Archives, fourth series, v. 818, 820, 1692.—Old Journals, ii. 67.) In 1778, however, he left Pittsburgh with Simon Girty, Matthew Elliott and others, to join the British. (Heckewelder's Narrative, 170.) He became a Colonel, and was a leader among the north-west Indians from that time till his death. He had stores at the Falls of the Maumee. (See American State papers, v. 243. 351.) Some of his letters were taken at Proctor's defeat in 1813. (See Armstrong's Notices, i. appendix No. 2, 188.—Brown's History of War of 1812, ii. appendix.) Matthew Elliott had been a trader; in 1776 he was taken by the British and joined them, for which he received a Captain's commission. In 1790–95 he lived at the mouth of Detroit river, and carried on trade and farming. (See Heckewelder's Narrative, 147, 170.)

It is hard to say *how far* the British agents aided the savages in 1790 and 1791. The following is from a certificate by Thomas Rhea, taken by the Indians in May, 1781, and who escaped in June. He is stated to have been untrustworthy, (American State Papers, v. 196,) but his account is in part confirmed by other evidence.

At this place, the *Miami*, were Colonels Brant and McKee, with his son Thomas; and Captains Bunbury and Silvie, of the British troops. These officers, &c., were all encamped on the south side of the Miami, or Ottawa river, at the rapids above Lake Erie, about eighteen miles; they had clever houses, built chiefly by the Potawatomies and other Indians; in these they had stores of goods, with arms, ammunition, and provision, which they issued to the Indians in great abundance, viz: corn, pork, peas, &c. The Indians came to this place in parties of one, two, three, four, and five hundred at a time, from different quarters, and received from Mr. McKee and the Indian officers, clothing, arms, ammunition, provisions,

* Girty we have already spoken of. Alexander McKee, (sometimes written McKay and McGee) was an Indian agent before the Revolution.

&c., and set out immediately for the upper Miami towns, where they understood the forces of the United States were bending their course, and in order to supply the Indians from other quarters collected there, pirogues, loaded with the above mentioned articles, were sent up the Miami river, wrought by French Canadians. About the last of May, Captain Silvie purchased me from the Indians, and I staid with him at this place till the 4th of June, (the King's birth day,) when I was sent to Detroit. Previous to leaving the Miami river, I saw one Mr. Dick, who, with his wife, was taken prisoner near Pittsburgh, in the Spring—I believe, by the Wyandots. Mr. McKee was about to purchase Mr. Dick from the Indians, but found it difficult. Mrs. Dick was separated from him, and left at a village at some distance from this place. I also saw a young boy, named Brittle, (Brickell, probably, see his narrative, American Pioneer, i. 43,) who was taken in the spring, from near a mill, (Capt. O'Hara's,) near Pittsburgh, his hair was cut, and he was dressed and armed for war; *could not get speaking to him.* About the 5th of June, in the Detroit river, I met from sixty to one hundred canoes, in three parties, containing a large party of Indians, who appeared to be very wild and uncivilized; they were dressed chiefly in buffalo and other skin blankets, with otter skin and other fur breech cloths, armed with bows and arrows, and spears; they had no guns, and seemed to set no store by them, or know little of their use, nor had they any inclination to receive them, though offered to them. They said they were three moons on their way. The other Indians called them *Manitoes.* About this time there was a field day of the troops at Detroit, which I think is from five to six hundred in number; the next day a field day of the French militia took place, and one hundred and fifty of the Canadians, with some others, turned out volunteers to join the Indians, and were to set off the 8th for the Miami village, with their own horses, after being plentifully supplied with arms and ammunition, clothing, and provisions, &c., to fit them for the march. While I was at the Miami or Ottawa river, as they call it, I had mentioned to Col. McKee, and other officers, that I had seen Col. Procter on his way to Fort Franklin; that I understood that he was on his way to the Miami, or Sandusky, with some of the Senecas, and that he expected the Cornplanter would accompany him, in order to settle matters with the hostile nations; and that he expected to get shipping at Fort Erie, to bring him and those people to the Miami, or Sandusky, &c. That the officers, in their conversation with each other, said, if they were at Fort Erie, he should get no shipping there &c. That the Mohawks and other Indians, that could speak English, declare that if he (meaning Col. Procter,) or any other Yankee messenger, came there, they should never carry messages

back. This was frequently expressed by the Indians; and Simon Girty, and a certain Patt Hill, declared Procter should not return, if he had a hundred Senecas with him; and many other such threats were used, and every movement, appearance, and declaration, seemed hostile to the United States. And I understood that Col. McKee, and the other officers, intended only to stay at the Miami till they had furnished the war parties of Indians with the necessaries mentioned above, to fit them for war, and then would return to Detroit. That Elliott had returned to Detroit, and Simon Girty, and that Girty declared he would go and join the Indians, and that Capt. Elliott told him he was going the next day, with a boat load of goods for the Indians, and that Girty might have a passage with him. That on the 7th of June, the ship Dunmore sailed for Fort Erie, in which I got a passage. We arrived there in four days. About the 12th of June I saw taken into this vessel, a number of cannon, eighteen pounders, with other military stores, and better than two companies of artillery troops, destined, as I understood, for Detroit and the upper posts; some of the artillery-men had to remain behind, for want of room in the vessel. I have just recollected that, while I was at the Ottawa river, I saw a party of warriors come in with the arms, accoutrements, clothing, &c., of a sergeant, corporal, and, they said, twelve men, whom they had killed in some of the lower posts on the Ohio; that a man of the Indian department offered me a coat, which had a number of bullet and other holes in it, and was all bloody, which I refused to take, and Col. McKee then ordered me clothes out of the Indian store." (Amer. State papers, v. 196.)

"You invite us," said one of the war-chiefs to Gamelin, "to stop our young men. It is impossible to do it, being constantly encouraged by the British."

"We confess," said another Indian, "that we accepted the axe, but it is by the reproach we continually receive from the English and other nations, which received the axe first, calling us women; at the present time, they invite our young men to war; as to the old people, they are wishing for peace."*

Every peaceful message from the officers of the crown was stopped on its way to the excited children of the forest; but every word of a hostile character, exaggerated and added to.

At the time of Gamelin's mission, the spring of 1790, before any act of hostility on the part of the United States had made reconciliation impossible, before the success of the savages had made their demands such as could not be granted, we cannot but think it would have been true wisdom to have sent to the northern tribes, not an Indian trader, but such a represen-

* American State Papers, v. 93.

tation as was sent three years later. Such, however, was not the course pursued. Governor St. Clair, under the acts of Congress passed the previous year, on the 15th of July, called upon Virginia for one thousand, and upon Pennsylvania for five hundred militia. Of these, three hundred were to meet at Fort Steuben (Jeffersonville) to aid the troops from Fort Knox (Vincennes) against the Weas and Kickapoos of the Wabash; seven hundred were to gather at Fort Washington, (Cincinnati); and five hundred just below Wheeling; the two latter bodies being intended to march with the federal troops, from Fort Washington, under General Harmar, against the towns at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph.* The Kentucky militia men began to come in at Fort Washington about the middle of September, the 15th being the day named. Of their fitness for service, we may judge by Major Ferguson's evidence:

They were very illy equipped, being almost destitute of camp kettles and axes; nor could a supply of these essential articles be procured. Their arms were, generally, very bad, and unfit for service; as I was the commanding officer of artillery, they came under my inspection, in making what repairs the time would permit; and as a specimen of their badness, I would inform the court, that a rifle was brought to be repaired without a lock, and another without a stock. I often asked the owners what induced them to think that those guns could be repaired at that time? And they gave me for answer, that they were told in Kentucky that all repairs would be made at Fort Washington. Many of the officers told me, that they had no idea of there being half the number of bad arms in the whole district of Kentucky, as was then in the hands of their men. As soon as the principal part of the Kentucky militia arrived, the General began to organize them; in this he had many difficulties to encounter. Colonel Trotter aspired to the command, although Colonel Hardin was the eldest officer, and in this he was encouraged both by men and officers, who openly declared, unless Colonel Trotter commanded them, they would return home. After two or three days the business was settled, and they [i. e. the Kentucky men] were formed into three battalions, under the command of Colonel Trotter, and Colonel Hardin had the command of all the militia, [both Pennsylvania and Virginia.] As soon as they were arranged, they were mustered, crossed the Ohio, and, on the 26th, marched, and encamped about ten miles from Fort Washington. The last of the Pennsylvania militia

* American State Papers, v. 94, 92.

arrived on the 25th September. They were equipped nearly as the Kentucky militia, but were worse armed; several were without any. The General ordered all the arms in store to be delivered to those who had none, and to those whose guns could not be repaired. Amongst the militia were a great many hardly able to bear arms, such as old, infirm men, and young boys; they were not such as might be expected from a frontier country, that is, the smart active woodsman, well accustomed to arms, eager and alert to revenge the injuries done them and their connexions. No, there were a great number of them substitutes, who probably had never fired a gun. Major Paul, of Pennsylvania, told me, that many of his men were so awkward, that they could not take their gun locks off to oil them, and put them on again, nor could they put in their flints so as to be useful; and even of such materials, the numbers came far short of what was ordered, as may be seen by the returns.*

Trouble had been anticipated from the aversion of the frontier men to act with regular troops; General Harmar had been warned on the subject by the Secretary of War—and every pains had been taken to avoid the evils apprehended. Notice had also been given to the British that the troops collected were to be used against the Indians alone, so that no excuse might be given McKee & Co., for co-operation;† and when upon the 30th September Harmar left Fort Washington every step seemed to have been taken which experience or judgment could suggest to secure the success of the expedition. The same seems to have been true of the march, the Court of Inquiry held in 1791, having approved every arrangement. On the 13th of October, the army being then thirty or thirty-five miles from the Miami villages, it was determined, in consequence of information given by a captured Indian, to send forward Colonel John Hardin with a detachment of six hundred militia men, and one company of regulars, to surprise the enemy, and keep them in their forts until the main body could come up with the artillery.

The troops were organized and moved forward, as follows:

"The Kentuckians composed three battalions, under the the Majors Hall, McMullen and Bay, with Lieutenant Colonel Commandant Trotter at their head. The Pennsylvanians were formed into one battalion, under Lieutenant Colonel Trubley and Major Paul, the whole to be commanded by

* American State Papers, xii. 28.

† American State Papers. v. 96. 100.

Colonel John Hardin, subject to the orders of General Harmar. The 30th, the General having got forward all the supplies that he expected, he moved out with the federal troops, formed into two small battalions, under the immediate command of Major Wyllys and Major Doughty, together with Captain Ferguson's company of artillery, and three pieces of ordnance. On the 3d of October, General Harmar joined the advanced troops early in the morning; the remaining part of the day was spent in forming the line of march, the order of encampment and battle, and explaining the same to the militia field officers. General Harmar's orders will show the several formations. On the 4th, the army took up the order of march as is described in the orders. On the 5th, a reinforcement of horsemen and mounted infantry joined from Kentucky. The dragoons were formed into two troops; the mounted riflemen made a company, and this small battalion of light troops were put under the command of Major Fontaine.

The whole of General Harmar's command then may be stated thus:

3	battalions of	Kentucky	militia,	1133
1	do.	Pennsylvania	do.	
1	do.	Light troops mounted	do.	
2	do.	Federal troops, - - -		320
Total, - - - - - - - - -				453

(American State Papers, xii. 24. 30. to 33.)

On the 14th this party marched forward, and upon the next day about three o'clock reached the villages, but they were deserted. On the morning of the 17th, the main army arrived, and the work of destruction commenced; by the 21st, the chief town, five other villages, and nearly twenty thousand bushels of corn in ears, had been destroyed. When Harmar reached the Maumee towns and found no enemy, he thought of pushing forward to attack the Wea and other Indian settlements upon the Wabash, but was prevented by the loss both of pack horses and cavalry horses, which the Indians seem to have stolen in quantities to suit themselves, in consequence of the wilful carelessness of the owners, who made the United States pay first for the use of their nags, then for the nags themselves. The Wabash plan being dropped, Colonel Trotter was dispatched with three hundred men to scour the woods in search of an enemy, as the tracks of women and children had been seen near by; and we cannot give a better

idea of the utter want of discipline in the army, than by some extracts from the evidence of Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) Armstrong; this gentleman was with Trotter during the 18th of October, and also with Hardin, who, on the 19th, took the command, General Harmar being much dissatisfied with Trotter's ineffective Indian chase of the previous day.*

After we had proceeded about a mile, says Armstrong, the cavalry gave chase to an Indian, who was mounted, him they overtook and killed. Before they returned to the column a second appeared, on which the four field officers left their commands and pursued, leaving the troops near half an hour without any directions whatever. The cavalry came across the second Indian, and, after he had wounded one of their party, killed him also. When the infantry came up to this place they immediately fell into confusion, upon which I gained permission to leave them some distance on the road, where I formed an ambuscade. After I had been some time at my station, a fellow on horseback came to me, who had lost the party in pursuit of the first Indian; he was much frightened, and said he had been pursued by fifty mounted Indians. On my telling this story to Colonel Trotter, notwithstanding my observations to him, he changed his route, and marched in various directions until night, when he returned to camp.

On our arrival in camp, General Harmar sent for me, and after asking me many questions, ordered one subaltern and twenty militia to join my command. With these I reached the river St. Joseph about ten at night, and with a guide proceeded to an Indian town, about two miles distant, where I continued with my party until the morning of the nineteenth. About nine o'clock I joined the remainder of the detachment under Colonel Hardin. We marched on the route Colonel Trotter had pursued the day before, and after passing a morass about five miles distant, we came to where the enemy had encamped the day before. Here we made a short halt, and the commanding officer disposed of the parties at a distance from each other; after a halt of half an hour, we were ordered to move on, and Captain Faulkner's company was left on the ground; the Colonel having neglected giving him orders to move on. After we had proceeded about three miles, we fell in with two Indians on foot, who threw off their packs, and the brush being thick, made their escape. I then asked Colonel Hardin where Captain Faulkner was? He said he was lost, and then sent Major Fontaine with part of the cavalry in search of him, and moved on with the remainder of the troops. Some time after, I informed Colonel Hardin a gun had fired in our front, which might be considered as

* See the statements of Major Ferguson and Lieutenant Denny, in American State Papers, xii. 21, 25; also, Cist's Miscellany, i. 195, 196.—*Ed.*

an alarm gun, and that I saw where a horse had come down the road, and returned again; but the Colonel still moved on, giving no orders, nor making any arrangements for an attack. Some time after, I discovered the enemy's fires at a distance, and informed the Colonel, who replied, that they would not fight, and rode in front of the advance, until fired on from behind the fires; when he, the Colonel, retreated, and with him all the militia except nine, who continued with me, and were instantly killed, with twenty-four of the federal troops; seeing my last man fall, and being surrounded by the savages, I threw myself into a thicket, and remained there three hours in day-light; during that time I had an opportunity of seeing the enemy pass and re-pass, and conceived their numbers did not amount to one hundred men; some were mounted, others armed with rifles, and the advance with tomahawks only. I am of opinion that had Colonel Trotter proceeded, on the 18th, agreeably to his orders, having killed the enemy's sentinel's, he would have surprised their camp, and with ease defeated them; or had Colonel Hardin arranged his troops, or made any military disposition, on the 19th, that he would have gained a victory. Our defeat I, therefore, ascribe to two causes; the unofficer-like conduct of Colonel Hardin, (who, I believe, was a brave man,) and the cowardly behavior of the militia; many of them threw down their arms loaded, and I believe that none, except the party under my command, fired a gun.*

At this time, probably, the jealousy between the regulars and militia which had been anticipated, and which had threatened trouble at Fort Washington, began effectually to work mischief; the regular troops disliked to be commanded by Trotter and Hardin, the army officers despised the militia, and the militia hating them, were impatient under the control of Harmar and his staff. Again, the rivalry between Trotter and Hardin was calculated to make the elements of discord and disobedience yet more wide-spread; so that all true confidence between the officers and men was destroyed, and with it, of necessity, all true strength.

But though the troops had been disappointed and defeated, the houses and crops had been burned and wasted, and upon the 21st of October, the army commenced its homeward march. But Hardin was not easy under his defeat, and the night of the 21st being favorable, he proposed to Harmar to send back a detachment to the site of the villages just destroyed, supposing the savages would have already returned

* American State Papers, xii. p. 26.

thither. The General was not very willing to try farther experiments, but Hardin urged him, and at last obtained an order for three hundred and forty militia, of which forty were mounted, and sixty regular troops; the former under Hardin himself, the latter under Major Wyllys. How they fared shall be told by Captain Asheton, an actor in the affray.

The detachment marched in three columns, the federal troops in the centre, at the head of which I was posted, with Major Wyllys and Colonel Hardin in my front; the militia formed the columns to the right and left. From delays, occasioned by the militia's halting, we did not reach the banks of the Omee [Maumee] till some time after sunrise. The spies then discovered the enemy, and reported to Major Wyllys, who halted the federal troops, and moved the militia on some distance in front, where he gave his orders and plan of attack to the several commanding officers of corps. Those orders were not communicated to me. Major Wyllys reserved the command of the federal troops to himself. Major Hall, with his battalion, was directed to take a circuitous route round the bend of the Omee River, cross the Pickaway Fork, (or St. Mary's) which brought him directly in the rear of the enemy, and there wait until the attack should commence with Major McMullen's battalion, Major Fontaine's cavalry, and Major Wyllys with the federal troops, who all crossed the Omee at, and near, the common fording place. After the attack commenced, the troops were by no means to separate, but were to embody, or the battalions to support each other, as circumstances required. From this disposition it appeared evident, that it was the intention of Major Wyllys to surround the enemy, and that if Colonel Hall, who had gained his ground undiscovered, had not wantonly disobeyed his orders, by firing on a single Indian, the surprise must have been complete. The Indians then fled with precipitation, the battalions of militia pursuing in different directions. Major Fontaine made a charge upon a small party of savages—he fell the first fire, and his troops dispersed. The federal troops, who were then left unsupported, became an easy sacrifice to much the largest party of Indians that had been seen that day. It was my opinion that the misfortunes of that day were owing to the separation of troops, and disobedience of orders. After the federal troops were defeated, and the firing in all quarters nearly ceased, Colonel Hall and Major McMullen, with their battalions, met in the town, and after discharging, cleaning, and fresh loading their arms, which took up about half an hour, proceeded to join the army unmolested. I am convinced that the detachment, if it had been kept embodied, was sufficient to have answered the fullest expectations of the General, and needed no support; but I was in-

formed a battalion under Major Ray was ordered out for that purpose.*

When Hardin returned to camp after this skirmish, he wished the General either to send another party, or take the whole army to the battle ground, but Harmar would not favor either plan. He did not wish, he said, to divide his troops; he had little food for his horses; and he thought the Indians had received "a very good scourging;" upon the next morning, accordingly, the army took up its line of march for Fort Washington, in a regular, soldier-like way. Two men, says Hardin, wished to have another tussle with the Miamis;—of the whole army, only two!† Before reaching Fort Washington, however, new trouble occurred.

At old Chillicothe, on Little Miami, says Colonel Hardin, a number of the militia, contrary to orders, fired off their guns. I endeavored to put a stop to such disorderly behavior, and commanded that those offenders that could be taken should be punished agreeably to general orders; and having caught a soldier myself in the very act of firing his gun, ordered a file of men to take him immediately and carry him to the six pounder, and for the drummer to tie him up and give him six lashes; I was shortly after met by Colonel Trotter and Major McMullen, and a number of militia soldiers, who in an abrupt manner asked me by what authority I ordered that soldier whipped; I replied in support of general orders; on which a very warm dispute ensued between Colonel Trotter, Major McMullen, and myself. The General being informed of what had happened, came forward, and gave Colonel Trotter and Major McMullen a very severe reprimand, ordered the federal troops to parade, and the drummer to do his duty, swearing he would risk his life in support of his orders: the man received the number of lashes ordered, and several that were confined were set at liberty; numbers of the militia seemed much pleased with what was done. This intended mutiny being soon quashed, the army proceeded in good order to Fort Washington. When the army arrived at the mouth of Licking, the General informed me he had determined to arrest some of the militia officers for their bad conduct, and send them home with disgrace; but I opposed his intention, alleging that it would be a disgrace to the whole militia; that he would perhaps stand in

* See American State Papers, xii. 28.—See account in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 133;—also, McClung's Sketches of Western Adventure, p. 241, and others. We prefer that of an eye-witness.—We have verbally changed Asheton's statement, which is given in the third person. See also Hardin's deposition, American State Papers, xii. 34.

† See in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 105, an account of Harmar's Campaign, by one present.

need of their assistance on some future occasion, and it would sour their minds and cause them to turn out with reluctance; and that his discharging them generally with honor, perhaps, would answer a better purpose: the General readily indulged my request.*

To this last act, which caused much discontent among the frontier men; to the two defeats of the 19th and 22d of October (for such they were;) and to the want of any efficiency on the part of Harmar, who, though guilty of no breach of military care or common skill, acted like an old woman, compared with such men as Clark, and "Mad Anthony," must be ascribed the great unpopularity of this campaign. The army, as a whole, effected all that the popular expeditions of Clark in 1782, and of Scott and Wilkinson in 1791, did: we mean the annihilation of towns and corn, and was by Harmar and St. Clair considered very successful;† but in reality, *in the view of the Indians*, it was an utter failure and defeat. Their account of it was this:

There have been two engagements about the Miami towns, between the Americans and the Indians, in which it is said, the former had about five hundred men killed, and that the rest have retreated. The loss was only fifteen or twenty on the side of the Indians. The Shawanese, Miamies, and Potawatomies were, I understand, the principal tribes who were engaged; but I do not learn that any of the nations have refused their alliance or assistance, and it is confidently reported that they are now marching against the frontiers on the Ohio.‡

Nor was the report of the invasion of the settlements on the Ohio shore far from the truth, as may be seen from the following letter:

On the evening of the 2d [Jan.''91] says Rufus Putnam, writing to the President, between sunset and daylight-in, the Indians surprised a new settlement of our people, at a place on the Muskingum, called the Big Bottom, nearly forty miles up the river, in which disaster eleven men, one woman, and two children, were killed: three men are missing, and four others made their escape. Thus, sir, the war, which was partial before the campaign of last year, is, in all probability,

* American State Papers, xii. 35.

† This is clear, as we know, from Harmar's general orders, upon October 21, when he took up his march for Fort Washington, and from his report to the Secretary of War. (American State Papers, v. 105, 104.)

‡ See Stone, ii. 294.

become general. I think there is no reason to suppose that we are the only people on whom the savages will wreak their vengeance, or that the number of hostile Indians have not increased since the late expedition. Our situation is truly critical; the Governor and Secretary both being absent, no assistance from Virginia or Pennsylvania can be had. The garrison at Fort Harmar, consisting at this time of little more than twenty men, can afford no protection to our settlements, and the whole number of men, in all our settlements, capable of bearing arms, including all civil and military officers, do not exceed two hundred and eighty-seven, and these, many of them, badly armed. We are in the utmost danger of being swallowed up, should the enemy push the war with vigor during the winter; this I believe will fully appear, by taking a short view of our several settlements, and I hope justify the extraordinary measures we have adopted, for want of a legal authority in the territory to apply for aid in the business. The situation of our people is nearly as follows:

At Marietta are about eighty houses, in the distance of one mile, with scattering houses about three miles up the Ohio. A set of mills at Duck Creek, four miles distant, and another mill two miles up the Muskingum. Twenty-two miles up this river is a settlement, consisting of about twenty families; about two miles from them on Wolf Creek, are five families and a set of mills. Down the Ohio, and opposite the Little Kanawha, commences the settlement called Belle Prairie, which extends down the river, with little interruption, about twelve miles, and contains between thirty and forty houses. Before the late disaster, we had several other settlements, which are already broken up. I have taken the liberty to enclose the proceedings of the Ohio company and justices of the sessions on this occasion, and beg leave, with the greatest deference, to observe, that, unless Government speedily send a body of troops for our protection, we are a ruined people. The removal of the women and children, etc., will reduce many of the poorer sort to the greatest straits; but if we add to this the destruction of their corn, forage and cattle, by the enemy, which is very probable to ensue, I know of no way they can be supported; but, if this should not happen, where these people are to raise bread another year, is not easy to conjecture, and most of them have nothing left to buy with. But my fears do not stop here; we are a people so far detached from all others, in point of situation, that we can hope for no timely relief, in case of emergency, from any of our neigbors; and among the number that compose our present military strength, almost one-half are young men, hired into the country, intending to settle by and by; these, under present circumstances, will probably leave us soon, unless prospects should brighten; and, as to new settlers, we can expect

none in our present situation; so that, instead of increasing in strength, we are likely to diminish daily; and, if we do not fall a prey to the savages, we shall be so reduced and discouraged as to give up the settlement, unless Government shall give us timely protection. It has been a mystery with some, why the troops have been withdrawn from this quarter, and collected at the Miami; that settlement is, I believe, within three or four days' march of a very populous part of Kentucky, from whence, in a few days, they might be reinforced with several thousand men, whereas, we are not within two hundred miles of any settlement, that can probably more than protect themselves."

The spirit thus manifested by the tribes which had just been attacked, and the general feelings along the frontier in relation to Harmar's expedition, made the United States Government sensible that their first step in the conduct of backwoods warfare, had been a failure, and that prompt and strong measures, calculated either to win, or force a state of peace, must be adopted.† The plan which was resorted to was a three-fold one:

1st. To send a messenger to the western Indians with offers of peace, to be accompanied by some of the Iroquois chieftains favorable to America.

2d. At the same time to organize expeditions in the West, to strike the Wea, Miami and Shawanee towns, in case it should be clear the peace messenger would fail in his mission; and

3d. To prepare a grand and overwhelming force with which to take possession of the country of the enemies and build forts in their mid .t.

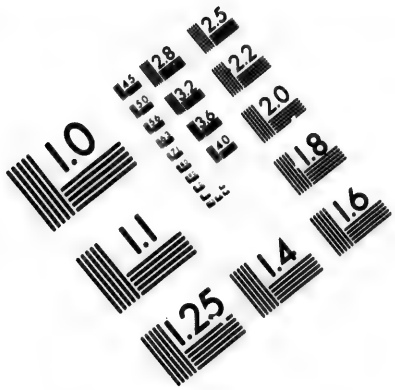
[The act for protecting the frontier was signed March 3d, 1791, and Governor St. Clair was appointed to the command on the 4th. American State Papers, xii. 36.]

The person selected to convey messages of peace was Col. Thomas Procter, who received his commission upon the 10th or 11th of March, 1791, and upon the 12th left Philadelphia for the settlement of Cornplanter, or Captain O'Beel or Abeel, the chief warrior of the Senecas, and the firm friend of Washington and the Union. This chief, with others of similar sen-

*See American State Papers, v. 121.—See a full account of the settlement on Big Bottom, and the attack upon it, by Dr. Hildreth, American Pioneer, ii. 101.

†See Knox's Report, American State Papers, v. 112.





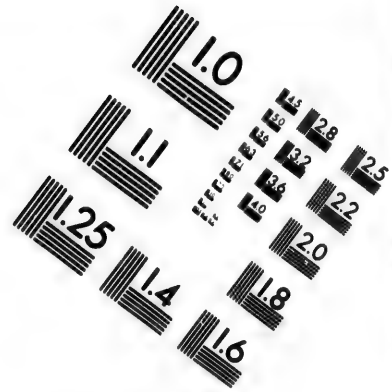
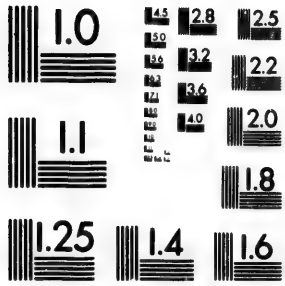
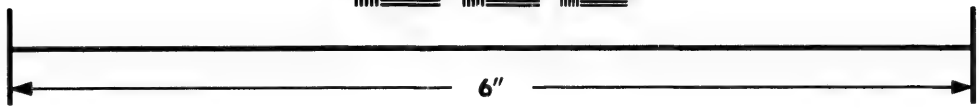
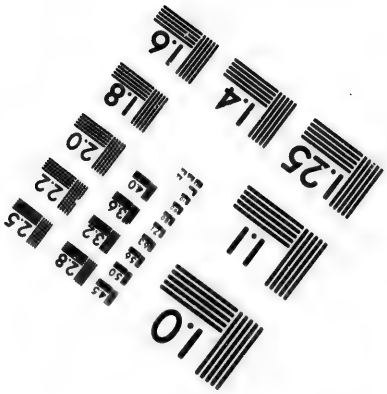
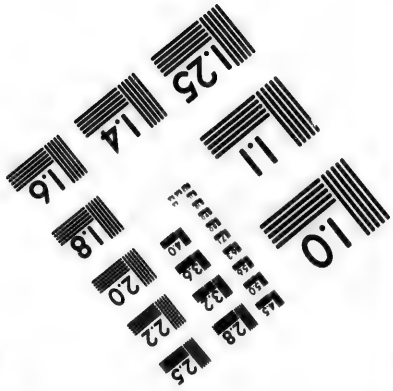


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timents, had been in Philadelphia in the previous December, and had promised to use all their influence to secure peace.* To them Procter was sent, in the hope that they would go with him westward, and be the means of preventing further bloodshed. In this hope, however, Washington and Knox were disappointed; for, when, with great difficulty, the American messenger had prevailed upon certain of the Iroquois to accompany him, provided a water passage could be had, the British commandant at Niagara would not allow an English vessel to be hired to convey the ambassadors up Lake Erie; and as no other could be obtained, the whole enterprise failed.

But in order to understand the difficulties which Procter met with, we must look at the views of the British, and of those Indians who remained firm to the British at this period. After Harmar's campaign, the tribes of the north-west sent a deputation to Lord Dorchester to learn what aid England would give them in the contest now fairly opened. What answer precisely was given by the Governor we do not know, but his wishes seem to have been that peace might be restored and preserved. Colonel Gordon, the British commandant at Niagara, who afterwards stopped Procter, was also an advocate of peace; and on the 4th of March wrote to Brant in these words:

I hope you will embrace the present opportunity of the meeting of the chiefs of the Five Nations in your neighborhood, to use your endeavors to heal the wounds between the Indians and Americans. I dare say the States wish to make peace on terms which will secure to the Indians their present possessions in the Miami country, provided the young men are restrained from committing depredations in future.†

[It is evident from their whole course of procedure that the British authorities did their utmost to prevent American settlements from being made in the North-western Territory. They wished to have their Indian allies continue in possession. This was their chief motive for retaining the western posts.]

Brant himself, on the 7th of March, writing to McKee, (the agent among the Miamies,) says:

*American State Papers, v. 140–145. Cornplanter, like Brant, was a half-breed; his father's name was O'Beel: See a particular account of him in Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, 655; also Stone's Life of Red Jacket.

†Stone, ii. 296, 297, 298.

I have received two letters from the States, from gentlemen who have lately been in Philadelphia: by which it appears the Americans secretly wish to accommodate the matter—which I should by all means advise, if it could be effected upon honorable and liberal terms, and a peace become general.*

With these views prevailing, why did Brant, Gordon and the other officers of Britain do so little afterwards to preserve pacific relations? First, it would seem that the Mohawk chieftain was offended by the favor shown Cornplanter, his deadly foe,† and by the attempt of the Americans to divide the Iroquois; and in regard to the latter point, at least, the British sympathized with him. Secondly, it is clear that the representatives of England, in Canada, were offended, and we think naturally, at the *entire* disregard shown by the American government of their influence over the savages of the north-west. Those tribes were closely connected with the British agents, and under their control, and Lord Dorchester, Colonel Gordon and Brant looked for an appeal to them as mediators in the quarrel about to burst forth; or at any rate, for an acceptance by the Americans of their mediation, if asked by the Indians;—an acceptance of the kind given in 1793, after St. Clair's defeat; and which was not, of course, dishonorable or degrading. Thirdly, both the Indians and English were puzzled and excited by the seeming (though our readers will know, in no degree, actual) want of good faith on the part of the States; which, at the same moment almost, commissioned Scott to war upon the Miamies, Procter to treat of peace with them, St. Clair to invade and take possession of their lands, and Pickering to hold a council with their brethren for burying the fatal hatchet, and quenching the destructive brand.

From the inconsistent proceedings of the Americans—says Colonel Gordon to Brant, upon the 11th of June—I am perfectly at a loss to understand their full intentions. Whilst they are assembling councils at different quarters with the avowed purpose of bringing about a peace, the Six Nations have received a speech from General St. Clair, dated at Pittsburgh, 23d April, inviting them to take up the hatchet against their brothers, the western nations.

*See Stone, ii. 298.

†American State Papers, v. 167; stated by General Knox.

Can any thing be more inconsistent? or can they possibly believe the Indians are to be duped by such shallow artifices? This, far from being the case; the Indians at Buffalo Creek saw the business in its proper light and treated the invitation with the contempt it deserved. It must strike you very forcibly, that in all the proceedings of the different Commissioners from the American States, they have cautiously avoided applying for our interference, as a measure they affect to think perfectly unnecessary; wishing to impress the Indians with the ideas of their own consequence, and of the little influence, they would willingly believe we are possessed of. This, my good friend, is not the way to proceed. Had they, before matters were pushed to extremity, requested the assistance of the British government to bring about a peace on equitable terms, I am convinced the measure would have been fully accomplished long before this time.

I would, however, willingly hope they will yet see the propriety of adopting this mode of proceeding; and that peace, an object so much to be desired, will at length be permanently settled.

I am the more sanguine in the attainment of my wishes, by your being on the spot, and that you will call forth the exertion of your influence and abilities on the occasion.*

The Americans also were desirous to enlist Brant as a peace-maker, and Governor Clinton, of New York, was written to by General Knox, in the hope that he might influence the Mohawk leader; but the chieftain was beyond his reach, in the far west, among the tribes who were likely to be foremost in the contest; nor could any learn whether he went thither as a peace-maker or promoter of war. Early in May the United States Government was informed that he had revived his plan of a great Indian confederacy; and about the 19th of that month Procter, at Buffalo, heard from the West that Brant was there not to pacify, but to inflame the Miamies and their allies; but yet, as the chiefs of the Six Nations represented his purpose to be that of a messenger sent to learn the feelings of the western tribes, and asked Procter again and again to wait his return; the impression produced upon the American Government was that he had nothing in view but the cessation of hostilities.†

Before Procter, (his mission proving in vain,) left Buffalo creek, which he did upon the 21st of May, measures had been

* Stone, ii, 300.

† American State Papers, v. 117; also, 161, 163, and 181.

taken to secure a council of the Six Nations on the 16th of June, at the Painted Post, near the junction of the Coshocton and Tioga rivers The purpose of this council was to secure the neutrality of the Iroquois by presents and fine words; and the plan appears to have succeeded. "Treaty," says Knox, writing to St. Clair on the 4th of August, "closed on the 15th (of July,) and the Indians returned satisfied. Colonel Pickering did not attempt to persuade any of them to join our army, as he found such a proposal would be very disagreeable to them."*

It had been calculated when Procter left Philadelphia upon the 12th of March, that he would either succeed or distinctly fail in his enterprise, in time to reach Fort Washington by the 5th of May. This expectation, as we have seen, was entirely defeated, as he was so delayed that he did not reach Buffalo creek until the 27th of April, and did not make his first application for a vessel to cross Lake Erie until May 5th. But upon the above calculation, mistaken as it proved, were based the arrangements of the United States for carrying into effect the second part of the plan for the campaign,—"the desultory operations" (as they were termed) for annoying the enemy in case Procter failed. These operations were to be carried out by the backwoodsmen under their own commanders.

The inhabitants of Kentucky, in December, 1790, after Harmar's return, had petitioned Congress for permission to fight the Indians in their own way, and upon the 9th of March, 1791, orders were issued to Brigadier General Charles Scott, authorizing him, in conjunction with Harry Innis, John Brown, Benjamin Logan, and Isaac Shelby, to organize an expedition of mounted volunteers against the nations upon the Wabash, to start upon May 10th, unless countermanded.† These orders in substance were obeyed. The troops were, however, delayed for news from the north; but by the 23d of May, no news of peace arriving, the detachment took up its line of march from the Ohio; Colonel John Hardin, who burned to retrieve his fame, acting as a volunteer, without commission, and having the post of commander of the advanced party and

* American State Papers, v. 181.

† American State Papers, v. 129. St. Clair was empowered to postpone the expedition, and did so. See his Narrative, p. 7.

director of the guides. On the 1st of June, the towns of the enemy were discovered; of the after-movements no fairer view can probably be given than by General Scott himself. Having noticed the villages,—

I immediately detached Colonel John Hardin, says he, with sixty mounted infantry, and a troop of light-horse under Captain McCoy, to attack the villages to the left, and moved on briskly with my main body, in order of battle, towards the town, the smoke of which was discernible. My guides were deceived with respect to the situation of the town; for, instead of standing at the edge of the plain through which I marched, I found it on the low ground bordering on the Wabash: on turning the point of woods, one house presented in my front. Captain Price was ordered to assault that with forty men. He executed the command with great gallantry, and killed two warriors.

When I gained the summit of the eminence which overlooks the villages on the banks of the Wabash, I discovered the enemy in great confusion, endeavoring to make their escape over the river in canoes. I instantly ordered Lieutenant Colonel-commandant Wilkinson to rush forward with the first battalion. The order was executed with promptitude, and this detachment gained the bank of the river just as the rear of the enemy had embarked; and, regardless of a brisk fire kept up from a Kickapoo town on the opposite bank, they, in a few minutes, by a well directed fire from their rifles, destroyed all the savages with which five canoes were crowded. To my great mortification, the Wabash was many feet beyond fording at this place: I therefore detached Col. Wilkinson to a ford two miles above, which my guides informed me was more practicable. [Wilkinson moved the first battalion up to the fording place, found the river impassable, and returned to Ouiatenon.]

The enemy still kept possession of Kickapoo town: I determined to dislodge them; and for that purpose ordered Captain King's and Logsdone's companies to march down the river below the town, and cross, under the conduct of Major Barboe. Several of the men swam the river, and others passed in a small canoe. This movement was unobserved; and my men had taken post on the bank before they were discovered by the enemy, who immediately abandoned the village. About this time word was brought to me that Colonel Hardin was encumbered with prisoners, and had discovered a stronger village further to my left than those I had observed, which he was proceeding to attack. I immediately detached Captain Brown with his company, to support the Colonel: but the distance being six miles, before the Captain arrived the business was done, and Colonel Hardin joined me a little before

sun-set, having killed six warriors, and taken fifty-two prisoners. Captain Bull, the warrior who discovered me in the morning, had gained the main town, and given the alarm, a short time before me; but the villages to my left were uninformed of my approach, and had no retreat.

The next morning I determined to detach my Lieutenant Colonel-commandant, with five hundred men, to destroy the important town of Keth-tip-e-ca-nunk,* eighteen miles from my camp, on the west side of the Wabash; but, on examination, I discovered my men and horses to be so crippled and worn down by a long, laborious march, and the active exertions of the preceding day, that three hundred and sixty men only could be found in a capacity to undertake the enterprise, and they prepared to march on foot. Col. Wilkinson marched with this detachment at half after five in the evening, and returned to my camp the next day at one o'clock, having marched thirty-six miles in twelve hours, and destroyed the most important settlement of the enemy in that quarter of the federal territory.

Many of the inhabitants of the village [Ouiatenon] were French, and lived in a state of civilization. By the books, letters, and other documents found there, it is evident that place was in close connection with, and dependent on, Detroit. A large quantity of corn, a variety of household goods, peltry, and other articles, were burned with this village, which consisted of about seventy houses, many of them well finished.†

As the expedition under Scott, although successful, had not reached the higher towns upon the Wabash, Governor St. Clair thought it best to send another, (the Secretary of War having authorized such a step,) against the villages of Eel river; and Wilkinson was appointed to command. He marched from near fort Washington, upon the first of August, and on the 7th reached the Wabash, just above the mouth of the river he was in search of. While reconnoitering, however, in the hope of surprising the natives, word was brought him that they were alarmed and flying; a general charge was immediately ordered.

The men, says Wilkinson, forcing their way over every obstacle, plunged through the river with vast intrepidity. The enemy was unable to make the smallest resistance. Six warriors, and (in the hurry and confusion of the charge) two squaws and a child were killed, thirty-four prisoners were taken, and an unfortunate captive released, with the loss of two men killed and one wounded.

* This, in modern orthography, has been corrupted into *Tippecanoe*.—Ed.

† American State Papers, v. 131.

I found this town scattered along Eel river for full three miles, on an uneven, scrubby oak barren, intersected alternately by bogs almost impassable, and impervious thickets of plum, hazel, and black jacks. Notwithstanding these difficulties, if I may credit the report of the prisoners, very few who were in town escaped. Expecting a second expedition, their goods were generally packed up and buried. Sixty warriors had crossed the Wabash to watch the paths leading from the Ohio. The head chief, with all the prisoners, and a number of families, were out digging a root which they substitute in the place of the potato; and about one hour before my arrival, all the warriors, except eight, had mounted their horses, and rode up the river to a French store to purchase ammunition. This ammunition had arrived from the Miami village that very day, and the squaws informed me was stored about two miles from the town. I detached Major Caldwell in quest of it; but he failed to make any discovery, although he scoured the country for seven or eight miles up the river.

I encamped in the town that night, and the next morning I cut up the corn, scarcely in the milk, burnt the cabins, mounted the young warriors, squaws, and children, in the best manner in my power, and leaving two infirm squaws and a child, with a short talk, I commenced my march for the Kickapoo town in the prairie.*

The Kickapoo prairie metropolis was not reached; the horses were too sore, and the bogs too deep; but as General Wilkinson said, four hundred acres of corn were destroyed, and a Kickapoo town given to the flames; for which the General was duly thanked by his country. Meantime, while Procter was attempting to hurry the slow-moving Iroquois, who told him it took them a great while to think; and Wilkinson was floundering up to his arm-pits in mud and water, among the morasses of the Wabash; the needful preparations were constantly going forward for the great expedition of St. Clair, which, by founding posts throughout the western country, from the Ohio to Lake Erie, and especially at the head of the Maumee, was to give the United States a sure means of control over the savages. At a very early period (1785) the admirable position of the Miami village at the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, had struck Washington's sagacious mind, as we know from his correspondence;† and when Harmar's expedition was undertaken, one purpose of it would, doubtless, have been the founding of a military post at the

* American State Papers, v. 134.
† Sparks' Washington, ix. 109.

Miami town, had it been compatible with the public finances.* But Harmar's defeat having proved the necessity of some strong check upon the northern savages, it became the main purpose of the effort of 1791, to build a fort at a point designated, which was to be connected by other intermediate stations, with Fort Washington and the Ohio. Of this we have proof in the language of the government after St. Clair's defeat: "the great object of the late campaign," says General Knox, in his official report, dated December 26, 1791, "was to establish a strong military post at the Miami village;" and this language is used more than once.† This object, too, was to be attained, if possible, even at the expense of a contest which might be otherwise avoided; [for the posts were to be established, whether the Indians remained hostile or made peace,] but the instructions to St. Clair upon this and other points, we prefer to give in the clear and condensed language of Knox himself, omitting such portions only, as have not a bearing upon the general subject, and treat of details merely.

The President of the United States having, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appointed you a Major General in the service of the United States, and of consequence invested you with the chief command of the troops to be employed upon the frontiers during the ensuing campaign, it is proper that you should be possessed of the views of the government respecting the objects of your command. I am, therefore, authorized and commanded, by the President of the United States, to deliver you the following instructions, in order to serve as the general principles of your conduct.

But, it is only general principles which can be pointed out. In the execution of the duties of your station, circumstances which cannot now be foreseen may arise to render materi[illegible] deviations necessary. Such circumstances will require t[illegible] exercise of your talents. The Government possesses the security of your character and mature experience, that your judgment will be proper on all occasions. You are well informed of the unfavorable impressions which the issue of the last expedition has made on the public mind, and you are also aware of the expectations which are formed of the success of the ensuing campaign.

An Indian war, under any circumstances, is regarded by the great mass of the people of the United States as an event which ought, if possible, to be avoided. It is considered that

* See Knox's letter to St. Clair, September 12, 1790. American State Papers, v. 100.
† Americane Stat Papers, v. 197, 198.

the sacrifice of blood and treasure in such a war exceed any advantages which can possibly be reaped by it. The great policy, therefore, of the General Government, is to establish a just and liberal peace with all the Indian tribes within the limits and in the vicinity of the territory of the United States. Your intimations to the hostile Indians, immediately after the late expedition, through the Wyandots and Delawares; the arrangements with the Senecas who were lately in this city, that part of the Six Nations should repair to the said hostile Indians, to influence them to pacific measures; together with the recent mission of Colonel Procter to them for the same purpose, will strongly evince the desire of the General Government to prevent the effusion of blood, and to quiet all disturbances. And when you shall arrive upon the frontiers, if any other or further measures to effect the same object should present, you will eagerly embrace them, and the reasonable expenses thereof shall be defrayed by the public. But, if all the lenient measures taken, or which may be taken, should fail to bring the hostile Indians to a just sense of their situation, it will be necessary that you should use such coercive means as you shall possess, for that purpose. You are informed that, by an act of Congress, passed the 2d inst., another regiment is to be raised, and added to the military establishment, and provision made for raising two thousand levies, for the term of six months, for the service of the frontiers. It is contemplated that the mass of the regulars and levies may be recruited and rendezvous at Fort Washington, by the 10th of July. In this case, you will have assembled a force of three thousand effectives at least, besides leaving small garrisons on the Ohio, in order to perform your main expedition, hereinafter mentioned. But, in the mean time, if the Indians refuse to listen to the messengers of peace sent to them, it is most probable they will, unless prevented, spread themselves along the line of frontiers, for the purpose of committing all the depredations in their power. In order to avoid so calamitous an event, Brigadier General Charles Scott, of Kentucky, has been authorized by me, on the part of the President of the United States, to make an expedition against the Wea, or Ouiatenon towns, with mounted volunteers, or militia from Kentucky, not exceeding the number of seven hundred and fifty, officers included. You will perceive, by the instructions to Brigadier General Scott, that it is confided to your discretion, whether there should be more than one of the said expeditions of mounted volunteers or militia. Your nearer view of the objects to be effected, by a second desultory expedition, will enable you to form a better judgment than can at present be formed, at this distance. The propriety of a second operation would, in some degree, depend on the alacrity and good composition of the troops of which

the first may have been formed; of its success; of the probable effects a second similar blow would have upon the Indians, with respect to its influencing them to peace; or, if they should be still hostilely disposed, of preventing them from desolating the frontiers by their parties.

You will observe, in the instructions to Brigadier General Scott, which are to serve as a basis for the instructions of the commanders who may succeed him, that all captives are to be treated with great humanity. It will be sound policy to attract the Indians by kindness, after demonstrating to them our power to punish them, on all occasions. While you are making such use of desultory operations as in your judgment the occasion may require, you will proceed vigorously, in every operation in your power, for the purpose of the main expedition; and having assembled your force, and all things being in readiness, if no decisive indications of peace should have been produced, either by the messenger, or by the desultory operations, you will commence your march for the Miami village, in order to establish a strong and permanent military post at that place. In your advance, you will establish such posts of communication with Fort Washington, on the Ohio, as you may judge proper. The post at the Miami village is intended for the purpose of awing and curbing the Indians in that quarter, and as the only preventive of future hostilities. It ought, therefore, to be rendered secure against all attempts and insults of the Indians. The garrison which should be stationed there ought not only to be sufficient for the defence of the place, but always to afford a detachment of five or six hundred men, either to chastise any of the Wabash, or other hostile Indians, or to secure any convoy of provisions. The establishment of such a post is considered as an important object of the campaign, and is to take place in all events. In case of a previous treaty, the Indians are to be conciliated upon this point, if possible; and it is presumed, good arguments may be offered, to induce their acquiescence. The situation, nature, and construction of the works you may direct, will depend upon your own judgment. Major Ferguson, of the artillery, will be fully capable of the execution. He will be furnished with three five and a half inch howitzers, three six pounders, and three three-pounders, all brass, with a sufficient quantity of shot and shells, for the purpose of the expedition. The appropriation of these pieces will depend upon your orders.

Having commenced your march, upon the main expedition, and the Indians continuing hostile, you will use every possible exertion to make them feel the effects of your superiority; and after having arrived at the Miami village, and put your works in a defensible state, you will seek the enemy with the whole of your remaining force, and endeavor, by all possible

means, to strike them with great severity. It will be left to your discretion whether to employ, if attainable, any Indians of the Six Nations, and the Chickasaws or other southern Nations. Most probably the employment of about fifty of each, under the direction of some discreet and able chief, would be advantageous, but these ought not to be assembled before the line of march is taken up, because they are soon tired and will not be detained. The force contemplated for the garrisons of the Miami village, and the communications, has been from a thousand to twelve hundred non-commissioned officers and privates. This is mentioned as a general idea, to which you will adhere, or from which you will deviate, as circumstances may require. The garrison stationed at the Miami village, and its communications, must have in store at least six months good salted meat, and flour in proportion.

It is hardly possible, if the Indians continue hostile, that you will be suffered quietly to establish a post at the Miami village; conflicts, therefore, may be expected; and it is to be presumed that disciplined valor will triumph over the undisciplined Indians. In this event it is probable that the Indians will sue for peace; if this should be the case, the dignity of the United States will require that the terms should be liberal. In order to avoid future wars, it might be proper to make the Wabash, and thence over to the Miami, and down the same to its mouth at Lake Erie, the boundary, excepting so far as the same should relate to the Wyandots and Delawares, on the supposition of their continuing faithful to the treaties. But, if they should join in the war against the United States, and your army be victorious, the said tribes ought to be removed without the boundary mentioned. You will also judge whether it would be proper to extend the boundary, from the mouth of the River au Panse of the Wabash, in a due west line to the Mississippi. Few Indians, besides the Kickapoos, would be affected by such a line; this ought to be tenderly managed. The modification of the boundary must be confided to your discretion, with this single observation, that the policy and interest of the United States dictate their being at peace with the Indians. This is of more value than millions of uncultivated acres, the right to which may be conceded by some, and disputed by others. The establishment of a post at the Miami village will probably be regarded, by the British officers on the frontiers, as a circumstance of jealousy: it may, therefore, be necessary that you should, at a proper time, make such intimations as may remove all such dispositions. This intimation had better follow than precede the possession of the post, unless circumstances dictate otherwise. As it is not the inclination or interest of the United States to enter into a contest with Great Britain, every measure tending to any discussion or altercation must be prevented. The delicate

situation of affairs may, therefore, render it improper, at present, to make any naval arrangement upon Lake Erie. After you shall have effected all the injury to the hostile Indians of which your force may be capable, and after having established the posts and garrisons at the Miami village and its communications, and placing the same under the orders of an officer worthy of such high trust, you will return to Fort Washington on the Ohio.

It is proper to observe, that certain jealousies have existed among the people of the frontiers, relative to a supposed interference between their interest, and those of the marine States; that these jealousies are ill-founded, with respect to the present Government, is obvious. The United States embrace, with equal care, all parts of the Union; and, in the present case, are making expensive arrangements for the protection of the frontiers, and partly in the modes, too, which appear to be highly favored by the Kentucky people.

The high stations you fill, of commander of the troops, and Governor of the Western Territory, will afford you frequent opportunities to impress the frontier citizens of the entire good disposition of the General Government towards them in all reasonable things, and you will render acceptable service, by cordially embracing all such opportunities.*

Under these instructions St. Clair proceeded to organize his army. At the close of April he was in Pittsburgh, toward which point troops from all quarters, horses, stores and ammunition, were going forward. The forces, it was thought, would be assembled by the last of July or first of August. By the middle of July, however, it was clear that the early part of September would be as soon as the expedition could get under way; but the commander was urged to press every thing, and act with the utmost promptness and decision. But this was more easily urged than accomplished. On the 15th of May, St. Clair had reached Fort Washington, and at that time, the United States' troops in the West amounted to but two hundred and sixty-four non-commissioned officers and privates fit for duty; [of these seventy-five were at Fort Washington, forty-five at Fort Harmar, sixty-one at Fort Steuben, and eighty-three at Fort Knox.] On the 15th of July this number was more than doubled, however, as the first regiment, containing two hundred and ninety-nine men, on that day reached Fort Washington. General Butler, who had been appointed second in command, was employed through part of April and May in obtaining recruits; but when obtained, there was no

* American State Papers, v. 171.

money to pay them, nor to provide stores for them. In the quarter-master's department, meantime, everything went on slowly and badly; tents, pack-saddles, kettles, knapsacks, and cartridge boxes were all "deficient in quantity and quality." Worse than this, the powder was poor or injured, the arms and accoutrements out of repair, and not even proper tools to mend them.* [Of six hundred and seventy five stand of arms at Fort Washington, (designed by St. Clair for the militia) scarcely any were in order; and with two traveling forges furnished by the quarter-master, there were no anvils. See American State Papers, xii. 36, 37.] And as the troops gathered slowly at Fort Washington, after wearisome detentions at Pittsburgh and upon the river, a new source of troubles arose, in the habits of intemperance indulged and acquired by the idlers; to withdraw them from temptation, St. Clair was forced to remove his men, now numbering two thousand, to Ludlow's station, about six miles from the Fort: by which, however, he more than doubled his cost of providing for the troops.† Here the army continued until September 17th, when, being two thousand three hundred strong, (including the garrisons of Forts Washington and Hamilton) exclusive of militia, it moved forward to a point upon the Great Miami, where Fort Hamilton was built, the first in the proposed chain of fortresses. This being completed, the troops moved on forty-four miles farther, and on the 12th of October commenced Fort Jefferson, about six miles south of the town of Greenville, Darke county. On the 24th the toilsome march through the wilderness began again. At this time the commander-in-chief, whose duties through the summer had been very severe, was suffering from an indisposition which was by turns in his stomach, lungs and limbs; provisions were scarce, the roads wet and heavy, the troops going with "much difficulty," seven miles a day; the militia deserting sixty at a time.‡ Thus toiling along, the army, rapidly lessening by desertion, sickness, and troops sent to arrest deserters, on the 3d of November reached a stream twelve yards wide, which St. Clair supposed to be the

*Proofs of all these facts are found in the American State Papers, vol. v. 26, 37, 42 171, 176, 179, 180.—[Ed.

†American State Papers, xii. 37.

‡St. Clair's Journal. (American State Papers, v. 136-7.)

St. Mary of the Maumee, but which was in reality a branch of the Wabash, just south of the head waters of the stream for which the commander mistook it. Upon the banks of this creek, the army, now about fourteen hundred strong, encamped in two lines.

The right wing, says St. Clair, in his letter to the Secretary of War, after the battle, composed of Butler's, Clark's and Patterson's battalions, commanded by Major General Butler, formed the first line; and the left wing, consisting of Bedinger's and Gaither's battalions, and the second regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Darke, formed the second line, with an interval between them of about seventy yards, which was all the ground would allow. The right flank was pretty well secured by the creek; a steep bank, and Faulkner's corps, some of the cavalry, and their picquets, covered the left flank. The militia were thrown over the creek, and advanced about a quarter of a mile, and encamped in the same order. There were a few Indians who appeared on the opposite side of the creek, but fled with the utmost precipitation, on the advance of the militia. At this place, which I judged to be about fifteen miles from the Miami village, I determined to throw up a slight work, the plan of which was concerted that evening with Major Ferguson, wherein to have deposited the men's knapsacks, and every thing else that was not of absolute necessity, and to have moved on to attack the enemy as soon as the first regiment was come up. But they did not permit me to execute either; for, on the 4th, about half an hour before sunrise, and when the men had just been dismissed from parade, (for it was a constant practice to have them all under arms a considerable time before day-light,) an attack was made upon the militia. Those gave way in a very little time and rushed into camp through Major Butler's battalion, (which, together with a part of Clark's they threw into considerable disorder, and which, notwithstanding the exertions of both those officers, was never altogether remedied,) the Indians following close at their heels. The fire, however, of the front line checked them; but almost instantly a very heavy attack began upon that line; and in a few minutes it was extended to the second likewise. The great weight of it was directed against the centre of each, where the artillery was placed, and from which the men were repeatedly driven with great slaughter. Finding no great effect from our fire, and confusion beginning to spread from the great number of men who were falling in all quarters, it became necessary to try what could be done by the bayonet. Lieutenant Colonel Darke was accordingly ordered to make a charge with a part of the second line, and to

turn the left flank of the enemy. This was executed with great spirit. The Indians instantly gave way, and were driven back three or four hundred yards; but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue this advantage, they soon returned, and the troops were obliged to give back in their turn. At this moment they had entered our camp by the left flank, having pushed back the troops that were posted there. Another charge was made here by the second regiment, Butler's and Clark's battalions, with equal effect, and it was repeated several times and always with success; but in all of them many men were lost, and particularly the officers, which, with so raw troops, was a loss altogether irremediable. In that I just spoke of, made by the second regiment and Butler's battalion, Major Butler was dangerously wounded, and every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of which, Mr. Greaton, was shot through the body.

Our artillery being now silenced, and all the officers killed except Captain Ford, who was very badly wounded, and more than half of the army fallen, being cut off from the road, it became necessary to attempt the regaining it, and to make a retreat if possible. To this purpose the remains of the army was formed as well as circumstances would admit, towards the right of the encampment, from which, by the way of the second line, another charge was made upon the enemy, as if with the design to turn their right flank, but in fact, to gain the road. This was effected, and as soon as it was open, the militia took along it, followed by the troops; Maj. Clark, with his battalion, covering the rear.

The retreat, in those circumstances, was, as you may be sure, a very precipitate one. It was, in fact, a flight. The camp and the artillery were abandoned; but that was unavoidable; for not a horse was left alive to have drawn it off, had it otherwise been practicable. But the most disgraceful part of the business is, that the greatest part of the men threw away their arms and accoutrements, even after the pursuit, which continued about four miles, had ceased. I found the road strewed with them for many miles, but was not able to remedy it; for, having had all my horses killed, and being mounted upon one that could not be pricked out of a walk, I could not get forward myself; and the orders I sent forward either to halt the front, or to prevent the men from parting with their arms, were unattended to. The rout continued quite to Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles, which was reached a little after sun-setting. The action began about half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat was attempted at half an hour after nine o'clock. I have not yet been able to get returns of the killed and wounded; but Major General Butler, Lieutenant Colonel Oldham, of the militia, Major Ferguson, Major Hart, and Major Clark, are among the former: Colo-

nel Sargent, my Adjutant General, Lieutenant Colonel Darke, Lieutenant Colonel Gibson, Major Butler, and the Viscount Malartie, who served me as Aid-de-camp, are among the latter; and a great number of captains and subalterns in both.

I have now, sir, finished my melancholy tale—a tale that will be felt sensibly by every one that has sympathy for private distress, or for public misfortune. I have nothing, sir, to lay to the charge of the troops, but their want of discipline, which, from the short time they had been in service, it was impossible they should have acquired, and which rendered it very difficult, when they were thrown into confusion, to reduce them again to order, and is one reason why the loss has fallen so heavy on the officers, who did every thing in their power to effect it. Neither were my own exertions wanting: but, worn down with illness, and suffering under a painful disease, unable either to mount or dismount a horse without assistance, they were not so great as they otherwise would, and perhaps ought to have been. We were overpowered by numbers; but it is no more than justice to observe, that, though composed of so many different species of troops, the utmost harmony prevailed through the whole army during the campaign. At Fort Jefferson I found the first regiment, which had returned from the service they had been sent upon, without either overtaking the deserters, or meeting the convoy of provisions. I am not certain, sir, whether I ought to consider the absence of this regiment from the field of action, as fortunate or otherwise. I incline to think it was fortunate: for, I very much doubt whether, had it been in the action, the fortune of the day had been turned; and, if it had not, the triumph of the enemy would have been more complete, and the country would have been destitute of every means of defence. Taking a view of the situation of our broken troops at Fort Jefferson, and that there was no provisions in the Fort, I called upon the field officers, viz: Lieutenant Colonel Darke, Major Hamtramck, Major Zeigler, and Major Gaither, together with the Adjutant General, [Winthrop Sargent,] for their advice what would be proper further to be done; and it was their unanimous opinion, that the addition of the first regiment, unbroken as it was, did not put the army on so respectable a foot as it was in the morning, because a great part of it was now unarmed; that it had been found unequal to the enemy, and should they come on, which was possible, would be found so again; that the troops could not be thrown into the fort, both because it was too small, and that there were no provisions in it; that provisions were known to be on the road, at the distance of one, or at most two marches; that, therefore, it would be more proper to move without loss of time, to meet the provisions, when the men might have the sooner an opportunity of some refreshment, and that a proper detachment might be

sent back with it, to have it safely deposited in the fort. This advice was accepted, and the army was put in motion at ten o'clock, and marched all night, and the succeeding day met with a quantity of flour. Part of it was distributed immediately, part taken back to supply the army on the march to Fort Hamilton, and the remainder, about fifty horse loads, sent forward to Fort Jefferson. The next day a drove of cattle was met with for the same place, and I have information that both got in. The wounded, who had been left at that place, were ordered to be brought to Fort Washington by the return horses.

I have said, sir, in a former part of this letter, that we were overpowered by numbers. Of that, however, I have no other evidence but the weight of the fire, which was always a most deadly one, and generally delivered from the ground—few of the enemy showing themselves afoot, except when they were charged; and that, in a few minutes our whole camp, which extended above three hundred and fifty yards in length, was entirely surrounded and attacked on all quarters. The loss, sir, the public has sustained by the fall of so many officers, particularly General Butler and Major Ferguson, cannot be too much regretted; but it is a circumstance that will alleviate the misfortune in some measure, that all of them fell most gallantly doing their duty. I have had very particular obligations to many of them, as well as to the survivors, but to none more than Colonel Sargent. He has discharged the various duties of his office with zeal, with exactness, and with intelligence, and on all occasions afforded me every assistance in his power, which I have also experienced from my Aid-de-camp, Lieutenant Denny, and the Viscount Malartie, who served with me in the station as a volunteer.*

[To this official account of the commander, we add the following sketch by Benjamin Van Cleve, who was in the Quarter-master General's service on the occasion; so that he fought as a volunteer. Mr. Van Cleve was a resident of Cincinnati, early in 1790; removed to Dayton in 1797, and during the principal part of his life, kept a journal or memoranda of the events that transpired. This sketch vividly portrays the confusion of the battle and flight †]

On the fourth [of November] at daybreak, I began to prepare for returning, [to Fort Washington] and had got about half my luggage on my horse, when the firing commenced. We were encamped just within the lines, on the right. The attack was made on the Kentucky militia. Almost instanta-

* American State Papers, v. 137.

† American Pioneer, ii. 148—153.

necously the small remnant of them that escaped broke through the line near us, and this line gave way. Followed by a tremendous fire from the enemy, they passed me. I threw my bridle over a stump, from which a tent pole had been cut, and followed a short distance, when finding the troops had halted, I returned and brought my horse a little farther. I was now between the fires, and finding the troops giving way again, was obliged to leave him a second time. As I quitted him he was shot down, and I felt rather glad of it, as I concluded that now I should be at liberty to share in the engagement. My inexperience prompted me to calculate on our forces being far superior to any that the savages could assemble, and that we should soon have the pleasure of driving them. Not more than five minutes had yet elapsed, when a soldier near me had his arm swinging with a wound. I requested his arms and accoutrements, as he was unable to use them, promising to return them to him, and commenced firing. The smoke was settled down to about within three feet of the ground, but I generally put one knee on the ground, and with a rest from behind a tree, waited the appearance of an Indian's head from behind his cover, or for one to run and change his position. Before I was convinced of my mistaken calculations, the battle was half over, and I had become familiarized to the scene. Hearing the firing at one time unusually brisk near the rear of the left wing, I crossed the encampment. Two levy officers were just ordering a charge. I had fired away my ammunition, and some of the bands of my musket had flown off. I picked up another, and a cartridge box nearly full, and pushed forward with about thirty others. The Indians ran to the right, where there was a small ravine filled with logs. I bent my course after them, and on looking round, I found I was with only seven or eight men, the others having kept straight forward, and halted about thirty yards off. We halted also, and being so near where the savages lay concealed, the second fire from them, left me standing alone. My cover was a small sugar tree or beech, scarcely large enough to hide me. I fired away all my ammunition; I am uncertain whether with any effect or not. I then looked for the party near me, and saw them retreating and half way back to the lines. I followed them, running my best, and was soon in. By this time our artillery had been taken, I do not know whether the first or second time, and our troops had just retaken it, and were charging the enemy across the creek in front; and some person told me to look at an Indian running with one of our kegs of powder, but I did not see him. There were about thirty of our men and officers lying scalped around the pieces of artillery. It appeared that the Indians had not been in a hurry, for their hair was all skinned off.

Daniel Bonham, a young man raised by my uncle, and brought up with me, and whom I regarded as a brother, had by this time received a shot through his hips, and was unable to walk. I procured a horse and got him on. My uncle had received a ball near his wrist that lodged near his elbow. The ground was literally covered with dead and dying men, the commander gave orders to take the way—perhaps they had been given more explicitly. Happening to see my uncle, he told me that a retreat had been ordered, and that I must do the best I could, and take care of myself. Bonham insisted that he had a better chance of escaping than I had, and urged me to look to my own safety alone. I found the troops pressing like a drove of bullocks to the right. I saw an officer whom I took to be Lieutenant Morgan, an aid to General Butler, with six or eight men, start on a run a little to the left of where I was. I immediately ran and fell in with them. In a short distance we were so suddenly among the Indians, who were not apprised of our object, that they opened to us, and ran to the right and left without firing. I think about two hundred of our men passed through them before they fired, except a chance shot. When we had proceeded about two miles, most of those mounted had passed me. A boy had been thrown or fell off a horse, and begged my assistance. I ran, pulled him along about two miles further, until I had become nearly exhausted. Of the last two horses in the rear, one carried two men, and the other three. I made an exertion and threw him on behind the two men. The Indians followed but about half a mile further. The boy was thrown off some time after, but escaped and got in safely. My friend Bonham I did not see on the retreat, but understood he was thrown off about this place, and lay on the left of the trace, where he was found in the winter and was buried. I took the cramp violently in my thighs, and could scarcely walk until I got within a hundred yards of the rear, where the Indians were tomahawking the old and wounded men; and I stopped here to tie my pocket handkerchief round a wounded man's knee. I saw the Indians close in pursuit at this time, and for a moment my spirit sunk, and I felt in despair for my safety. I considered whether I should leave the road, or whether I was capable of any further exertion. If I left the road, the Indians were in plain sight and could easily overtake me. I threw the shoes off my feet, and the coolness of the ground seemed to revive me. I again began a trot, and recollect that when a bend in the road offered, and I got before half a dozen persons, I thought it would occupy some time for the enemy to massacre them, before my turn would come. By the time I had got to Stillwater, about eleven miles, I had gained the centre of the flying troops, and, like them came to

a walk. I fell in with Lieutenant Shaumburg, who, I think, was the only officer of artillery that got away unhurt, with corporal Mott, and a woman who was called red-headed Nance. The latter two were both crying. Mott was lamenting the loss of a wife, and Nance that of an infant child. Shaumburg was nearly exhausted, and hung on Mott's arm. I carried his fusil and accoutrements, and led Nance; and in this sociable way we arrived at Fort Jefferson a little after sunset.

The commander-in-chief had ordered Colonel Darke to press forward to the convoys of provisions, and hurry them on to the army. Major Truman, Captain Sedan and my uncle were setting forward with him. A number of soldiers, and pack-horsemen on foot, and myself among them, joined them. We came on a few miles, when all, overcome with fatigue, agreed to halt. Darius Curtius Orcutt, a pack-horse master, had stolen, at Jefferson, one pocket full of flour and the other full of beef. One of the men had a kettle, and one Jacob Fowler and myself groped about in the dark, until we found some water, where a tree had been blown out of root. We made a kettle of soup, of which I got a small portion among the many. It was then concluded, as there was a bend in the road a few miles farther on, that the Indians might undertake to intercept us there, and we decamped and travelled about four or five miles further. I had got a rifle and ammunition at Jefferson, from a wounded militia-man, an old acquaintance, to bring in. A sentinel was set, and we lay down and slept, until the governor came up a few hours afterward. I think I never slept so profoundly. I could hardly get awake, after I was on my feet. On the day before the defeat, the ground was covered with snow. The flats were now filled with water frozen over, the ice as thick as a knife-blade. I was worn out with fatigue, with my feet knocked to pieces against the roots in the night, and splashing through the ice without shoes. In the morning, we got to a camp of pack-horsemen, and amongst them I got a doughboy or water-dumpling, and proceeded. We got within seven miles of Hamilton on this day, and arrived there soon on the morning of the sixth.

Thus were all the plans, hopes, and labors of Washington, Knox and St. Clair, in reference to the Indian campaign, in one day, overthrown. The savages, again victorious, could neither be expected to make terms or exercise forbearance; and along the whole line of the frontier there were but few that did not feel anxiety, terror, or despair.

We give in illustration the following.—*Representation from the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburg, dated, Pittsburg, De-*

cember 11*th*, 1791—Sir: In consequence of the late intelligence of the fate of the campaign to the Westward, the inhabitants of the town of Pittsburg have convened, and appointed us a committee for the purpose of addressing your Excellency. The late disaster of the army must greatly effect the safety of this place. There can be no doubt but that the enemy will now come forward, and with more spirit, and greater numbers, than they ever did before, for success will give confidence and secure allies.

We seriously apprehend that the Six Nations, heretofore wavering, will now avow themselves; at least, their young men will come to war. Be that as it may, the Indians at present hostile, are well acquainted with the defenceless situation of this town. During the late war there was a garrison at this place, though, even then, there was not such a combination of the savage nations, nor so much to be dreaded from them. At present, we have neither garrison, arms, nor ammunition to defend the place. If the enemy should be disposed to pursue the blow they have given, which it is morally certain they will, they would, in our situation, find it easy to destroy us; and, should this place be lost, the whole country is open to them, and must be abandoned.—(A. Tannehill and others, to the Governor of Pennsylvania.)

Memorial from the inhabitants of the counties of Westmoreland, Washington, Fayette, and Allegheny, to the Governor of Pennsylvania:—To his Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esq., Governor of the State of Pennsylvania:—Your Excellency is well aware of the great extent of our frontier; and, when you consider the high degree of spirit which the savages, animated by two successive victories, entertain, you may more easily conceive, than we can describe, the fears which pervade the breasts of those men, women and children, who are more immediately subject to their barbarities and depredations. Had the people a sufficiency of arms in their hands, they might, in some measure, defend themselves until the General Government, to whose care the common defence is entrusted, should adopt efficient steps for that purpose. At the same time, we beg leave to state to your Excellency, what occurs to us as the most speedy and effectual mode. When the extent of country to be protected is taken into view, we conceive that eight hundred effective men will not be deemed more than sufficient. They should be active partisans, under experienced officers, and provided with good rifles, to suit the grand object of meeting the enemy upon equal terms; of scouting, and giving the alarm when needful. Such a body should have encouragement proportioned to the price of common labor in this country, which averages fifty shillings per month, as the pay allowed to the troops of the United States would not be a

sufficient inducement to able-bodied men, possessing the requisite qualifications. We suggest these general ideas from our knowledge of local circumstances, which they who are at a distance, unacquainted with the actual situation of the western country, cannot so well perceive. It is not our wish to enter into a minute detail, being convinced that your Excellency is not only fully acquainted with, but feelingly alive to, those impressions, which a state, such as ours, must give rise to; nor can we apply to any person more proper than yourself to procure that assistance which it requires.

From the Representatives of the County of Ohio to the Governor of Virginia:—Sir: The alarming intelligence lately received, of the defeat of the army in the western country, fills our minds with dreadful fears and apprehensions, concerning the safety of our fellow-citizens in the country we represent, and we confidently hope will be an excuse to your Excellency, whose zeal has been so frequently evinced in behalf of the distressed frontier counties, for the request we are now compelled to make. In the course of last year, upwards of fifty of our people were killed, and a great part of our country plundered, notwithstanding the aid afforded by the Pennsylvanians, who joined the Virginians in our defence. The success of the Indians in their late engagement with General St. Clair, will, no doubt, render them more daring and bold in their future incursions and attacks upon our defenceless inhabitants; those adjoining the county of Harrison, extending a hundred miles; covering the county of Monongalia; and we conceive that not less than sixty or seventy men will be sufficient to defend them. Through you, sir, we beg leave to request this assistance. (American State Papers, v, 215. 216. 222.)

[In Braddock's defeat, of one thousand two hundred men, there were seven hundred and fourteen killed and wounded. In St. Clair's defeat, out of fourteen hundred men, eight hundred and ninety were killed and wounded. Braddock's officers were eighty-six in number, of which sixty-three were killed and wounded. St. Clair had from eighty-six to ninety officers, of which sixteen were killed and wounded. In its *effects*, this was like a second Braddock's defeat. How was it in its *causes?*] General Knox assigned as the chief reasons of St. Clair's overthrow—first, the deficiency of good troops: second, the want of appropriate training among those he (St. Clair) had: third, the lateness of the season.* The committee of the House of Representatives which examined the matter,

* American State Papers, v. 198.

upon the 8th of May, 1792, reported the causes of the catastrophe of the previous November to have been, in their opinion—first, the delay in preparing estimates, &c., for the defence of the frontiers, and the late passage of the Act (March 3d,) for that purpose: second, the delay caused by the neglect in the Quartermaster's department: third, the lateness of the season when the expedition was commenced: and, fourth, the want of discipline and experience in the troops. This Committee, also, expressly declared General St. Clair free of all blame in relation to everything, both before and during the action.* Will the causes thus assigned fully explain the defeat? In answer it may be observed, even by one wholly ignorant of military matters, that the late passage of an act of Congress—the want of proper measures by the Quartermaster, and the lateness of the season, were obviously not among the *leading* causes of the rout of November 4th, 1791; these things might have prevented the accomplishment of the plan for erecting a fort at the Miami village, even had St. Clair been victorious on that day, but they did not cause his defeat. Was it, then, the want of good troops? We think a re-perusal of the General's letter will show that his troops were not worthless by any means. The action began about half an hour before sun-rise, on the fourth of November, and lasted until half-past nine in the morning. This could not have been the case with undisciplined troops, unless they had possessed, at least, the raw material of soldiers, and had been men who, well situated, would have done well. However much, then, the troops may have been wanting in a proper training, it seems clear to us that this alone would not explain the fortune of the day unless the enemy had been present in overwhelming numbers; and such was not probably the case, the best evidence we have going to show that the Indians were but about one thousand in number,† while the Americans were fourteen hundred. Leaving then the reasons officially assigned, we suggest that, to the reader ignorant of military science, it seems that two striking causes of the melancholy result are unnoticed by the Secretary of War and the Com-

* American State Papers, xii. 38, 39.

† American State Papers, xii. 37.—The Secretary of War in December, 1791, estimated the Indians at three thousand, but the Committee of the following May, having his and other evidence, cut the number down to 1040.—American State Papers, v. 198.—American State Papers, xii, 44.

mittee of Congress, viz.: the surprise by the Indians, who were in no degree expected by the army; and the confusion introduced at the outset by the flying militia. Had the attack been expected, the troops prepared, all chance of confusion avoided, and had the very able officers who commanded been obeyed—with all the disadvantages of raw troops, the event might have been, probably would have been, wholly different. We are, then, led to ask, how it happened that the troops were surprised—were proper measures taken to guard against surprise? The militia, as St. Clair says, were a quarter of a mile in advance of the main army, and beyond the creek; still farther in advance was Captain Slough, who, with a volunteer party of regulars, went out to reconnoitre; and orders had been given Colonel Oldham, who commanded the militia, to have the woods thoroughly examined by the scouts and patrols, as Indians were known to be hanging about the outskirts of the army. In all this St. Clair seems to have done his entire duty, as far as sickness would permit him; could he have seen in person to the essential steps it would have been better. During the night Captain Slough, who was a mile beyond the militia, found so large a body of savages gathering about him, that he fell back and reported his observations to General Butler. But the General, for reasons unexplained, made no dispositions in consequence of this information, and did not report it to the Commander-in-chief. Colonel Oldham also obeyed his orders, the woods were searched, and the presence of the enemy detected, but he, too, reported, through Captain Slough, to General Butler, beyond whom the information did not go.

[There is evidence in the various documents that there was a misunderstanding between Generals St. Clair and Butler during the campaign. The latter was killed in the battle, or that part of his conduct which is involved in mystery might have been explained. Various stories have obtained circulation about the manner and circumstances of his death.

A paper from John Johnson, published in Cist's Miscellany, (ii. 299,) states that he was killed by his own son, a half-breed Shawanee chief, which we think is more than improbable. Mr. Stone, in his life of Brant, (ii. 310,) says he was badly wounded, and being left on the field, implored Simon Girty to kill him, but he refused, and an Indian put him out of pain;

taking his scalp and heart as trophies. Mann Butler, Esq., states (History of Kentucky, 204,) on what authority we do not exactly perceive, that an Indian "at the sacrifice of his own life, darted into the camp and tomahawked and scalped Major General Butler while his wounds were dressing, though the Indian was instantly put to death." Another statement in Cist's Miscellany (ii. 31) by J. Matson, is, that he belonged to a party sent back by General Wilkinson the following winter to the battle field, where they found, as they thought, Butler's body "in the thickest of the carnage."

In the "Narrative" by St. Clair (p. 221) Colonel Semple deposes, that he saw four soldiers putting General Butler in a blanket after he fell.

When such conflicting statements exist concerning the circumstances of the death of the distinguished officer who was second in command, we cannot expect accuracy in tracing the causes of the disastrous defeat. General Butler had been an Indian trader at an early day. It appears from the documentary testimony, that he did not report to the Commander-in-chief (St. Clair) the information he received from the reconnoisance of Colonel Oldham and Captain Slough during the preceding night. Oldham, too, appears to have been diligent in making his report, but he also was among the slain. St. Clair said, had he received the reports of Colonel Oldham and Captain Slough, he would have attacked the Indians in the night. (Narrative, p. 135.)

To all these circumstances we repeat the fact, that General St. Clair was suffering from severe indisposition, and for a portion of the march had to be carried in a litter. And in the morning of the attack the army was taken by surprise and unprepared. Even under these disadvantages there was a great chance of victory for the American army, had the troops not been unexpectedly attacked and thrown into disorder at the onset. It could not have been the single fact, (as many have supposed) that they were militia or volunteers, for in too many instances have this class of troops from this western valley, stood their ground in severe and deadly conflicts with Indians, British and Mexicans. Proofs enough of firmness and self-government have been given by this class of men, to put an end to the prejudices heretofore existing against volunteer troops.

The following communication from Colonel John Armstrong, an experienced warrior with Indians, and the hero of Kittanning, deserves attention.*

"It seems probable, that too much attachment to regular or military rule, or a too great confidence in the artillery (which it seemed formed part of the lines, and had a tendency to render the troops stationary,) must have been the motives, which led to the adopted order of action. I call it adopted, because the General does not speak of having intended any other, whereby he presented a large and visible object, perhaps in close orders too, to an enemy near enough to destroy, but from their known modes of action comparatively invisible; whereby we may readily infer, that five hundred Indians were fully sufficient to do us all the injury we have sustained, nor can I conceive them to have been many more. But tragical as the event has been, we have this consolation, that during the action our officers and troops discovered great bravery, and that the loss of a battle is not always the loss of the cause. In vain, however, may we expect success against our present adversaries, without taking a few lessons from them, which I thought Americans had learned long ago. The principles of their military action are rational, and therefore often successful. We must, in a degree, take a similar method in order to counteract them."

If these views are sound, there was no such neglect on the part of St. Clair as on the part of Braddock in his defeat; no overwhelming self-confidence, or disregard of sound advice; there was nothing, absolutely nothing, to excuse the abuse and persecution to which he was afterwards subjected; but there was, 1st, apparent neglect on the part of General Butler and Colonel Oldham, leading to a surprise; 2d, a mistaken position assigned the militia by St. Clair, in accordance with the maxims of most officers of the day: and, 3d, a needless adherence to military rules on the part of the Commander-in-chief, which made his force a target for the Indians to shoot at.

One circumstance connected with this battle, and one of no inconsiderable interest, has been but lately brought to light, and may even now, perhaps, be doubted; it is the presence of Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea,—the great captain of the Mohawks. Until this was announced in 1838, by Col. Stone, in his life of that chieftain, the Little Turtle, Mechecunaqua, Chief of the Miamies, had been universally regarded as a

* Armstrong's letter to Washington, December 23d, 1791, in Sparks' Washington, x. 223.—Note.

leader at St. Clair's, as he had been at Harmar's defeat. Mr. Stone's information was derived from Brant's family; but as there might have been error in the tradition,—as it is very improbable that he should have been there, and no whisper from any source have got abroad in all the time since elapsed,—as he had been before and was afterwards a messenger and advocate of peace,—and as to believe him at St. Clair's defeat, would be to believe him guilty of needless disguise and deception,—we cannot but doubt the correctness of the tale told by Mr. Stone. But whoever led the savage forces, led them with ability and valor, and in no recorded battle did the sons of the forest ever show themselves better warriors.

CHAPTER XIII.

INDIAN WAR CONTINUED.

Project of General Knox for further action against the Indians—Spies sent among them—General Wayne chosen commander—Mission of Putnam—Correspondence with Gov. Simcoe—Council at the Maumee—Grand Council at Sandusky—Its failure—Interference of the British—March of General Wayne—The Battle and Conquest of the Indians—The Treaty at Greenville and Peace Concluded—Appendix.

It was on the 4th of November that the battle causing the defeat of St. Clair and his army took place.

On the 8th the remains of the army reached Fort Washington; on the 9th, St. Clair wrote to the Secretary of War; on the 12th of December the information was communicated to Congress; and on the 26th of December General Knox laid before the President two reports, the second of which contained suggestions as to future operations. After noticing the policy of the Government toward the native tribes, the futility of all attempts to preserve peace, and the justice of the United States claim, the Secretary proceeds—

Hence it would appear, that the principles of justice as well as policy, and it may be added, the principles of economy, all combine to dictate, that an adequate military force should be raised as soon as possible, placed upon the frontiers, and disciplined according to the nature of the service, and in order to meet, with the prospect of success, the greatest probable combination of the Indian enemy.

Although the precise manner in which the force to be raised be employed, cannot be pointed out with propriety at this time, as it will depend on the circumstances of the moment, yet it may not be improper to observe, that upon a review of the merits of the main object of the late campaign, to wit: the establishment of a strong military post at the Miami village, with the necessary posts of communication, the necessity and propriety thereof remain the same; that this necessity will probably continue until we shall be possessed of the posts upon Lake Michigan, of Detroit, and Niagara, withheld from us by Great Britain, contrary to treaty. Without remarking upon the principles of this conduct, it may be observed generally, that every arrangement in the power of the United States, for establishing the tranquility of the frontiers, will be inferior to the possession of said posts. That it is, however, considered, that, if the said posts were in our possession, we ought also to have a strong post at the Miami village, in order to render the protection effectual, and that the posts above mentioned will require garrisons whensoever they shall be given up.

The subscriber having deliberately contemplated the present state of affairs upon the frontiers, from the south to the north, having recurred to the past in order to estimate the probable future events, finds himself constrained by his public duty, although with great reluctance, to state, as the result of his judgment, that the public service requires an increase of the military force, according to the following arrangement:

That the military establishment of the United States, shall, during the pleasure of Congress, consist of five thousand one hundred and sixty eight non-commissioned officers, privates and musicians.

That the said non-commissioned officers and privates shall be enlisted to serve three years, unless sooner discharged.

That the said troops be organized as follows:

One squadron of cavalry, of four troops, each of seventy-six non-commissioned officers and privates, 304

It should be a stipulation in the engagements of these men, that they should serve on foot whenever the service requires the measure.

One battalion of artillery, of four companies each, to

consist of seventy-six non-commissioned officers and privates, - - - - - - - - - 304

Each company of artillery to have, as part of its composition, ten artificers each, including the pay of artillerists to have ten dollars per month.

Five regiments of infantry, one of which to be riflemen entirely, each of three battalions; each battalion of four companies; each company of seventy-six non-commissioned officers and privates, amounting, for each regiment, to nine hundred and twelve, - - - - 4,560

5,168

That, in addition to the foregoing arrangement, it would be proper that the President of the United States should be authorized, besides the employment of militia, to take such measures for the defensive protection of the exposed parts of the frontiers, by calling into service expert woodsmen, as patrols or scouts, upon such terms as he may judge proper. That he be further authorized, in case he should deem the measure expedient, to engage mounted militia for defensive operations, for such time, and on such terms, as he may judge equitable. That he be further authorized, in case he should deem the measure expedient, to employ a body of Indians belonging to tribes in alliance with the United States, to act against the hostile Indians; and that he be authorized to stipulate such terms as he shall judge right.

That it does not seem essential, at this time, that there should be any special appropriations for the defensive protection, the mounted militia, or the employment of Indians, although the actual expenses for those objects may amount to considerable sums, because the estimates, before mentioned, comprehend the entire expense, for one year, of the proposed establishment as complete. But, let the exertions to complete it be ever so great, yet it is probable a deficiency will exist, which will of course occasion a less expense. The moneys, therefore, which may be appropriated to the establishment, and not expended, may be applied to the extra objects above mentioned. If, however, there should be a deficiency, it may hereafter be provided for. That the nett pay of the private soldier, at present, free of all deductions, is two dollars per month. But, as the experience of the recruiting service, of the present year, evinces that the inducement is insufficient, it seems necessary to raise the pay to three dollars per month, free of all deductions; and the non-commissioned officers in proportion. The rifle corps will require more. But whether, under present circumstances, even the additional pay, and an extension of bounty to eight dollars, would give such an impulse to the recruiting service, as to fill the battalions immediately, remains to be tried. Nothing has been said upon an increased

pay to the commissioned officers, because a memorial upon that subject has been presented to Congress. But it cannot be doubted that a small increase would be highly grateful to the officers, and probably beneficial to the service. The mounted militia is suggested to be used during the preparation for the main expedition, (and afterwards, if circumstances should render it indispensable.) The effect of such desultory operations upon the Indians will, by occupying them for their own safety, and that of their families, prevent their spreading terror and destruction along the frontiers. These sort of expeditions had that precise effect during the last season, and Kentucky enjoyed more repose, and sustained less injury, than for any year since the war with Great Britain. This single effect, independent of the injury done to the force of the Indians, is worth greatly more than the actual expense of such expeditions. But, while it is acknowledged that mounted militia may be very proper for sudden enterprises, of short duration, it is conceived that militia are utterly unsuitable to carry on and terminate the war in which we are engaged, with honor and success. And besides, it would be ruinous to the purposes of husbandry, to keep them out long, if it were practicable to accomplish it. Good troops, enlisted for a considerable period, armed and well disciplined in a suitable manner, for the nature of the service, will be equal, individually, to the best militia; but, when it is considered to these qualities are added the obedience, the patience, the promptness, the economy of discipline, and the inestimable value of good officers, possessing a proper pride of reputation, the comparison no longer holds, and disciplined troops attain in the mind, and in actual execution, that ascendancy over the militia, which is the result of a just comparative view of their relative force, and the experience of all nations and ages. The expediency of employing the Indians in alliance with us, against the hostile Indians, cannot be doubted. It has been shown before, how difficult, and even impracticable, it will probably be, to restrain the young men of the friendly tribes from action, and that, if we do not employ them, they will be employed against us. The justice of engaging them would depend upon the justice of the war. If the war be just on our part, it will certainly bear the test of examination, to use the same sort of means in our defence, as are used against us. The subscriber, therefore, submits it as his opinion, that it would be proper to employ judiciously, as to time and circumstances, as many of the friendly Indians as may be obtained, not exceeding one thousand in number.*

In the necessity for a competent army all seem to have agreed, but it was the wish of Washington that before this

*American State Papers, v. 198—199.

army was organized, every effort should be again made to prevent bloodshed. Colonel Pickering, in his meeting of June and July 1791, with the Iroquois at the Painted Post, had, among other things, proposed that certain chiefs should, in the following January, go to Philadelphia while Congress was in session, and shake hands with their newly adopted father.

The importance of the proposed visit became more evident after the news of St. Clair's discomfiture, for the fidelity of the New York Indians even was doubted. On the 20th of December, 1791, accordingly, we find Knox writing to the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the Iroquois missionary, pressing through him the invitation given by the commissioner, and especially urging the presence of Brant. To aid the proposed peace-measures, a respectful and kind message was sent to the Senecas on the 7th of January, 1792; while, to guard against surprise, means were adopted to learn the purpose of a great council called at Buffalo creek, and also to ascertain the intentions of the tribes on the Wabash and Miami. This was done in part through the agency of the Reverend Mr. Kirkland, and partly by the mission of Captain Peter Pond and William Stedman, who, on the 9th of January, two days before Knox's two plans above referred to, were laid before Congress, received their instructions as secret messengers or spies among the western Indians; from those instructions we quote a few paragraphs:

Repair to Niagara and Detroit, without suffering your business to escape you, until the proper time. When at Detroit, assume the character of traders with the Indians—a business Mr. Pond is well acquainted with. Mix with the Miami and Wabash Indians. Find their views and intentions, through such channels as your discretion shall direct. Learn the opinions of the more distant Indians. Insinuate upon all favorable occasions, the humane disposition of the United States; and, if you can by any means ripen their judgment, so as to break forth openly, and declare the readiness of the United States to receive, with open arms, the Indians, notwithstanding all that is passed, do it. If such declaration should be made, at the Miami or Wabash, and be well received, you might persuade some of the most influential chiefs to repair to our posts on the Ohio, and so, from post to post, to this place.

But, if you should be so fortunate as to succeed in persuading the Chiefs of the Miami, and hostile, and any other neigh-

boring tribes, to repair here, every possible precaution must be taken by you, and by the commanding officer of the troops, who is hereby required to afford the necessary escorts, in order to guard the Indians from being injured by the whites.

While among the Indians, or at Niagara, or Detroit, endeavor to find out the numbers and tribes of the Indians who were in the attack of General St. Clair, and their loss, killed and wounded; what number of prisoners they took; and what they did with them; what disposition they made of the cannon taken, arms, tents, and other plunder; what are their intentions for the next year; the numbers of the association; how they are supplied with arms, ammunition, and provisions.

You will readily perceive, that the information required must be given me at the earliest period possible. You will, therefore, let me know, by some means which you must devise, your arrival at Niagara, Detroit, and the Miami village; and, if possible, from thence, what are your prospects.*

Pond and his companion, however, could get no farther than Niagara. While by the northern route this was attempted, Wilkinson, commanding at Fort Washington, on the 10th of February, was instructed to send word to Maj. Hamtramck, at Vincennes, that the Government wished to secure the agency of the French colonists and friendly Indians in quelling the war-spirit. In February also, further friendly messages were sent to the Senecas, and an invitation forwarded to Brant from the Secretary of War himself, asking him to come to Philadelphia. In March fifty Iroquois chiefs reached the city of brotherly love, and in the spirit of love transacted their business with the American rulers; and during April and May, Captain Trueman and others were sent from the Ohio to the hostile tribes, bearing messages of friendship. But before we relate the unhappy issue of Trueman's expedition, we must notice the steps taken by the Federal Government in reference to military preparations, which were to be looked to in case all else should fail. St. Clair had requested a court of Inquiry to examine the reasons of his defeat, and had expressed his wish to surrender his post as commander of the western forces so soon as the examination had taken place; but this proposition to retain his commission until after his trial, was rendered nugatory by the fact, that under the existing system no court of inquiry could be constituted to adjudge

* American State Papers, v. 227.

his case, and Washington accordingly informed him that it was neither possible to grant him the trial he desired, nor allow him to retain his position. St. Clair having withdrawn, it became a very difficult question for the Executive to hit upon a person in all respects suited for such a charge. Gen. Morgan, Gen. Scott, Gen. Wayne, Col. Darke, and General Henry Lee were all thought of and talked of. Of these, Wayne was the one selected, although his appointment caused, as Gen. Lee, then Governor of Virginia, wrote Washington, "extreme disgust" among all orders in the Old Dominion.* But the President had selected Wayne not hastily nor through "partiality or influence," and no idle words affected him. In June, Gen. Wayne moved westward to Pittsburgh, and proceeded to organize the army which was to be the ultimate argument of the American with the Indian confederation. Through the summer of 1792, the preparation of the soldiers was steadily attended to; "train and discipline them for the service they are meant for," said Washington, "and do not spare powder and lead, so the men be made marksmen." In December, 1792, the forces now recruited and trained, were gathered at a point about twenty-two miles below Pittsburgh, on the Ohio, called Legionville; the army itself having been denominated the Legion of the United States, divided into four sub-legions, and provided with legionary and sub-legionary officers. Meantime, at Fort Washington, Wilkinson had succeeded St. Clair as commandant, and in January had ordered an expedition to examine the field of the late disastrous conflict. This body reached the point designated, on February 1st, and from the letter of Capt. Buntin to St. Clair, relative to what was found there, we take the following passage:†

"In my opinion, those unfortunate men who fell in the enemy's hands, with life, were used with the greatest torture—having their limbs torn off; and the women have been treated with the most indecent cruelty, having stakes as thick as a person's arm drove through their bodies. The first, I observed when burying the dead; and the latter was discovered by Colonel Sargent and Doctor Brown. We found three whole carriages; the other five were so much damaged that they were rendered useless. By the General's orders, pits were

* See Amer. State Papers. v. 228, 229, 235. Sparks' Washington, x, 240, 244, Note.

† Sparks' Washington, x. 248, 257. American Pioneer, i. 293. American State Papers, xii. 40.

dug in different places, and all the dead bodies that were exposed to view, or could be conveniently found (the snow being very deep) were buried. During this time, there was sundry parties detached, some for our safety, and others in examining the course of the creek; and some distance in advance of the ground occupied by the militia, they found a large camp, not less than three quarters of a mile long, which was supposed to be that of the Indians the night before the action. We remained on the field that night, and next morning fixed geared horses to the carriages and moved for Fort Jefferson.

* * * * * * *

As there is little reason to believe that the enemy have carried off the cannon, it is the received opinion that they are either buried or thrown into the creek, and I think the latter the most probable; but as it was frozen over with a thick ice, and that covered with a deep snow, it was impossible to make a search with any prospect of success. In a former part of this letter, I have mentioned the camp occupied by the enemy the night before the action: had Colonel Oldham been able to have complied with your orders on that evening, things at this day might have worn a different aspect."*

While Wayne's army were gathering and target-shooting, the peace measures of the United States were pressed with equal perseverance. In the first place, the Iroquois, through their chiefs who came to Philadelphia, were led to act as peace-makers: in addition to them, on the 3d of April, Col. Trueman received his instructions to repair to the Miami village with friendly messages, offering all reasonable terms:

Brothers:—The President of the United States entertains the opinion, that the war which exists is founded in error and mistake on your parts. That you believe the United States want to deprive you of your lands, and drive you out of the country. Be assured this is not so: on the contrary, that we should be greatly gratified with the opportunity of imparting to you all the blessings of civilized life; of teaching you to cultivate the earth, and raise corn; to raise oxen, sheep, and other domestic animals; to build comfortable houses, and to educate your children, so as ever to dwell upon the land.

Brothers:—The President of the United States requests you to take this subject into your serious consideration, and to reflect how abundantly more it will be for your interest to be at peace with the United States, and to receive all the benefit thereof, than to continue a war, which, however flattering it may be to you for a moment, must, in the end, prove ruinous.

This desire of peace has not arisen in consequence of the late defeat of the troops under Major General St. Clair;

* Dillon, i. 308. See also Clat's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 30.

because, in the beginning of the last year, a similar message was sent you by Colonel Procter, but who was prevented from reaching you by some insurmountable difficulties. All the Senecas, at Buffalo Creek, can witness for the truth of this assertion, as he held, during the month of April last, long conferences with them, to devise the means of getting to you in safety.

War, at all times, is a dreadful evil to those who are engaged therein, and more particularly so where a few people engage to act against so great numbers as the people of the United States.

Brothers:—Do not suffer the advantages you have gained to mislead your judgment, and to influence you to continue the war; but reflect upon the destructive consequences which must attend such a measure.

The President of the United States is highly desirous of seeing a number of your principal chiefs, and convincing you, in person, how much he wishes to avoid the evils of war for your sake, and the sake of humanity.

Consult, therefore, upon the great object of peace; call in your parties, and enjoin a cessation of all other depredations: and as many of the principal chiefs as shall choose, repair to Philadelphia, the seat of the General Government, and there make a peace, founded upon the principles of justice and humanity. Remember that no additional lands will be required of you, or any other tribe, to those that have been ceded by former treaties, particularly by the tribes who had a right to make the treaty of Muskingum in the year 1789.

But, if any of your tribes can prove that you have a fair right to any lands, comprehended by the said treaty, and have not been compensated therefor, you shall receive full satisfaction upon that head.

The chiefs you send shall be safely escorted to this city; and shall be well fed and provided with all things for their journey; and the faith of the United States is hereby pledged to you for the true and liberal performance of everything herein contained and suggested: and all this is confirmed, in your manner, by the great white belt, hereunto attached.*

To assist farther in attaining the desired objects, Captain Hendrick, chief of the Stockbridge Indians, on the 8th of May, was dispatched to urge the views of Washington at the approaching council of the north-western confederacy; and on the 22d of the same month, instructions were also issued to General Rufus Putnam, to go in company with the Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder, into the Indian country, and strive to secure peace and a permanent treaty.† Some

* American State Papers v. 230.

† American State Papers, v. 233.

parts of those orders are deserving of perpetuation in every form, and, therefore, we extract them:

The chiefs of the Five Nations of Indians, who were so long in this city, lately, were astonished at the moderation of our claim of land, it being very different from what they had been taught, by designing people, to believe.

It would seem that the Indians have been misled with respect to our claims, by a certain map, published in Connecticut, wherein are laid out ten new States, agreeably to a report of a Committee of Congress.

The United States are desirous, in any treaty which shall be formed in future, to avoid all causes of war, relative to boundaries, by fixing the same in such a manner as not to be mistaken by the meanest capacity. As the basis, therefore, of your negotiation, you will, in the strongest and most explicit terms, renounce, on the part of the United States, all claim to any Indian land which shall not have been ceded by fair treaties, made with the Indian nations.

You may say—that we conceive the treaty of Fort Harmar to have been formed by the tribes having a just right to make the same, and that it was done with their full understanding and free consent.

That if, however, the said tribes should judge the compensation to have been inadequate to the object, or that any other tribes have a just claim, in both cases they shall receive a liberal allowance, on their finally settling all disputes upon the subject.

As the United States never made any treaties with the Wabash Indians, although the said Indians have been repeatedly invited thereto, their claims to the lands east and south of the said Wabash have not been defined.

This circumstance will be a subject of your inquiry with the assembled Indian tribes; and you may assure the parties concerned, that an equitable boundary shall be arranged with them.

You will make it clearly understood, that we want not a foot of their land, and that it is theirs, and theirs only; that they have the right to sell, and the right to refuse to sell, and the United States will guarantee to them the said just right.

That it is not only the sincere desire of the United States to be at peace with all the neighboring Indian tribes, but to protect them in their just rights, against lawless, violent white people. If such should commit any injury on the person or properties of a peaceable Indian, they will be regarded equally as the enemies of the General Government, as the Indians, and will be punished accordingly.

Your first great object, upon meeting the Indians, will be to

convince them that the United States require none of their lands.

The second, that we shall guaranty all that remain, and take the Indians under our protection.

Thirdly; they must agree to the truce, and immediately to call in all their war parties. It will be in vain to be negotiating with them while they shall be murdering the frontier citizens.

Having happily effected a truce, founded on the above assurances, it will then be your primary endeavor to obtain from each of the hostile and neighboring tribes two of the most respectable chiefs, to repair to the seat of the Government, and there conclude a treaty with the President of the United States, in which all causes of difference should be buried forever.

You will give the chiefs every assurance of personal protection, while on their journey to Philadelphia, and, should they insist upon it, hostages of officers for the safe return of the chiefs, and, in case of their compliance, you will take every precaution by the troops for the protection of the said chiefs, which the nature of the case may require.

But if, after having used your utmost exertions, the chiefs should decline the journey to Philadelphia, then you will agree with them on a plan for a general treaty.*

We have mentioned the invitation given in February by the Secretary of War to Brant to visit Philadelphia:—Some of his English friends urged the Mohawk by no means to comply with the request, but he had the independence to think and act for himself, and on the 20th of June appeared at the then Federal capital. He remained there ten or twelve days, and was treated by all with marked attention; great pains were taken to make him understand the posture of affairs and the wishes of the United States; and, in the hope that he would prove a powerful pacificator, on the 27th of June a letter was addressed to him by General Knox, laying before him the wishes of the Goverment, and making him another messenger of peace. The fact that five independent embassies, asking peace, were sent to the inimical tribes; and the tone of the papers from which we have extracted so fully, will demonstrate, we think, the wish of the United States to do the aborigines entire justice. But the victories they had gained, and the favorable whispers of the British agents, closed the ears of the red men; and all propositions for peace

* American State Papers, v. 234. 236.

were rejected in one form or another. Freeman, who left Fort Washington, April 7th; Trueman, who left it May 22d for the Maumee, and Colonel Hardin, who on the same day started for Sandusky, were all murdered; Trueman, it would seem, however, not by a body of Indians, but by a man and boy whom he met in hunting.* Brant, from sickness or caution, did not attend the western council, as had been expected. Hendricks gave his message into the hands of Colonel McKee, and kept away from the gathering of the nations; and of the four individual messengers, Trueman, Brant, Hendricks, and Putnam, Putnam alone reached his goal. That gentleman left Marietta, upon the 26th of June, and on the 2d of July was at Fort Washington; here he heard of Indian hostilities at Fort Jefferson, and of the probability of Trueman's murder. He found also that it would be in vain to ask the chiefs, under any circumstances, to go to Philadelphia, and that it was extremely doubtful if they could be prevailed on to visit even Fort Washington. Under these circumstances, conceiving it desirable that some step should be taken at once, he determined to proceed to Fort Knox, (Post St. Vincent,) and there meet such of the Wabash leaders as could be got together, in the hope that they might at least be detached from the general league. This determination he carried into effect on the 17th of August, when, with several Indian prisoners to be restored to their friends, and presents for them beside, he left Cincinnati, and reached Vincennes in due time. Upon the 27th of September he formed a treaty with the Eel river tribe, the Weas, Illinois, Potawatomies, Musquitoes, Wabash Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, Kaskaskias, and Peorias. This treaty, however, was never ratified by the Senate, and proved practically of little or no use, although sixteen chiefs of the Wabash tribe were prevailed on to go to Philadelphia.†

[The council held at the mouth of the Auglaize, through the efforts of the Six Nations, did not produce the intended result. This council was one of the largest ever held by Indians. Besides the New York, Western, and Canadian Indians, there were present twenty-seven other nations; some from a great distance from the north-west.] On the 16th of

* May's deposition. Brant's letters, (American State Papers, v. 244. 245;) also McKee's account sent Brant, (Stone's Brant, ii. 333.)

† Stone, ii. 334. American State Papers, v. 238, 239, 240; 319. 322. 338.

November the emissaries of the Iroquois gave an account of their doings to the agent for the United States and others, at Buffalo Creek, and the mode in which the information was communicated is so peculiar that we should transcribe the speech entire if our limits would permit.

By this council, it appeared, everything was referred to another council, to be held in the spring, but with the clear intimation that the Ohio must be the boundary of the American lands, and that the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Fort Harmar, must be regarded as null. Soon after this council broke up, on the 6th of November, Major Adair, commander of the mounted Kentucky infantry, was attacked by a body of savages in the neighborhood of St. Clair, twenty miles north of Fort Hamilton. The attack was sudden and violent, and with difficulty repelled. The officer in charge of the station, took no part in the conflict, as he had been strictly ordered by General Wilkinson to act only on the defensive, but Adair's men received ammunition from the fortress, and returned thither with their wounded. This action, however, together with other evidences of continued hostilities, did not prevent the United States from taking measures to meet the hostile tribes "at the rapids of the Miami (Maumee) when the leaves were fully out." For this purpose the President, at first, selected Charles Carroll and Charles Thompson, but as they declined the nomination, Benjamin Lincoln, Beverly Randolph, and Timothy Pickering were, on the first of March, 1793, appointed to attend the proposed meeting, which it was concluded should be held at Sandusky. On the 26th of April, the Commissioners received their instructions; on the 27th General Lincoln left Philadelphia for Niagara, by the way of New York; and on the 30th the other two started by the route through Pennsylvania, which led up the vallies of the Schuylkill, Susquehanna Lycoming and Coshocton, and across to Genesee. These, traveling more rapidly, for Lincoln, had the stores and baggage, reached Niagara on the 17th of May, and were at once invited by Lieutenant-General Simcoe to take up their residence at his seat, Navy Hall; with this invitation they complied and remained there until the 28th of June. The cause of this delay was the belief expressed by McKee and others, that the Indians would not be ready to meet the Commissioners before the last of June, as private

councils had first to be held among the various tribes.* While resting in his Majesty's dominion, the ambassadors were nowise idle, and among other interesting documents, on the 7th of June, presented the following note to Governor Simcoe:

The commissioners of the United States, for making peace with the western Indians, beg leave to suggest to Governor Simcoe: that the very high importance of the negotiation committed to their management, makes them desirous of using every proper means that may contribute to its success. That they have observed, with pleasure, the disposition manifested by the Governor to afford every requisite assistance in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty with the hostile Indians. But, all the facilities thus afforded, and all the expenses incurred by the British government, on this occasion, will, perhaps, be fruitless, unless some means are used to counteract the deep-rooted prejudices, and unfounded reports among the Indian tribes: for, the acts of a few bad men, dwelling among them, or having a familiar intercourse with them, by cherishing those prejudices, or raising and spreading those reports, may be sufficient to defeat every attempt to accomplish a peace. As an instance of such unfounded reports, the commissioners have noticed the declaration of a Mohawk, from Grand River, *that Governor Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up any of their lands.* The commissioners further observe, that if any transactions at former treaties were exceptionable, the principles of the present treaty are calculated to remove the causes of complaint; for the views of government are perfectly fair. And, although it is impossible to retrace all the steps then taken, the United States are disposed to recede, as far as shall be indispensable, and the existing state of things will admit; and, for the lands retained, to make ample compensation. The views of the United States being thus fair and liberal, the commissioners wish to embrace every means to make them appear so to the Indians, against any contrary suggestions. Among these means, the commissioners consider the presence of some gentlemen of the army to be of consequence: for, although the Indians naturally look up to their superintendents as their patrons, yet the presence of some officers of the army will probably induce them to negotiate with greater confidence on the terms of peace. Independently of these considerations, the commissioners, for their own sakes, request the pleasure of their company. The commissioners, feeling the greatest solicitude to accomplish the object of their mission, will be

* American State Papers, v. 3-3, where the Journal of the Commissioners is given; also, Massachusetts Historical Collections, third series, vol. v. 190—196, where General Lincoln's Journal is given, together with a drawing of the conference at Niagara, July 7th, made by Colonel Pilkington, of the British army: this is also given in Stone's Brant, ii.

happy to receive from the Governor every information relating to it, which his situation enables him to communicate. He must be aware that the sales and settlements of the lands over the Ohio, founded on the treaties of Forts McIntosh and Harmar, render it impossible now to make that river the boundary. The expression of his opinion, on this point in particular, will give them great satisfaction.*

To this note the following answer was sent:

Colonel Simcoe, commanding the King's forces in Upper Canada, has the honor, in answer to the paper delivered to him this morning by the Commissioners of the U. States for making peace with the western Indians, to state to those gentlemen, that he is duly impressed with the serious importance of the negotiation committed to their charge, and shall be happy to contribute by every proper means that may tend to its success. He is much obliged to them for the polite manner in which they have expressed their sense of his readiness to afford them such facilities as may have been in his power, to assist in the preparatory arrangements for holding the treaty. He is perfectly aware that unfounded reports and deep-rooted prejudices have arisen among the Indian tribes: but whether from the acts of a few bad men living among them, he cannot pretend to say. But, he must observe, upon the instance given by the Commissioners, of one of "those unfounded reports, that a Mohawk from the Grand river should say, that Gov. Simcoe advised the Indians to make peace, but not to give up their lands," it is of that nature that cannot be true; the Indians, as yet, not having applied for his advice on the subject: and it being a point, of all others, on which they are the least likely to consult the British officers commanding in Upper Canada. Colonel Simcoe considers himself perfectly justified in admitting, on the requisition of the Commissioners, some officers to attend the treaty; and, therefore, in addition, to the gentlemen appointed to control the delivery of the British provisions, &c., he will desire Captain Bunbury, of the fifth regiment, and Lieutenant Givens, who has some knowledge of one of the Indian languages, to accompany the Commissioners. Colonel Simcoe can give the Commissioners no further information than what is afforded by the speeches of the confederate nations, of which General Hull has authentic copies. But, as it has been, ever since the conquest of Canada, the principle of the British Government to unite the American Indians, that, all petty jealousies being extinguished, the real wishes of the several tribes may be fully expressed, and in consequence of all the treaties made with them, may have the most complete ratification and universal concurrence, so,

* American State Papers, v. 347.

he feels it proper to state to the Commissioners, that a jealousy of a contrary conduct in the agents of the United States, appears to him to have been deeply impressed upon the minds of the confederacy.*

On the day before this correspondence, the six Quakers, who, both by their own request, and that of the Indians, had accompanied the deputation, together with Heckewelder and others, sailed for Detroit to learn how matters stood; and on the 26th of the month the Commissioners themselves, receiving no news from Sandusky, prepared to embark for the mouth of Detroit river. On the 15th of July, while still detained by head winds, Colonel Butler,† Brant and some fifty natives, arrived from the Maumee, and two days after, in the presence of the Governor, Brant thus addressed the Americans:—

Brothers: We have met to-day our brothers, the Bostonians and English; we are glad to have the meeting, and think it is by the appointment of the Great Spirit. Brothers of the United States: We told you the other day, at Fort Erie, that, at another time, we would inform you why we had not assembled at the time and place appointed for holding the treaty with you. We now inform you that it is because there is so much of the appearance of war in that quarter. Brothers: We have given the reason for our not meeting you; and now we request an explanation of those warlike appearances. Brothers: The people you see here are sent to represent the Indian nations who own the lands north of the Ohio, as their common property, and who are all of one mind—one heart. Brothers: We have come to speak to you for two reasons: one, because your warriors being in our neighborhood, have prevented our meeting at the appointed place: the other, to know if you are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between the lands of the U. States, and the Indian nations. We are still desirous of meeting you at the appointed place. Brothers: We wish you to deliberate well on this business. We have spoken our sentiments in sincerity, considering ourselves in the presence of the Great Spirit, from whom, in time of danger, we expect assistance.‡

On the following day the Commissioners replied:

Brothers: You have mentioned two objects of your coming to meet us at this place. One, to obtain an explanation of the war-like appearances on the part of the United States on the north-western side of the Ohio; the other, to learn wheth-

* American State Papers, v. 347.

† The commander of the Tories at Wyoming, afterwards Indian Agent.

‡ American State Papers, v. 344.

er we have authority to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours. Brothers: On the first point we cannot but express our extreme regret, that any reports of warlike appearances, on the part of the United States, should have delayed our meeting at Sandusky. The nature of the case irresistibly forbids all apprehensions of hostile incursions into the Indian country north of the Ohio, during the treaty at Sandusky. Brothers: We are deputed by the Great Chief and the Great Council of the United States to treat with you of peace; and is it possible that the same Great Chief and his Great Council could order their warriors to make fresh war, while we were sitting round the same fire with you, in order to make peace? Is it possible that our Great Chief and his Council could act so deceitfully towards us, their Commissioners, as well as towards you? Brothers: We think it not possible; but we will quit arguments and come to facts. Brothers: We assure you, that our Great Chief, Genral Washington, has strictly forbidden all hostilities against you, until the event of the proposed treaty at Sandusky shall be known. Here is the proclamation of his head warrior, Gen. Wayne, to that effect. But, brothers, our Great Chief is so sincere in his professions for peace, and so desirous of preventing every thing which could obstruct the treaty and prolong the war, that, besides giving the above orders to his head warrior, he has informed the Governors of the several States adjoining the Ohio, of the treaty proposed to be held at Sandusky, and desired them to unite their power with his to prevent any hostile attempts against the Indians north of the Ohio, until the result of the treaty is made known. Those Governors have accordingly issued their orders, strictly forbidding all such hostilities. The proclamations of the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia we have here in our hands. Brothers: If, after all these precautions of our Great Chief, any hostilities should be committed north of the Ohio, they must proceed from a few disorderly people, whom no considerations of justice or public good can restrain. But we hope and believe that none such can be found.

Brothers: After these explanations, we hope you will possess your minds in peace, relying on the good faith of the United States that no injury is to be apprehended by you during the treaty. Brothers: We now come to the second point: whether we are properly authorized to run and establish a new boundary line between your lands and ours. Brothers; we answer explicitly that we have that authority. Where this line should run, will be the great subject of discussion at the treaty between you and us; and we sincerely hope and expect that it may then be fixed to the satisfaction of both parties. Doubtless some concessions must be made on both sides. In all disputes and quarrels, both parties usually take some wrong steps; so that it is only by mutual concessions that a true

reconciliation can be effected. Brothers: We wish you to understand us clearly on this head; for we mean that all our proceedings should be made with candor. We therefore repeat and say explicitly that some concession will be necessary on your part, as well as on ours, in order to establish a just and permanent peace. Brothers: After this great point of the boundary shall be fully considered at the treaty, we shall know what concessions and stipulations it will be proper to make on the part of the United States; and we trust they will be such as the world will pronounce reasonable and just. Brothers: You told us that you represent the nations of Indians who own the lands north of the Ohio, and whose Chiefs are now assembled at the Rapids of the Maumee. Brothers: It would be a satisfaction to us to be informed of the names of those nations, and of the numbers of the Chiefs of each so assembled. Brothers: We once more turn our eyes to your representation of warlike appearances in your country; to give you complete satisfaction on this point, we now assure you as soon as our council at this place is ended, we will send a messenger on horseback to the Great Chief of the United States, to desire him to renew and strongly repeat his orders to his head warrior, not only to abstain from all hostilities against you; but to remain quietly at his posts until the event of the treaty shall be known.*

To the inquiry made by the Agents of the United States as to tribes, Brant said,—

Yesterday you expressed a wish to be informed of the names of the nations, and numbers of Chiefs assembled at the Maumee; but, as they were daily coming in, we cannot give you exact information. You will see for yourselves in a few days. When we left it the following nations were there, to wit: Five Nations, Wyandots, Shawanese, Delawares, Munsees, Miamies, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatamies. Nantikokies, Mingoes, Cherokees,—the principal men of these were there.

The jealousy of the Indians as to the hostile movements was owing to the fact, that Wayne was at this time gathering horses and cattle, and cutting roads in the heart of the contested country, beyond Fort Jefferson, within three days journey of the Indian head quarters.†

His "Legion" had passed the winter of 1792–3 at Legionville, and there remained until the last of April, 1793, when it was taken down the river to Cincinnati, where it encamped near Fort Washington, and there it continued until October,

* American State Papers, v. 349.

† American State Papers, v. 350. 351.

engaged merely in drilling and preparations, the Commander-in-Chief having been directed by the Executive to issue a proclamation, forbidding all hostile movements north of the Ohio until the northern Commissioners were heard from. This proclamation was issued, and the country remained tranquil, although, as we have said, preparations were made for action in case it should finally become needful.

General Wayne, after encountering many obstacles, was perfecting the discipline of his soldiers at "Hobson's choice." [This place was in the vicinity of Cincinnati, and so called, because, from extreme high water, the Legion was prevented from landing elsewhere.] Here he made efforts to get forward mounted volunteers from Kentucky, who, after the experience of 1790 and 1791, could not be had, so strong was their repugnance to serve with regulars—the Commissioners had crossed Lake Erie, and on the 21st of July took up their quarters at the house of the famous or infamous Captain Matthew Elliott, at the mouth of the Detroit river.* On the day of their arrival, they wrote to Colonel McKee, asking him to hasten the proposed meeting at Sandusky, which he promised to do. On the 29th of July, twenty Indians arrived from the Rapids to see the Commissioners; and on the three following days the white and red men met in Council—Simon Girty acting as interpreter. It seemed the confederacy were not satisfied with the meeting between Brant and the Commissioners at Niagara, and now wished to know distinctly, and merely, if the United States would or would not make the Ohio the boundary. To this inquiry, the Commissioners replied, (July 31,) in writing, setting forth the American claims, the grounds of them, and the impossibility of making the Ohio the line of settlement. The answers to this communication, one of which was delivered orally on the spot, and the other on the 16th of August, in writing, are so characteristic and able, that on this account, as well as because they were the *ultimata* of the Indians in this negotiation, we give entire.

Brothers: We are all brothers you see here now. Brothers: It is now three years since you desired to speak with us. We heard you yesterday, and understood you well—perfectly well. We have a few words to say to you. Brothers: You mentioned the treaties of Fort Stanwix, Beaver Creek,† and other places.

* American State Papers, v. 342. 359. 360.—American Pioneer, i. 293.—Butler, 221.

† Fort McIntosh.

Those treaties were not complete. There were but a few chiefs who treated with you. You have not bought our lands. They belong to us. You tried to draw off some of us. Brothers: Many years ago, we all know that the Ohio was made the boundary. It was settled by Sir William Johnston. This side is ours. We look upon it as our property. Brothers: You mentioned General Washington. He and you know you have your houses and your people on our land. You say you cannot move them off: and we cannot give up our land. Brothers: We are sorry we cannot come to an agreement. The line has been fixed long ago. Brothers: We don't say much. There has been much mischief on both sides. We came here upon peace, and thought you did the same. We shall talk to our head warriors. You may return whence you came, and tell Washington.

The council here breaking up, Captain Elliott went to the Shawanese chief Ka-kia-pilathy, and told him that the last part of the speech was wrong. The chief came back and said it was wrong. Girty said that he had interpreted truly what the Wyandot chief spoke. An explanation took place; and Girty added as follows: "Brothers: Instead of going home, we wish you to remain here for an answer from us. We have your speech in our breasts, and shall consult our head warriors."*

The head warriors having been consulted, the final message came in these words—

"*To the Commissioners of the United States.*—Brothers: We have received your speech, dated the 31st of last month, and it has been interpreted to all the different nations. We have been long in sending you an answer, because of the great importance of the subject. But we now answer it fully; having given it all the consideration in our power.

"Brothers: You tell us that, after you had made peace with the King, our father, about ten years ago, 'it remained to make peace between the United States and the Indian nations, who had taken part with the King. For this purpose Commissioners were appointed, who sent messages to all those Indian nations, inviting them to come and make peace;' and, after reciting the periods at which you say treaties were held, at Fort Stanwix, Fort McIntosh and Miami, all which treaties, according to your own acknowledgment, were for the sole purpose of making peace, you then say, 'Brothers, the Commissioners who conducted these treaties, in behalf of the United States, sent the papers containing them to the general

* American State Papers, v. 349.

council of the States, who, supposing them satisfactory to the nations treated with, proceeded to dispose of the lands thereby ceded.'

"Brothers: This is telling us plainly, what we always understood to be the case, and it agrees with the declarations of those few who attended those treaties, viz: That they went to your Commissioners to make peace; but, through fear, were obliged to sign any paper that was laid before them; and it has since appeared that deeds of cession were signed by them, instead of treaties of peace.

"Brothers: You then say, 'after some time it appears that a number of people in your nations were dissatisfied with the treaties of Fort McIntosh and Miami, therefore, the council of the United States appointed Governor St. Clair their Commissioner, with full power, for the purpose of removing all causes of controversy, relating to trade, and settling boundaries, between the Indian nations in the northern department, and the United States. He accordingly sent messages, inviting all the nations concerned to meet him at a council fire he kindled at the Falls of the Muskingum. While he was waiting for them, some mischief happened at that place, and the fire was put out: so he kindled a council fire at Fort Harmar, where near six hundred Indians, of different nations, attended. The Six Nations then renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort Stanwix; and the Wyandots and Delawares renewed and confirmed the treaty of Fort McIntosh: some Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatamies, and Sacs, were also parties to the treaty of Fort Harmar.' Now, brothers, these are your words; and it is necessary for us to make a short reply to them.

"Brothers: A general council of all the Indian confederacy was held, as you well know, in the fall of the year 1788, at this place; and that general council was invited by your Commissioner, Governor St. Clair, to meet him for the purpose of holding a treaty, with regard to the lands mentioned by you to have been ceded by the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh.

"Brothers: We are in possession of the speeches and letters which passed on that occasion, between those deputed by the confederated Indians, and Governor St. Clair, the Commissioner of the United States. These papers prove that your said Commissioner, in the beginning of the year 1789, and after having been informed by the general council of the preceding fall, that no bargain or sale of any part of these Indian lands would be considered as valid or binding unless agreed to by a general council, nevertheless, persisted in collecting together a few chiefs of two or three nations only, and with them held a treaty for the cession of an immense country, in which they were no more interested, than as a branch

of the general confederacy, and who were in no manner authorized to make any grant or concession whatever.

"Brothers: How then was it possible for you to expect to enjoy peace, and quietly to hold these lands, when your Commissioner was informed, long before he had the treaty of Fort Harmar, that the consent of a general council was absolutely necessary to convey any part of these lands to the United States. The part of these lands which the United States now wish us to relinquish, and which you say are settled, have been sold by the United States since that time.

"Brothers: You say 'the United States wish to have confirmed all the lands ceded to them by the treaty of Fort Harmar, and also a small tract at the rapids of the Ohio, claimed by General Clark, for the use of himself and his warriors. And, in consideration thereof, the United States would give such a large sum of money or goods, as was never given, at any one time, for any quantity of Indian lands, since the white people first set their feet on this island. And, because these lands did every year furnish you with skins and furs, with which you bought clothing and other necessaries, the United States will now furnish the like constant supplies. And, therefore, besides the great sum to be delivered at once, they will every year deliver you a large quantity of such goods as are best fitted to the wants of yourselves, your women, and children.'

"Brothers: Money to us, is of no value; and to most of us unknown; and, as no consideration whatever can induce us to sell the lands on which we get sustenance for our women and children, we hope we may be allowed to point out a mode by which your settlers may be easily removed, and peace thereby obtained.

"Brothers: We know that these settlers are poor, or they would never have ventured to live in a country which has been in continual trouble ever since they crossed the Ohio. Divide, therefore, this large sum of money, which you have offered to us, among these people. Give to each, also, a proportion of what you say you would give to us, annually, over and above this very large sum of money; and, as we are persuaded, they would most readily accept of it in lieu of the land you sold them. If you add, also, the great sums you must expend in raising and paying armies, with a view to force us to yield you our country, you will certainly have more than sufficient for the purpose of repaying these settlers for all their labor and their improvements.

"Brothers: You have talked to us about concessions. It appears strange that you should expect any from us who have only been defending our just rights against your invasions. We want peace. Restore to us our country, and we shall be enemies no longer.

"Brothers: You make one concession to us by offering us your money; and another by having agreed to do us justice, after having long and injuriously withheld it; we mean in the acknowledgment you now have made, that the King of England never did, nor never had a right to give you our country, by the treaty of peace. And you want to make this act of common justice a great part of your concessions; and seem to expect that, because you have at last acknowledged our independence, we should for such a favor, surrender to you our country.

"Brothers: You have talked, also, a great deal about pre-emption, and your exclusive right to purchase Indian lands, as ceded to you by the king, at the treaty of peace.

"Brothers: We never made any agreement with the king, nor with any other nation, that we would give to either the exclusive right of purchasing our lands; and we declare to you, that we consider ourselves free to make any bargain or cession of lands, whenever and to whomsoever we please. If the white people, as you say, made a treaty that none of them but the king should purchase of us, and that he has given that right to the United States, it is an affair which concerns you and him, and not us; we have never parted with such a power.

"Brothers: At our general council, held at the Glaize last fall, we agreed to meet commissioners from the United States, for the purpose of restoring peace, provided they consented to acknowledge and confirm our boundary line to be the Ohio, and we determined not to meet you, until you gave us satisfaction on that point; that is the reason we have never met.

We desire you to consider, brothers, that our only demand is the peaceable possession of a small part of our once great country. Look back and review the lands from whence we have been driven to this spot. We can retreat no farther; because the country behind hardly affords food for its inhabitants: and we have, therefore, resolved to leave our bones in this small space to which we are now confined.

"Brothers: We shall be persuaded that you mean to do us justice, if you agree that the Ohio shall remain the boundary line between us. If you will not consent thereto, our meeting will be altogether unnecessary. This is the great point which we hoped would have been explained before you left your homes, as our message, last fall, was principally directed to obtain that information.

Done in general council, at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, the 13th day of August, 1793.

Nations.

Wyandots,	Miamies,	Mohicans,
Seven Nations of Canada,	Ottawas,	Connoys,

Potawatomies,	Messasagoes,	Delawares,
Senecas of the Glaize,	Chippewas,	Nantakokies,
Shawanese,	Munsees,	Creeks,
Cherokees.*		

This, of necessity, closed the attempts of the United States to make peace; some few further efforts were made to secure the Iroquois to the cause of America, but they ended in nothing; and from the month of August, the preparations for a decision by arms of the questions pending between the white and red men went forward constantly.

But it is natural to ask what causes led the north-western savages thus to stake their very existence upon the contest, when terms so liberal were offered by their opponents. We answer—first, their previous success did much; and secondly, they hoped for the aid of Britain, and at length of Spain also, on their side.

For several years, said Brant, we were engaged in getting a confederacy formed, and the unanimity occasioned by these endeavors among our western brethren, enabled them to defeat two American armies. The war continued without our brothers, the English, giving any assistance, except a little ammunition; and they seeming to desire that a peace might be concluded, we tried to bring it about at a time that the United States desired it very much, so that they sent commissioners from among their first people, to endeavor to make peace with the hostile Indians. We assembled also for that purpose at the Miami river in the summer of 1793, intending to act as mediators in bringing about an honorable peace; and if that could not be obtained, we resolved to join our western brethren in trying the fortune of war. But to our surprise, when upon the point of entering upon a treaty with the commissioners, we found that it was opposed by those acting under the British government, and hopes of farther assistance were given to our western brethren, to encourage them to insist on the Ohio as a boundary between them and the United States.†

Through Elliott, McKee and Butler, this confidence in English aid was thus excited among the savages, before their final refusal of the generous terms offered by Washington; and soon after, the higher functionaries endorsed the representa-

*American State Papers, v. 356.

†Stone, ii. 358.

tions of their subordinates. In February, 1794, Lord Dorchester, addressing the deputies from the council of 1793, said:

Children:—I was in expectation of hearing from the people of the United States what was required by them; I hoped that I should have been able to bring you together, and make you friends.

Children:—I have waited long, and listened with great attention, but have not heard one word from them.

Children:—I flattered myself with the hope that the line proposed in the year eighty-three, to separate us from the United States, *which was immediately broken by themselves as soon as the peace was signed*, would have been mended, or a new one drawn, in an amicable manner. Here, also, I have been disappointed.

Children:—Since my return, I find no appearance of a line remains; and from the manner in which the people of the United States rush on, and act, and talk on this side; and from what I learn of their conduct toward the sea, I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors.

Children:—You talk of selling your lands to the State of New York. I have told you that there is no line between them and us. I shall acknowledge no lands to be theirs which have been encroached on by them since the year 1783. They then broke the peace, as they kept it not on their part, it doth not bind on ours.

Children:—They then destroyed their right of pre-emption. Therefore, all their approaches towards us since that time, and all the purchases made by them, I consider as an infringement on the King's rights. And when a line is drawn between us, be it in peace or war, they must lose all their improvements and houses on our side of it. Those people must all be gone who do not obtain leave to become the King's subjects. What belongs to the Indians will, of course, be secured and confirmed to them.

Children:—What farther can I say to you? You are witnesses that on our parts we have acted in the most peaceable manner, and borne the language and conduct of the people of the United States with patience. But I believe our patience is almost exhausted.*

* The authenticity of of this speech has been questioned; it was doubted at the time even. George Clinton of New York sent the proof of its genuineness to George Washington, March 20th, 1794, and both he and the President thought it authentic. Judge Marshall (Life of Washington, v. 535) states it as not authentic, and Sparks (Washington Papers, x. 394, note) seems to agree with him; but Mr. Stone found among Brant's papers a certi-

And when, during the summer of 1794, there was a contest between the United States and the Six Nations, relative to the erection of a fort by the former at Presqu'ile (Erie) on Lake Erie, Brant, in writing to the British authorities, on the 19th of July, says—

In regard to the Presqu'ile business, should we not get an answer at the time limited, it is our business to push those fellows hard, and therefore it is my intention to form my camp at Pointe Appineau; and I would esteem it a favor if his Excellency the Lieutenant Governor would lend me four or five batteaux. Should it so turn out, and should those fellows not go off, and O'Bail continue in the same opinion, an expedition against those Yankees must of consequence take place.

His Excellency has been so good as to furnish us with a hundred weight of powder, and ball in proportion, which is now at Fort Erie; but in the event of an attack upon Le Bœuf people, I could wish, if consistent, that his Excellency would order a like quantity in addition to be at Fort Erie, in order to be in readiness; likewise I would hope for a little assistance in provision.

But the conduct of England, in sending, as she did, Governor Simcoe in the month of April, 1794, to the rapids of the Maumee, there, within the acknowledged territories of the United States, to erect a fort, was the strongest assurance that could have been given to the north-western tribes, that she would espouse their quarrel. In May of 1794, a messenger from the Mississippi provinces of Spain also appeared in the north-west, offering assistance.†

Children! (he said) you see me on my feet, grasping the tomahawk to strike them. We will strike together. I do not desire you to go before me, in the front, but to follow me.

Children:—I present you with a war-pipe, which has been sent in all our names to the Musquakies, and all those nations who live towards the setting sun, to get upon their feet and take hold of our tomahawk: and as soon as they smoked it, they sent it back with a promise to get immediately on their feet, and join us, and strike this enemy.

Children—You hear what these distant nations have said to us, so that we have nothing farther to do but put our designs into immediate execution, and to forward this pipe to

fied MS. copy, from which the above extracts are taken, (Stone's Brant, ii. 368, note); and Mr. Hammond, the British Minister, in May, 1794, acknowledged it to be genuine. (American State Papers, i. 462. See also v. 480.)

† American State Papers, v. 503 to 524, and 484, 487. Stone's Brant, ii. 380.

the three warlike nations who have so long been struggling for their country, and who now sit at the Glaize. Tell them to smoke this pipe, and forward it to all the lake Indians and their northern brethren. Then nothing will be wanting to complete our general union from the rising to the setting of the sun, and all nations will be ready to add strength to the blow we are going to make.*

The explanation of the conduct above related on the part of England, is not difficult. In March, 1793, Great Britain and Russia had united for the purpose of cutting off all the commerce of revolutionary France, in the hope thereby of conquering her. In June, the court of St. James, in accordance with this agreement, issued orders—

To stop and detain all vessels loaded wholly or in part with *corn*, *flour*, or *meal*, bound to any port of France, or any port occupied by the armies of France, and to send them to such ports as should be most convenient, in order that such corn, meal, or flour might be purchased on behalf of his majesty's government, and the ships to be released after such purchase, and after a due allowance for freight; or that the masters of such ships, on giving due security, to be approved by the court of admiralty, be permitted to dispose of their cargoes of corn, meal, flour, in the ports of any country in amity with his majesty.†

Against this proceeding the United States protested, while England justified the measure as a very mild application of international law. On both sides great irritation prevailed, and during this period it was that the various acts of Governor Simcoe and others took place.

As for Spain, she had long been fearful and jealous of the western colonists; she had done all in her power to sow dissensions between the Americans and the southern Indians, and now hoped to cripple her Anglo-Saxon antagonist by movements at the north.

But the Americans were in nowise disposed to yield even to this "Hydra," as General Wayne called it, of Indian, British, and Spanish enmity. On the 16th of August, 1793, the final messages took place between the American commissioners and the Indians, at the mouth of Detroit river; on the 17th, the commissioners left Captain Elliott's; on the 23d,

* MS. among the Brant Papers. Stone, ii. 375.

† Pitkin's U. S., ii. 396.

reached Fort Erie, near Niagara; upon the same day they sent three letters to General Wayne, by three distinct channels, advising him of the issue of the negotiations.* Wayne, encamped at his "Hobson's choice," and contending with the unwillingness of Kentuckians to volunteer in connection with regular troops,—with fever, influenza and desertion,—was struggling hard to bring his army to such form and consistency as would enable him to meet the enemy with confidence. On the 5th of October, he writes that he cannot hope to have, deducting the sick and those left in garrison, more than 2,600 regular troops, 360 mounted volunteers, and 36 guides and spies, to go with him beyond Fort Jefferson; but he adds—

This is not a pleasant picture, but something must be done immediately, to save the frontiers from impending savage fury.

I will, therefore, advance to-morrow with the force I have, in order to gain a strong position about six miles in front of Fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check (by exciting a jealousy and apprehension for the safety of their own women and children) until some favorable circumstance or opportunity may present to strike with effect.

The present apparent tranquility on the frontiers, and at the head of the line, is a convincing proof to me, that the enemy are collected or collecting in force, to oppose the legion, either on its march, or in some unfavorable position for the cavalry to act in. Disappoint them in this favorite plan or manœuvre, they may probably be tempted to attack our lines. In this case I trust they will not have much reason to triumph from the encounter.

They cannot continue long embodied for want of provision and at their breaking up they will most certainly make some desperate effort upon some quarter or other; should the mounted volunteers advance in force, we might yet compel those haughty savages to sue for peace, before the next opening of the leaves. Be that as it may, I pray you not to permit present appearances to cause too much anxiety either in the mind of the President, or yourself, on account of this army. Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation, and feeling for the honor and reputation of Government, (which I will support with my latest breath) you may rest assured that I will not commit the legion unnecessarily; and unless more powerfully supported than I at present have reason to expect, I will content myself by taking a strong position in advance of

*American State Papers, v. 304, 308, 325, 357, 360.

Jefferson, and by exerting every power, endeavor to protect the frontiers, and to secure the posts and army during the winter, or until I am honored with your further orders.*

On the 7th the legion left Cincinnati, and upon the 13th, without any accident, encamped upon the "strong position" above referred to.† Here, upon the 24th of October, he was joined by one thousand mounted Kentucky volunteers under Gen. Scott, to whom he had written pressing requests to hasten forward with all the men he could muster. This request Scott hastened to comply with, and the Governor upon the 28th of September, had ordered, in addition, a draft of militia. The Kentucky troops, however, were soon dismissed again, until spring; but their march had not been in vain, for they had seen enough of Wayne's army to give them confidence in it and in him; and upon their return home, spread that confidence abroad, so that the full number of volunteers, was easily procured in the spring.‡

One attack had been made upon the troops previous to the 23d of October, and only one; a body of two commissioned and ninety non-commissioned officers and soldiers, conveying twenty wagons of supplies, was assaulted on the 17th, seven miles beyond Fort St. Clair, and Lieutenant Lowry and Ensign Boyd, with thirteen others, were killed. Although so little opposition had thus far been encountered, however, Wayne determined to stay where he was, for the winter, and having 70,000 rations on hand in October, with the prospect of 120,000 more, while the Indians were sure to be short of provisions, he proceeded to fortify his position; which he named Fort Greenville, and which was situated upon the spot now occupied by the town of that name.§ This being done on the 23d or 24th of December, a detachment was sent forward to take possession of the field of St. Clair's defeat. They arrived upon the spot upon Christmas day. "Six hundred skulls," says one present, "were gathered up and buried; when we went to lay down in our tents at night, we had to scrape the

* American State Papers, v. 360.

†See in American Pioneer, ii. 290, plate and account of Wayne's mode of encampment. Also in Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, ii. 55, a journal of the march.

‡Marshall, ii. 83, 84.

§American State Papers, v. 361.

bones together and carry them out, to make our beds."* Here was built Fort Recovery, which was properly garrisoned, and placed under the charge of Captain Alexander Gibson. During the early months of 1794, Wayne was steadily engaged in preparing everything for a sure blow when the time came, and by means of Captain Gibson and his various spies, kept himself informed of the plans and movements of the savages. All his information showed the faith in British assistance which still animated the doomed race of red men; thus, two Pottawatomies, taken by Captain Gibson, June 5th, in reply to various questions, answered as follows:

Q.—When did your nation receive the invitation from the British to join them, and go to war with the Americans?

A.—On the first of the last moon; the message was sent by three chiefs, a Delaware, a Shawanee, and a Miami.

Q.—What was the message brought by those Indians chiefs, and what number of British troops were at Roche de Bout, (foot of rapids of the Maumee,) on the 1st of May?

A.—That the British sent them to invite the Pottawatomies to go to war against the United States; that they, the British, were then at Roche de Bout, on their way to war against the Americans; that the number of British troops then there were about four hundred, with two pieces of artillery, exclusive of the Detroit militia, and had made a fortification round Colonel McKee's house and stores at that place, in which they had deposited all their stores of ammunition, arms, clothing and provision with which they promised to supply all the hostile Indians in abundance, provided they would join and go with them to war.

Q.—What tribes of Indians, and what were their numbers, at Roche de Bout on the 1st of May?

A.—The Chippewas, Wyandots, Shawanese, Tawas, Delawares and Miamies. There were then collected about one thousand warriors, and were daily coming in and collecting from all those nations.

Q.—What number of warriors do you suppose actually collected at that place at this time, and what number of British troops and militia have promised to join the Indians to fight this army?

A.—By the latest and best information, and from our own knowledge of the number of warriors belonging to those nations, there cannot be less than two thousand warriors now assem-

*American Pioneer, i. 294. Letter of George Will.—Dillon's Indiana, i. 360—American State Papers, i. 458. gives Wayne's statement.

bled; and were the Pottawatomies to join, agreeably to invitation, the whole would amount to upwards of three thousand hostile Indians. But we do not think that more than fifty of the Pottawatomies will go to war.

The British troops and militia that will join the Indians to go to war against the Americans, will amount to fifteen hundred, agreeably to the promise of Gov. Simcoe.

Q.—At what time and at what place do the British and Indians mean to advance against this army?

A.—About the last of this moon, or the beginning of the next, they intend to attack the legion of this place. Governor Simcoe, the great man who lives at or near Niagara, sent for the Pottawatomies, and promised them arms, ammunition, provisions, and clothing, and every thing they wanted, on condition that they would join him, and go to war against the Americans; and that he would command the whole.

He sent us the same message last winter; and again, on the first of the last moon, from Roche de Bout; he also said he was much obliged to us for our past services; and that he would now help us to fight, and render us all the services in his power, against the Americans.

All the speeches that we have received from him, were as red as blood; all the wampum and feathers were painted red; the war pipes and hatchets were red, and even the tobacco was painted red.

We received four different invitations from Governor Simcoe, inviting the Pottawatomies to join in the war; the last was on the first of last moon, when he promised to join us with 1500 of his warriors, as before mentioned. But we wished for peace; except a few of our foolish young men.

Examined, and carefully reduced to writing, at Greenville, this 7th of June, 1794.*

A couple of Shawanese warriors, captured June 22d, were less sanguine as to their white allies, but still say that which proves the dependence of Indian action upon English promises. As their evidence gives some *data* relative to the Indian forces, as well as the temper of the western tribes, we extract nearly the whole of it.

They say that they left Grand Glaize five moons since, i. e. about the time that the Indians sent in [i. e to Wayne; the provisions could not be accepted] a flag, with propositions of peace.

That they belonged to a party of twenty, who have been hunting all this spring on the waters of the Wabash, nearly

* American State Papers, v. 489.

opposite the mouth of the Kentucky river, and were on their return when taken. That, on their way in, they met with a party consisting of four Indians, i. e. three Delawares and one Pottawatomie, who were then on their way to the Big-bone Lick, to steal horses; that this party informed them that all the Indians on White river were sent for to come immediately to Grand Glaize, where the warriors of several nations were now assembled; that the chiefs are yet in council, and would not let their warriors go out; that they could not depend upon the British for effectual support; that they were always setting the Indians on like dogs after game, pressing them to go to war, and kill the Americans, but did not help them; that unless the British would turn out and help them, they were determined to make peace; that they would not be any longer amused by promises only.

That the Shawanese have 380 warriors at, and in the vicinity of Grand Glaize; and generally can, and do, bring into action, about 300. Their great men, or sachems, are the Black Wolf, and Kakia-pi-la-thy, or Tame Hawk; their principal warriors are Blue Jacket, and Captain Johnny; that the Delawares have in and about Grand Glaize, 480 warriors; that they actually had four hundred in the action against St. Clair; that the Miamies are at present but about one hundred warriors, who live near Grand Glaize, several of them having removed towards Post Vincennes, and by the Mississippi; that the Wyandots never send into action more than about one hundred and fifty warriors; they live along the lake, towards Sandusky; they don't know the number of the Pottawatomies, nor the number of the other Indians or nations that would actually join in war, should they determine to continue it; that the Chippewas would be the most numerous, and were generally on their way to the council; but that war or peace depended on the conduct of the British; if they would help them, it would probably be war, but if they would not, it would be peace; that the Indians would no longer be set on like dogs, by themselves, unless the British would help them to fight; that the British were at the foot of the rapids, and had fortified at Roche de Bout; that there were a great number of British soldiers at that place; that they told the Indians they were now come to help them to fight; and if the Indians would generally turn out and join them, they would advance

and fight the American army; that Blue Jacket had been sent by the British to the Chippewas, and northern Indians, a considerable time since, to invite them, and bring them to Roche de Bout, there to join the British and other hostile Indians, in order to go to war.*

And the conduct of the savages proved these tales not to be fables: on the 30th of June, Fort Recovery, the advanced American post, was assaulted by the Little Turtle, at the head of one thousand to one thousand five hundred warriors; and although repelled, the assailants rallied and returned to the charge, and kept up the attack through the whole of that day, and a part of the following. Nor was this assailing force entirely composed of natives; General Wayne, in his despatch, says, his spies "report a great number of white men with the Indians;" and again they insist—

There were a considerable number of armed white men in the rear, who they frequently heard talking in our language, and encouraging the savages to persevere in the assault; that their faces were generally blacked, except three British officers, who were dressed in scarlet, and appeared to be men of great distinction, from being surrounded by a large body of white men and Indians, who were very attentive to them. These kept a distance in the rear of those that were engaged.

Another strong corroborating fact, says General Wayne, that there were British, or British militia, in the assault, is, that a number of ounce balls and buck shot were lodged in the block-houses and stockades of the fort. Some were delivered at so great a distance as not to penetrate, and were picked up at the foot of the stockades.

It would also appear that the British and savages expected to find the artillery that were lost on the 4th of November, 1791, and hid by the Indians in the beds of old fallen timber, or logs, which they turned over and laid the cannon in, and then turned the logs back into their former berth. It was in this artful manner that we generally found them deposited. The hostile Indians turned over a great number of logs, during the assault, in search of those cannon, and other plunder, which they had probably hid in this manner, after the action of the fourth of November, 1791.

I, therefore, have reason to believe that the British and Indians depended much upon this artillery to assist in the reduction of that post; fortunately, they served in its defence.†

On the 26th of July, Scott, with some sixteen hundred

* American State Papers, v. 489.

† American State Papers, v. 488.

mounted men from Kentucky, joined Wayne at Greenville,* and on the 28th the legion moved forward.† On the 8th of August, the army was near the junction of Auglaize and Maumee, at Grand Glaize, and proceeded at once to build Fort Defiance, where the rivers meet.‡ The Indians had hastily abandoned their towns upon hearing of the approach of the army from a runaway member of the Quarter master's corps, who was afterwards taken at Pittsburgh. It had been Wayne's plan to reach the head-quarters of the savages, Grand Glaize, undiscovered; and in order to do this, he had caused two roads to be cut, one towards the foot of the rapids, (Roche de Bout,) the other to the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph, while he pressed forward between the two; and this stratagem, he thinks would have been successful but for the deserter referred to.§ While engaged upon Fort Defiance, the American commander received full and accurate accounts of the Indians, and the aid they would receive from the volunteers of Detroit and elsewhere; he learned the nature of the ground, and the circumstances favorable and unfavorable; and upon the whole, considering the spirit of his troops, officers and men, regulars and volunteers, he determined to march forward and settle matters at once. But yet, true to the last, to the spirit of compromise and peace, so forcibly taught by Washington, on the 13th of August he sent Christopher Miller, who had been naturalized among the Shawanese, and had been taken prisoner on the 11th, by Wayne's spies, as a special messenger, offering terms of friendship in these words:

To the Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, and Wyandots, and to each and every of them, and to all other nations of Indians, north-west of the Ohio, whom it may concern:

I, Anthony Wayne, Major General and Commander-in-chief of the federal army now at Grand Glaize, and commissioner plenipotentiary of the United States of America, for settling the terms upon which a permanent and lasting peace shall be made with each and every of the hostile tribes, or nations of Indians north-west of the Ohio, and of the said United States, actuated by the purest principles of humanity, and urged by pity for the errors into which bad and designing

* Marshall, ii. 136.

† American Pioneer, i. 315, Daily Journal of Wayne's army.

‡ See American Pioneer, ii. 337, for plan and account of Fort Defiance.

§ Wayne's letter of August 14th. (American State Papers, v. 490.)

men have led you, from the head of my army, now in possession of your abandoned villages and settlements, do hereby once more extend the friendly hand of peace towards you, and invite each and every of the hostile tribe of Indians to appoint deputies to meet me and my army, without delay, between this place and Roche de Bout, in order to settle the preliminaries of a lasting peace, which may eventually and soon restore to you, the Delawares, Miamies, Shawanese, and all other tribes and nations lately settled at this place, and on the margins of the Miami and Auglaize rivers, your late grounds and possessions, and to preserve you and your distressed and hapless women and children from danger and famine, during the present fall and ensuing winter.

The arm of the United States is strong and powerful, but they love mercy and kindness more than war and desolation.

And, to remove any doubts or apprehensions of danger to the persons of the deputies whom you may appoint to meet this army, I hereby pledge my sacred honor for their safety and return, and send Christopher Miller, an adopted Shawanee, and a Shawanee warrior, whom I took prisoner two days ago, as a flag, who will advance in their front to meet me.

Mr. Miller was taken prisoner by a party of my warriors, six moons since, and can testify to you the kindness which I have shown to your people, my prisoners, that is, five warriors and two women, who are now all safe and well at Greenville.

But, should this invitation be disregarded, and my flag, Mr. Miller, be detained, or injured, I will immediately order all those prisoners to be put to death, without distinction, and some of them are known to belong to the first families of your nation.

Brothers:—Be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises and language of the bad white men at the foot of the Rapids; they have neither power nor inclination to protect you. No longer shut your eyes to your true interest and happiness, nor your ears to this overture of peace. But, in pity to your innocent women and children, come and prevent the further effusion of your blood; let them experience the kindness and friendship of the United States of America, and the invaluable blessings of peace and tranquility.*

ANTHONY WAYNE.

Grand Glaize, August 13th, 1794.

Unwilling to waste time, the troops moved forward on the 15th, and on the 16th met Miller returning, with the message, that if the Americans would wait ten days at Grand Glaize,

*American State Papers, v. 490.

they (the Indians) would decide for peace or war;* which Wayne replied to only by marching straight on. On the 18th, the legion had advanced forty-one miles from Grand Glaize, and being near the long-looked for foe, began to throw up some light works called Fort Deposite, wherein to place the heavy baggage during the expected battle. On that day, five of Wayne's spies, among whom was May, the man who had been sent after Trueman and had pretended to desert to the Indians, rode into the very camp of the enemy; in attempting to retreat again, May's horse fell and he was taken. The next day, the day before the battle, he was tied to a tree and shot at as a target.† During the 19th, the army still labored on their works: on the 20th, at seven or eight o'clock, all baggage having been left behind, the white forces moved down the north bank of the Maumee—

The legion on the right, its flank covered by the Maumee; one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brigadier General Todd, and the other in the rear under Brigadier General Barbee. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the Legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced, so as to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the woods and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front; the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground, and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first; and directed Major General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages, with the whole of the mounted volunteers, by a circuitous route; at

* American Pioneer, i. 317.

†American Pioneer, i. 52, 318.—American State Papers, v. 243.

the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again.

I also ordered Captain Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers, were drove from all their coverts in so short a time, that although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd, and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being drove in the course of one hour, more than two miles, through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one half their number. From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison, as you will observe by the enclosed correspondence between Major Campbell, the commandant, and myself, upon the occasion.

The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the Generals down to the Ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with pleasure, and the most lively gratitude. Among whom, I must beg leave to mention Brigadier General Wilkinson, and Colonel Hamtramck, the commandants of the right and left wings of the legion, whose brave example inspired the troops. To those I must add the names of my faithful and gallant aids-de-camp, Captains De Butt and T. Lewis, and Lieutenant Harrison, who, with the Adjutant General, Major Mills, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory. * * *

Enclosed is a particular return of the killed and wounded. The loss of the enemy was more than that of the Federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the dead bodies of Indians, and their white auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

We remained three days and nights on the banks of the

Maumee, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and cornfields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol shot of the garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators to this general devastation and conflagration, among which were the houses, stores and property of Col. McKee, the British Indian agent, and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages.

The army returned to this place (Fort Defiance) on the 27th, by easy marches, laying waste the villages and cornfields for about fifty miles on each side of the Maumee. There remains yet a great number of villages and a great quantity of corn, to be consumed or destroyed, upon the Auglaize and the Maumee above this place, which will be effected in the course of a few days.*

The loss of the Americans in this action was thirty-three killed and one hundred wounded, including twenty-one officers, of whom, however, but five were killed.

The army remained at Fort Defiance, busily engaged in strengthening the works, until September 14th, when it marched for the Miami villages at the junction of the St. Joseph and the St. Mary, to build the fortress called Fort Wayne, which, when completed on the 22d of October, was named by Colonel Hamtramck, who was placed in command.† During this time the troops suffered much from sickness, and also from want of flour and salt; the latter article sold on the 24th of September, for six dollars a pint.* On the 28th of October the Legion began its return march to Greenville, the volunteers, who had become dissatisfied and troublesome, having been dispatched to that post for dismissal on the 12th of that month. During this time, (on the 11th or 13th) a brother of the Canadian taken in the action of August 20th, came to General Wayne with three Americans whom he had bought from the Indians, to exchange for his captive relation: the exchange was agreed to, and the messenger induced to make the following statement:

Governor Simcoe, Colonel M'Kee, and Captain Brant, arrived at Fort Miami, at the foot of the Rapids, on the 30th ultimo, (September;) Brant had with him one hundred Indians, Mohawks and Messasagoes.

*American State Papers, v. 491.—See the English account of the battle in Weld's Travels, ii. 211.

† American Pioneer, i. 354.

Governor Simcoe sent for the chiefs of the different hostile Indians, and invited them to meet him at the mouth of Detroit river, eighteen miles below Detroit, to hold a treaty; Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brant, together with Blue Jacket, Backongeles, the Little Turtle, Captain Johnny, and other chiefs of the Delawares, Miamies, Shawanese, Tawas, and Pottawatomies, set out accordingly, for the place assigned for the treaty, about the 1st instant: the Indians are well and regularly supplied with provisions from the British magazines, at a place called Swan Creek, near Lake Erie.

Previously to the arrival of Governor Simcoe, Blue Jacket, the Shawanese chiefs, two of the principal chief of the Tawas, and the principal chiefs of the Pottawatomies, had agreed to accompany him, the said ———, with a flag to this place.

Blue Jacket informed him, after the arrival of Simcoe, he would not now go with him, until after the intended treaty; but that his wishes, at present, were for peace; that he did not know what propositions Governor Simcoe had to make them, but that he and all the chiefs would go and hear; and, in the interim, desired him, the said ———, to inquire of General Wayne in what manner the chiefs should come to him, and whether they would be safe, in case they should determine on the measure, after the treaty with Simcoe, and after the said ——— should return to Detroit: had it not been for the arrival of Governor Simcoe, Colonel McKee, and Captain Brant, with his Indians, he is confident the chiefs, already mentioned, would have accompanied him to this place, at this time, as before related.*

This communication was further confirmed by statements from the Wyandots, some of whom were in the American interest.† Indeed it appeared afterwards that on the 10th of October the Indians met the British at the Big Rock, and were advised that their griefs would be laid before the King; and in connection with this, as General Wayne learned from the friendly Wyandots,—

Governor Simcoe insisted, that the Indians should not listen to any terms of peace from the Americans, but to propose a truce, or suspension of hostilities until the spring, when a grand council and assemblage of all the warriors and tribes of Indians should take place, for the purpose of compelling the Americans to cross to the east side of the Ohio; and in the interim, advised every nation to sign a deed or convey-

* American State Papers, v. 526.

† American State Papers, v. 548, 527.

ance of all their lands, on the west side of the Ohio, to the King, in trust for the Indians, so as to give the British a pretext or color for assisting them, in case the Americans refused to abandon all their posts and possessions on the west side of that river; and which the Indians should warn them to do, immediately after they, the Indians, were assembled in force in the spring, and to call upon the British to guaranty the lands thus ceded in trust, and to make a general attack upon the frontiers at the same time: that the British would be prepared to attack the Americans, also, in every quarter, and would compel them to cross the Ohio, and to give up the lands to the Indians.

Captain Brant also told them, to keep a good heart, and be strong; to do as their father advised; that he would return home, for the present, with his warriors, and come again early in the spring, with an additional number, so as to have the whole summer before them, to fight, kill, and pursue the Americans, who could not possibly stand against the force and numbers that would be opposed to them; that he had been always successful, and would insure them victory. But that he would not attack the Americans at this time, as it would only put them upon their guard, and bring them upon the Indians in this quarter, during the winter; therefore he advised them to amuse the Americans with a prospect of peace, until they should collect in force to fall upon them early in the spring, and when least expected.

That, agreeably to this plan or advice, the real hostile tribes will be sending flags frequently during the winter, with propositions of peace, but this is all fraud and art, to put the Americans off their guard.

The British made large presents to the Indians at the late council, and continued to furnish them with provision from Colonel McKee's new stores, near the mouth of the Miamies of Lake Erie, where all the Indians are hutted or in tents, whose towns and property were destroyed last sum... and who will sign away their lands, and do exactly what the ...itish request them; this was the general prevailing opinion at the breaking up of the council; since which period, the message and propositions of the 5th November, addressed to the different tribes of Indians proposing the treaty of the 9th of January, 1789, held at the mouth of Muskingum, as a preliminary upon which a permanent peace should be established, has been communicated to them; upon which, a considerable number of the chiefs of several of the tribes assembled again, and were determined to come forward to treat, say about the first of this moon. But Colonel McKee was informed of it, and advised them against the measure, and to be faithful to their father, as they had promised. He then made them additional

presents, far beyond any thing that they had ever heretofore received, which inclined a majority to adhere to Governor Simcoe's propositions, and they returned home accordingly.

That, notwithstanding this, the chiefs and nations are much divided, some for peace, and some for war; the Wyandots of Sandusky are for peace; those near Detroit for war; the Delawares are equally divided, so are the Miamies, but are dependent upon the British for provision; the Shawanese and Tawas are for war; the Pottawatomies and Chippewas are gone home, sore from the late action.

That such of the chiefs and warriors as are inclined for peace, will call a council, and endeavor to bring it about, upon the terms proposed, as they wish to hold their lands under the Americans, and not under the British, whose title they do not like.*

News also came from the West that the Indians were crossing the Mississippi; in New York, on the 11th of November, Pickering made a new treaty with the Iroquois; while in the north fewer and fewer of the savages lurked about Forts Defiance and Wayne. Nor was it long before the wish of the natives to make peace became still more apparent; on the 28th and 29th of December, the Chiefs of the Chippewas, Ottowas, Sacs, Pottawatomies, and Miamies, came with peace messages to Col. Hamtramck,† at Fort Wayne, and on the 24th of January, 1795, at Greenville, entered, together with the Delawares, Wyandots, and Shawanese, into preliminary articles with the Commander-in-chief. The truth was, the red men had been entirely disappointed in the conduct of their white allies after the action of the 20th of August; as Brant said, "a fort had been built in their country under pretence of giving refuge in case of necessity, but when that time came, the gates were shut against them as enemies."‡ During the winter, Wayne having utterly laid waste their fertile fields, the poor savages were wholly dependent on the English who did not half supply them; their cattle and dogs died, and they were themselves nearly starved. Under these circumstances, losing faith in the English, and at last impressed with a respect for American power after the carnage ex-

* American State Papers, v. 548, 550, 559, 566, 567.

† See his letters to Wayne.—American Pioneer, ii. 389 to 392.

‡ Stone's Brant, ii. 390. Several Mohawks were probably engaged in the battle of August 20th, and Brant would have been with them but for sickness.—[Stone ii. 390, note.]

perienced at the hands of the "Black Snake," the various tribes, by degrees, made up their minds to ask for peace; during the winter and spring they exchanged prisoners, and made ready to meet Gen. Wayne at Greenville, in June, for the purpose of forming a definite treaty, as it had been agreed should be done by the preliminaries of January 24th. One scene among the many of that time seems deserving of a transfer to our pages; it is from the narrative of John Brickell, who had been a captive for four years among the Delawares, and adopted into the family of Whingwy Pooshies, or Big Cat, a noted warrior of that tribe.*

On the breaking up of spring, Brickell says, we all went up to Fort Defiance, and, on arriving on the shore opposite, we saluted the fort with a round of rifles, and they shot a cannon thirteen times. We then encamped on the spot. On the same day, Whingwy Pooshies told me I must go over to the fort. The children hung round me crying, and asked me if I was going to leave them? I told them I did not know. When we got over to the fort, and were seated with the officers, Whingwy Pooshies told me to stand up, which I did; he then rose and addressed me in about these words: "My son, there are men the same color with yourself. There may be some of your kin there, or your kin may be a great way off from you. You have lived a long time with us. I call on you to say if I have not been a father to you? If I have not used you as a father would use a son?" I said, "You have used me as well as a father could use a son." He said, "I am glad you say so. You have lived long with me; you have hunted for me; but our treaty says you must be free. If you choose to go with the people of your own color, I have no right to say a word; but if you choose to stay with me, your people have no right to speak. Now reflect on it, and take your choice, and tell us as soon as you make up your mind."

I was silent a few minutes, in which time it seemed as if I almost thought of every thing. I thought of the children I had just left crying; I thought of the Indians I was attached to, and I thought of my people which I remembered; and this latter thought predominated, and I said, "I will go with my kin." The old man then said, "I have raised you—I have learned you to hunt. You are a good hunter—you have been better to me than my own sons. I am now getting old, and I cannot hunt. I thought you would be a support to my age. I leaned on you as a staff. Now it is broken—you are going

* Brickell's Narrative. American Pioneer. i. 53. Stone's Brant, ii. 380. American State Papers, v. 520. Heckewelder's Narrative, 405. American Pioneer, i. 54. Speech of Buckongehelas. American State Papers, v. 582.

to leave me and I have no right to say a word, but I am ruined." He then sank back in tears to his seat. I heartily joined him in his tears—parted with him, and have never seen nor heard of him since.*

During the month of June, the representatives of the northwestern tribes began to gather at Greenville, and on the 16th of that month, Wayne met in council, the Delawares, Ottowas, Pottawatomies, and Eel river Indians; and the conferences, which lasted till August 10th, commenced. On the 21st of June, Buckongehelas arrived; on the 23d, the Little Turtle and other Miamies; on the 13th of July, Tarke and other Wyandot Chiefs reached the appointed spot; and upon the 18th, Blue Jacket with thirteen Shawanese, and Masass with twenty Chippewas. Most of these, as it appeared by their statements, had been tampered with by McKee, Brant and other English Agents,† even after they had agreed to the preliminaries of January 24th, and while Mr. Jay's treaty was still under discussion.‡ They had, however, all determined to make a permanent peace with the Thirteen Fires, and although some difficulty as to the ownership of the lands to be ceded, at one time seemed likely to arise, the good sense of Wayne and of the Chiefs prevented it, and upon the 30th of July the treaty was agreed to which was to bury the hatchet forever. Between that day and the 3d of August it was engrossed, and having been signed by the various nations upon the day last named, on the 7th was finally acted upon, and the presents from the United States distributed forthwith. While the Council was in session, some mischief had been done in Virginia by a band of Shawanese, but on the 9th of September these also came to Greenville, gave up their prisoners, and asked for forgiveness.

The basis of the treaty of Greenville was the previous one made at Fort Harmar, and its leading provisions were as follows:

ART. 1. Hostilities were to cease.

ART. 2. All prisoners were to be restored.

* See American Pioneer, i. 54.

† See speeches of Blue Jacket and Massass. [American State Papers, v. 568,] and of Agoochaway, an Ottawa. [American State Papers, v. 566.]

‡ Jay reached England June 15, 1794; his treaty was concluded Nov. 19th; it was received by the President March 7, 1795; was submitted to the Senate June 8; was agreed to by them on the 24th of that month; and ratified by the President Aug. 14th.

ART. 3. The general boundary lines between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Cuyahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Lawrence; thence westwardly, to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami river, running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loramie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course, to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence southwesterly, in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucky or Cuttawa river. And in consideration of the peace now established; of the goods formerly received from the United States; of those now to be delivered; and of the yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter; and to indemnify the United States for the injuries and expenses they have sustained during the war; the said Indian tribes do hereby cede and relinquish, forever, all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line now described; and these lands, or any part of them, shall never hereafter be made a cause or pretence, on the part of the said tribes, or any of them, of war or injury to the United States, or any other people thereof.

And for the same consideration, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land, to wit: 1. One piece of land six miles square, at or near Laromie's store, before mentioned. 2. One piece, two miles square, at the head of the navigable water or landing, on the St. Mary's river, near Girty's town. 3. One piece, six miles square, at the head of the navigable waters of the Auglaize river. 4. One piece, six miles square, at the confluence of the Auglaize and Miami river, where Fort Defiance now stands. 5. One piece, six miles square, at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Marys and St. Joseph's, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it. 6. One piece, two miles square, on the Wabash river, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne. 7. One piece, six miles square, at the Ouatanon, or old Wea towns, on the Wabash river. 8. One piece, twelve miles square, at the British fort on the Miami of the lake, at the foot of the rapids. 9. One piece, six miles square, at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake. 10. One piece, six miles square, upon Sandusky lake, where a fort formerly stood. 11.

One piece, two miles square, at the lower rapids of Sandusky river. 12. The post of Detroit, and all the lands to the north, the west, and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments: and so much more land to be annexed to the District of Detroit, as shall be comprehended between the river Rosine on the south, and lake St. Clair on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of lake Erie and Detroit river. 13. The post of Michillimackinac, and all the land on the Island on which that post stands, and the main land adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments; and a piece of land on the Main to the north of the Island, to measure six miles, on lake Huron, or the Strait between lakes Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water on the lake or Strait; and also, the Island de Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation. 14. One piece of land, six miles square, at the mouth of Chicago river, emptying into the south-west end of lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood. 15. One piece, twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi. 16. One piece, six miles square, at the old Peorias fort and village, near the south end of the Illinois lake, on said Illinois river. And whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the lands hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs to attend and see that the lines are run according to the terms of this treaty.

And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States, a free passage, by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts herein before mentioned; that is to say: from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, at or near Loramie's store, thence, along said portage, to the St. Mary's, and down the same to Fort Wayne, and then down the Miami to Lake Erie; again, from the commencement of the portage, at or near Loramie's store, along the portage, from thence to the river Auglaize, and down the same to its junction with the Miami at Fort Defiance; again, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid, to Sandusky river, and down the same to Sandusky bay, and Lake Erie, and from Sandusky to the post which shall be taken at or near the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the lake; and from thence to Detroit. Again, from the mouth of Chicago, to the commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois river to the Mississippi; also, from Fort Wayne, along the portage aforesaid, which leads to the Wa-

bash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio. And the said Indian tribes will also allow to the people of the United States, the free use of the harbors and mouths of rivers, along the lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes when necessary for their safety.

ART. 4. In consideration of the peace now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of lands, made in the preceding article, by the said tribes of Indians, and to manifest the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquish their claims to all other Indian lands, northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the Great Lakes, and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed on by the United States and the King of Great Britain, in the treaty of peace made between them in the year 1783. But from this relinquishment by the United States, the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted. 1st. The tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres, near the rapids of the river Ohio, which has been assigned to General Clark, for the use of himself and his warriors. 2d. The post at St. Vincennes, on the river Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished. 3d. The lands at all other places, in possession of the French people, and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished, as mentioned in the 3d article; and 4th. The post of Fort Massac, towards the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of land, so excepted, the said tribes relinquish all the title and claim, which they or any of them may have.

And, for the same considerations, and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes, a quantity of goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge; and henceforward, every year, for ever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place, northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars; reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States, where they shall be procured. The tribes to which those goods are to be annually delivered, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered, are the following:

1st. To the Wyandots, the amount of one thousand dollars.
2d. To the Delawares, the amount of one thousand dollars.
3d. To the Shawanese, the amount of one thousand dollars.
4th. To the Miamies, the amount of one thousand dollars.
5th. To the Ottawas, the amount of one thousand dollars.
6th. To the Chippewas, the amount of one thousand dollars.
7th. To the Pottawatimas, the amount of one thousand dollars.

8th. And to the Kickapoo, Wea, Eel river, Piankeshaw, and Kaskaskia tribes, the amount of five hundred dollars each.

Provided, that if either of the said tribes shall hereafter, at an annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils, convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers who may reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall, at the subsequent annual deliveries, be furnished accordingly.

ART. 5. To prevent any misunderstanding, about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States, in the fourth article, it is now explicitly declared, that the meaning of that relinquishment is this: the Indian tribes who have a right to these lands, are quietly to enjoy them, hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon, so long as they please, without any molestation from the United States; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands, or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States; and until such sale, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes, in the quiet enjoyment of their lands, against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same. And the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the said United States, and no other power whatever.*

ART. 6th. The Indians or United States may remove and punish intruders on Indian lands.

ART. 7th. Indians may hunt within ceded lands.

ART. 8th. Trade shall be opened in substance, as by provisions in treaty of Fort Harmar.

ART. 9th. All injuries shall be referred to law; not privately avenged; and all hostile plans known to either, shall be revealed to the other party.

ART. 10th. All previous treaties annulled.

This great and abiding peace document, was signed by the various nations named in the 4th article, and dated August the 3d, 1795. It was laid before the Senate, December 9th, and ratified December 22d. So closed the old Indian wars of the West.†

* See Land Laws, p. 154.

† See the treaty and minutes of the council, American State Papers, v. 562 to 583. The treaty alone, Land Laws 154 to 159.

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APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII.

[The following documents are of sufficient importance to require insertion, and yet they are not exactly suited to the body of this work. Instead of a cumbrous note running through several pages, we place them in the form of an Appendix.

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[NUMBER I.]

Miami (Maumee) River, August 21, 1794.

Sir: An Army of the United States of America, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami, (Maumee) for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within the reach of the guns of this fort, being a post belonging to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, occupied by His Majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself, as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison. I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Major 24th Reg.,
Commanding a British post on the banks of the Miami.

To Major General Wayne, &c.

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[NUMBER II.]

Camp on the Bank of the Miami, (Maumee,)
August 21, 1794.

Sir: I have received your letter of this date, requiring from me the motives which have moved the army under my command to the position they at present occupy, far within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States of America. Without questioning the authority or the propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think I may, without breach of decorum, observe to you, that were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms, yesterday morning, in the action against the horde of savages in the vicinity of your post,

which terminated gloriously to the American arms; but, had it continued until the Indians, &c. were driven under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command, as no such post was established at the commencement of the present war between the Indians and the United States.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

ANTHONY WAYNE, Major General,
And Commander-in-chief of the Federal Army.

To Major William Campbell, &c.

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[NUMBER III.]

Fort Miami, August 22d, 1794.

SIR: Although your letter of yesterday's date fully authorizes me to any act of hostility against the army of the United States in this neighborhood, under your command, yet still anxious to prevent that dreadful decision which, perhaps, is not intended to be appealed to by either of our countries, I have forborne, for these two days past, to resent those insults you have offered to the British flag flying at this fort, by approaching within pistol shot of my works, not only singly, but in numbers, with arms in their hands. Neither is it my wish to wage war with individuals; but, should you, after this, continue to approach my post in the threatening manner you are at this moment doing, my indispensable duty to my king and country, and the honor of my profession, will oblige me to have recourse to those measures, which thousands of either nation may hereafter have cause to regret, and which I solemnly appeal to God, I have used my utmost endeavors to arrest.

I have the honor to be, sir, with much respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Major 24th Regiment,
Commanding at Fort Miami.

Major General Wayne, &c.

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[NUMBER IV.]

Camp, Banks of the Miami, 22d August, 1794.

SIR: In your letter of the 21st instant, you declare, "I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America." I, on my part, declare the same, and that the only cause I have to entertain

a contrary idea at present, is the hostile act you are now in commission of, i. e. by recently taking post far within the well known and acknowledged limits of the United States, and erecting a fortification in the heart of the settlements of the Indian tribes now at war with the United States. This, sir, appears to be an act of the highest aggression, and destructive to the peace and interest of the Union. Hence it becomes my duty to desire, and I do hereby desire and demand, in the name of the President of the United States, that you immediately desist from any further act of hostility or aggression, by forbearing to fortify, and by withdrawing the troops, artillery, and stores, under your orders and direction, forthwith, and removing to the nearest post occupied by his Britannic Majesty's troops at the peace of 1783, and which you will be permitted to do unmolested, by the troops under my command.

I am, with very great respect, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant, ANTHONY WAYNE.

Major William Campbell, &c.

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[NUMBER V.]

Fort Miami, 22d August, 1794.

SIR: I have this moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date; in answer to which I have only to say, that, being placed here in command of a British post, and acting in a military capacity only, I cannot enter into any discussion either on the right or impropriety of my occupying my present position. Those are matters that I conceive will be best left to the ambassadors of our different nations.

Having said this much, permit me to inform you that I certainly will not abandon this post, at the summons of any power whatever, until I receive orders for that purpose from those I have the honor to serve under, or the fortune of war should oblige me. I must still adhere, sir, to the purport of my letter this morning, to desire that your army, or individuals belonging to it, will not approach within reach of my cannon, without expecting the consequences attending it.

Although I have said, in the former part of my letter, that my situation here is totally military, yet, let me add, sir, that I am much deceived, if His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, had not a post on this river, at and prior to the period you mention.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the greatest respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM CAMPBELL, Major 24th Regiment,
Commanding at Fort Miami.

To Major General Wayne, &c.

[NUMBER VI.]

Killed and Wounded.

The Legion had twenty-six killed, five of them officers, eighty-seven wounded, thirteen of them officers; the Kentucky volunteers had seven killed, all privates, and thirteen wounded, three of whom were officers;—of the wounded eleven died: making in all dead and wounded, one hundred and thirty-three.—American State Papers, v. 492.

An eye-witness (American Pioneer, i. 319) thinks there were near five hundred Canadians in the battle. A Shawanese prisoner taken August 11, testifies thus—.

Question.—What number of warriors are at McKee's, and what nations do they belong to?

Answer.—There are six hundred who abandoned this place on the approach of the Army.

Shawanese, about - - -	200, but not more.
Delawares, - - - - - -	300
Miamies, - - - - - -	100
Warriors of all other tribes, - -	100
Total,	700

Q.—What number are expected to assemble, in addition to those now at the foot of the Rapids?

A.—In all, about four hundred men, viz.

Wyandots, - - - - -	300
Tawas, - - - - -	240
Total,	540

Q.—What number of white men are to join and when?

A.—Mr. or Captain Elliot set out for Detroit six days since, and was to be back yesterday, with all the militia, and an additional number of regular troops, which, with those already there, would amount to one thousand men. This is the general conversation among the Indians, and Captain Elliot promised to bring that number. Colonel McKee's son went with Elliot, as also the man who deserted from the army on its march.

One of the Canadians taken in the battle gives the following estimates:

That the Delawares have about five hundred men, including those who live on both rivers, the White river, and Bean creek.

That the Miamies are about two hundred warriors, part of them live on the St. Joseph's, eight leagues from this place; that the men were all in the action, but the women are yet at that place, or Piquet's village; that a road leads from this

place directly to it; that the number of warriors belonging to that place, when altogether, amounts to about forty.

That the Shawanese have about three hundred warriors; that the Tawas, on this river, are two hundred and fifty; that the Wyandots are about three hundred.

That those Indians were generally in the action on the 20th instant, except some hunting parties. That a reinforcement of regular troops, and two hundred militia, arrived at Fort Miami a few days before the army appeared, that the regular troops in the fort amounted to two hundred and fifty, exclusive of the militia.

That about seventy of the militia, including Captain Caldwell's corps, were in the action. That Colonel McKee, Captain Elliot, and Simon Girty, were in the field, but at a respectful distance and near the river.

That the Indians have wished for peace for some time, but that Colonel McKee always dissuaded them from it, and stimulated them to continue the war.—[American State Papers, v. 494.]

In a letter of August 14th, Wayne says, "The margins of these beautiful rivers, the Miamies of the Lake and Au Glaize, appear like one continued village for a number of miles both above and below this place (Grand Glaize;) nor have I ever before beheld such immense fields of corn in any part of America from Canada to Florida." [American State Papers, v. 490.]

CHAPTER XIV.

POLITICAL EVENTS.

Kentucky admitted into the Union—French influence defeated—Spanish influence from New Orleans—A project to dismember the Union—Political parties formed—Federal and Anti Federal views—Whisky insurrection—Settlements in Ohio—Jay's treaty.

During the six years through which the Indian wars of the West continued, many events took place of local importance, to which we must now refer. And foremost, stands the admission of Kentucky into the Union. In 1789, she had requested certain changes in the law authorizing separation, which had been passed by Virginia, and these changes were made; it being requested, however, at the same time, that a ninth Kentucky convention should meet, in July, 1790, to express the sentiments of the people of the western district, and to take other needful steps. Upon the 26th of July, accordingly, the Convention came together; the terms of Virginia were agreed to: June 1, 1792, was fixed as the date of independence; and measures adopted to procure the agreement of the federal legislature. It was also resolved, that in December, 1791, persons should be chosen to serve seven months, who, on the first Monday in April, 1792, should meet at Danville, to form a constitution for the coming state, and determine what laws should be in force. In December, 1790, the President of the United States presented the subject of the admission of Kentucky to Congress, and upon the 4th of February, 1791, that action was taken, which terminated the long frustrated efforts of the land of Boone, Clark, and Logan, to obtain self-government. In the following December, the elections took place, for persons to frame a constitution, and in April, 1792, the instrument which was to lie at the basis of Kentucky law, was prepared, mainly, it would seem, by George Nicholas, of Mercer county.* As this charter, however, was changed in some important features, a few years after, we shall not at this time, enter into any discussion of its merits and defects.

* Marshall's Kentucky, i. 360, 414.—Sparks' Washington, xii. 13, 32.—Butler's Kentucky, 196.

A second subject to be noticed, is the attempt of the agents of the French minister in the United States, to enlist the citizens of Kentucky in an attack upon the dominions of Spain, in the southwest. We cannot, and need not, do more than refer to the state of feeling prevalent in America, in relation to France, from 1792 to 1795. On the 21st of January, 1793, the French had taken the life of their monarch, and upon the 18th of May, M. Genet was presented to Washington, as the representative of the new republic of France. This man brought with him *open* instructions, in which the United States were spoken of as naturally neutral, in the contest between France and united Holland, Spain and England; and *secret* instructions, the purpose of which was to induce the government, and if that could not be done, the People, of the American republic, to make common cause with the founders of the dynasty of the guillotine. In pursuance of this plan, Genet began a system of operations, the tendency of which was, to involve the People of the United States in a war with the enemies of France, without any regard to the views of the federal government: and knowing very well the old bitterness of the frontier-men, in relation to the navigation of the Mississippi, he formed the plan of embodying a band of troops beyond the Alleghanies, for the conquest of Louisiana. Early in November, in 1793, four persons were sent westward to raise troops and issue commissions, in the name of the French republic. They moved openly and boldly, secure in the strong democratic feelings of the inhabitants of the region drained by the great river which Spain controlled; and so far succeeded, as to persuade even the political founder of Kentucky, George Rogers Clark, to become a Major General in the armies of France, and Commander-in-chief of the revolutionary forces on the Mississippi.* Nor did the French emissaries much mistake the temper of the people of the West, as will be evident from the following extracts; the first of which, is from an address "to the inhabitants of the United States west of the Alleghany and Appalachian mountains," dated December 13, 1793; the other, from a remonstrance to the President and

* Pitkin's United States, ii. 359, 360.—Genet's pamphlet and correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, published in Philadelphia, 1793.—American State Papers, i. 454 to 460.—Marshall's Kentucky, ii. 99 to 100, 103.—Butler's Kentucky, 224 to 234, and 524 to 531. Second edition.

Congress of the United States of America, which is without date, but was prepared about the same time as the first paper.

December 13, 1793.

Fellow-Citizens:—The Democratic Society of Kentucky having had under consideration, the measures necessary to obtain the exercise of your rights to the free navigation of the Mississippi, have determined to address you upon that important topic. In so doing, they think that they only use the undoubted right of citizens to consult for their common welfare. This measure is not dictated by party or faction; it is the consequence of unavoidable necessity. It has become so, from the neglect shown by the General Government, to obtain for those of the citizens of the United States who are interested therein the navigation of that river. * * * *

Experience, fellow-citizens, has shown us that the General Government is unwilling that we should obtain the navigation of the river Mississippi. A local policy appears to have an undue weight in the councils of the Union. It seems to be the object of that policy to prevent the population of this country, which would draw from the eastern States their industrious citizens. This conclusion inevitably follows from a consideration of the measures taken to prevent the purchase and settlement of the lands bordering on the Mississippi. Among those measures, the unconstitutional interference which rescinded sales, by one of the States, to private individuals, makes a striking object. And perhaps the fear of a successful rivalship, in every article of their exports, may have its weight. But, if they are not unwilling to do us justice, they are at least regardless of our rights and welfare. We have found prayers and supplications of no avail, and should we continue to load the table of Congress with memorials, from a part only of the western country, it is too probable that they would meet with a fate similar to those which have been formerly presented. Let us, then, all unite our endeavors in the common cause. Let all join in a firm and manly remonstrance to the President and Congress of the United States, stating our just and undoubted right to the navigation of the Mississippi, remonstrating against the conduct of government with regard to that right, which must have been occasioned by local policy or neglect, and demanding of them speedy and effectual exertions for its attainment. We cannot doubt that you will cordially and unanimously join in this measure. It can hardly be necessary to remind you that considerable quantities of beef, pork, flour, hemp, tobacco, &c., the produce of this country, remain on hand for want of purchasers, or are sold at inadequate prices. Much greater quantities might be raised if the inhabitants were encouraged by the certain sale which the free navigation of the Mississippi would afford. An addi-

tional increase of those articles, and a greater variety of produce and manufactures, would be supplied, by means of the encouragement, which the attainment of that great object would give to emigration. But it is not only your own rights which you are to regard: remember that your posterity have a claim to your exertions to obtain and secure that right. Let not your memory be stigmatised with a neglect of duty. Let not history record that the inhabitants of this beautiful country lost a most invaluable right, and half the benefits bestowed upon it by a bountiful Providence, through your neglect and supineness. The present crisis is favorable. Spain is engaged in a war which requires all her forces. If the present golden opportunity be suffered to pass without advantage, and she shall have concluded a peace with France, we must then contend against her undivided strength.

But what may be the event of the proposed application is still uncertain. We ought, therefore, to be still upon our guard, and watchful to seize the first favorable opportunity to gain our object. In order to this, our union should be as perfect and lasting as possible. We propose that societies should be formed, in convenient districts, in every part of the western country, who shall preserve a correspondence upon this and every other subject of a general concern. By means of these societies we shall be enabled speedily to know what may be the result of our endeavors, to consult upon such further measures as may be necessary to preserve union, and, finally, by these means, to secure success.

Remember that it is a common cause which ought to unite us; that cause is indubitably just, that ourselves and posterity are interested, that the crisis is favorable, and that it is only by union that the object can be achieved. The obstacles are great, and so ought to be our efforts. Adverse fortune may attend us, but it shall never dispirit us. We may for a while exhaust our wealth and strength, but until the all important object is procured, we pledge ourselves to you, and let us all pledge ourselves to each other, that our perseverance and our friendship will be inexhaustible.

JOHN BRECKENRIDGE, Chairman.

Test:—THOMAS TODD, THOMAS BODLEY, } Clerks.

To the President and Congress of the United States of America.

The remonstrance of the subscribers, citizens of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, showeth:—

That your remonstrants, and the other inhabitants of the United States, west of the Alleghany and Apalachian mountains, are entitled, by nature and stipulation, to the free and

undisturbed navigation of the river Mississippi; and that, from the year 1783 to this day, they have been prevented uniformly, by the Spanish king, from exercising that right. Your remonstrants have observed, with concern, that the General Government, whose duty it was to have preserved that right, have used no effectual measures for its attainment; that even their tardy and ineffectual negotiations have been veiled with the most mysterious secrecy; that that secrecy is a violation of the political rights of the citizens, as it declares that the people are unfit to be entrusted with important facts relative to their rights, and that their servants may retain from them the knowledge of those facts. Eight years are surely sufficient for the discussion of the most doubtful and disputable claim. The right to the navigation of the Mississippi admits neither of doubt nor dispute. Your remonstrants, therefore, conceive that the negotiations on that subject have been unnecessarily lengthy, and they expect that it be demanded categorically of the Spanish king whether he will acknowledge the right of the citizens of the United States to the free and uninterrupted navigation of the river Mississippi, and cause all obstructions, interruption, and hindrance to the exercise of that right, in future, to be withdrawn and avoided; that immediate answer be required, and that such answer be the final period of all negotiations upon the subject.

Your remonstrants further represent, that the encroachment of the Spaniards upon the territory of the United States, is a striking and melancholy proof of the situation to which our country will be reduced, if a tame policy should still continue to direct our councils.

Your remonstrants join their voice to that of their fellow-citizens in the Atlantic States, calling for satisfaction for the injuries and insults offered to America; and they expect such satisfaction shall extend to every injury and insult done or offered to any part of America, by Great Britain and Spain; and as the detention of the posts, and the interruption to the navigation of the Mississippi, are injuries and insults of the greatest atrocity, and of the longest duration, they require the most particular attention to those subjects.*

But the government had taken measures to prevent the proposed movements from being carried into effect. The Governor of Kentucky, Isaac Shelby; Governor St. Clair, and General Wayne, were all written to: and, by the preparation of troops, the renewal of Fort Massac,† the dissemination of just views among the people, and the request made of the French government that Genet should be recalled, the plans

* American State Papers. xx. 929, 930.

† See American Pioneer, ii. 220.—See on the whole subject, Marshall, ii. 96 to 122.

of that mischief-maker and his agents were effectually defeated: the rulers of France disowned his acts—he was ordered back to Europe—and in May, 1794, his western emissary was forced to write to the Democratic Society of Lexington in these words:—

To the Democratic Society of Lexington:

Citizens:—Events, unforeseen, the effects of causes which it is unnecessary here to develop, have stopped the march of two thousand brave Kentuckians, who, strong in their courage, in the justice of their rights, their cause, the general assent of their fellow-citizens, and convinced of the brotherly disposition of the Louisianians, waited only for their orders to go, by the strength of their arms, take from the Spaniards the despotic usurpers of the empire of the Mississippi, ensure to their country the navigation of it, break the chains of the Americans, and their brethren the French, hoist up the flag of liberty in the name of the French republic, and lay the foundation of the prosperity and happiness of two nations situated so, and destined by nature to be one, the most happy in the universe. * * * * * * * * * *

Accept, citizens, the farewell, not the last, of a brother who is determined to sacrifice every thing in his power for the liberty of his country, and the prosperity of the generous inhabitants of Kentucky.

Salut en la patrie, AUGUSTE LACHAISE.*

This letter was followed by a meeting in Lexington, which denounced Washington and all who supported him, especially Jay. It also proposed a convention for the indefinite purpose of deliberating on the steps expedient to secure the just rights of the people: the proposition produced no result. [See Butler's Kentucky, 234.] Up to April, 1794, there were preparations still going on; John S. Gano of Cincinnati, on the 8th or 9th of that month, passed through Lexington: he found the Genet plan generally liked, cannon casting, ammunition subscribed, and heard of boats building at the Falls. It had been previously dropped for a time from want of funds.

Notwithstanding Genet's defeat, M. Adet, the minister of France in 1796, appears to have sent emissaries into the West in the spring of that year, to renew the process of exciting disaffection to the Union. They were General Collot and M. Warin. Information of the plan having been communicated

* American State Papers, xx. 931.

to the Executive, an agent was sent after the Frenchmen to watch them, and counteract their purposes. This person saw Collot at Pittsburgh, and learned his plans; he was to visit Kentucky, Fort Washington, the South-west, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and St. Louis; he carried strong letters to Wilkinson, and relied especially on Sebastian. The government appears to have brought the whole plot to naught, in silence. [Evidence of these facts is to be found in the letter of the agent employed; in the memoranda of Oliver Wolcott, secretary of the treasury; and in the Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams, by George Gibbs, published in New York in 1846, vol. i. 350 to 356.]

A third topic relative to Kentucky, which we now have to notice as connected with the period we are treating of, is the Spanish intrigue with Wilkinson, Sebastian, Innis, and Nicholas.

In 1787, General Wilkinson had made his last trip to New Orleans; in February, 1788, he returned to Kentucky, and the following year again visited the south, with which he continued to hold regular intercourse until 1791, when he began to take part in the Indian wars of the north-west. During this period, his operations were to appearance, merely commercial, and the utmost reach of his plans, the formation of a kind of mercantile treaty with the Spanish provinces, by which the navigation of the Mississippi might be secured as a privilege, if not a right. We cannot enter into an examination of the mass of evidence brought forward in later times, (from 1807 to 1811,) to sustain the charge brought against Wilkinson of having received a pension from the Spanish Government, in return for which he was to play the traitor to his country and effect a disunion of the States. In 1808, he was brought before a court of inquiry, and entirely acquitted of the charge; and again, in 1811, he was tried before a court martial, and every particle of evidence that could be found by his most inveterate enemies, without regard to legal formalities, which the accused dispensed with, was gathered, to overwhelm him; but he was declared innocent by the court of every charge preferred against him. Nor does our own examination of the evidence lead us to doubt the correctness of the decision in his favor; the chief witnesses who criminated him were of the worst character, and most

vindictive tempers, and not a circumstance was fairly, clearly proved that could not be explained by the avowed mercantile relations which he succeeded in establishing with the Spanish governors at New Orleans. Those governors may, very probably, have hoped to see his business connections turn into political ones, but there is no cause to think they ever did so.*

Among the plans of the Spanish officials in Louisiana, was one of encouraging emigration thither from the United States, and this had been fully disclosed to Wilkinson, who furnished a list of probable emigrants, and interested himself generally in the matter.† Among the persons recommended by him to Gov. Miro, was Benjamin Sebastian, a lawyer of Kentucky, and in September, 1789, the Governor wrote to Sebastian, relative to the proposed measure.‡ In that letter, the wish of Spain to establish friendly relations with the Ohio settlers was named, and an offer of certain commercial privileges held out. The communication thus opened with Sebastian, was probably continued; and when the Baron de Carondelet succeeded Gen. Miro, he wrote to him in July, 1795, the following letter:

New Orleans, July 16, 1795.

Sir:—The confidence reposed in you by my predecessor, Brigadier General Miro, and your former correspondence with him, have induced me to make a communication to you highly interesting to the country in which you live, and to Louisiana.

His Majesty, being willing to open the navigation of the Mississippi to the people of the western country, and being also desirous to establish certain regulations, reciprocally beneficial to the commerce of both countries, has ordered me

* Depositions of George Mather and William Wickoff, jr., in Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii, 103, 104. Deposition of A. Ellicott, American State Papers, xxi. 89 (12th interrogation.)

The evidence in relation to Wilkinson, is in American State Papers, xx. 704 to 713, 936 to 939; xxi. 79 to 127; in report of the committee of the House of Representatives, Washington, 1811; in "Proofs of the corruption of General James Wilkinson, by Daniel Clark." See also appendix to Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii.—also his argument to the Court Martial, Memoirs, ii. 41 to 268.

A letter in Dillon's Indiana, i. 412, from Wilkinson to Captain Buntin, is worthy of notice, as a proof in favor of Wilkinson's intentions in 1797.

For charges against him, see Memoirs, ii. 35 to 40

For sentence of Court of Inquiry, do. pp. 12, 13.

For do. Court Martial, do. pp. 565 to 576.

The charges before the Court Marshal and its sentence, are also in Niles' Register, i. 469, to 474.

† Memoirs, ii. 112.

‡ American State Papers, xx. 706 and 926.

to proceed on the business, and to effect, in a way the most satisfactory to the people of the western country, his benevolent designs.

I have, therefore, made this communication to you, in expectation that you will procure agents to be chosen and fully empowered by the people of your country to negotiate with Col. Gayoso on the subject, at New Madrid, whom I shall send there in October next, properly authorized for that purpose, with directions to continue in that place, or its vicinity, until the arrival of your agents.

I am, by information, well acquainted with the character of some of the most respectable inhabitants of Kentucky, particularly of Innis, Nicholas, and Murray, to whom I wish you to communicate the purport of this address; and, should you and those gentlemen think as important of it as I do, you will doubtless accede, without hesitation, to the proposition I have made of sending a delegation of your countrymen, sufficiently authorized to treat on a subject which so deeply involves the interest of both our countries.

I remain, with every esteem and regard, sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

THE BARON OF CARONDELET.

Innis, Nicholas and Murray, were consulted, and the result was a visit by Sebastian, first to New Madrid, where he conferred with Gayoso, and then to New Orleans, where he met with the Baron himself. Before, however, terms were agreed on, news came that the Federal Government had concluded a treaty with Spain, covering the whole subject, and the messenger, in 1796, returned to Kentucky.* During the summer of the next year, 1797, Thomas Power came to Kentucky from Louisiana, and sent Sebastian the following communication, which he in turn communicated to Innis and Nicholas, who sent to Sebastian a reply which we also give.

His Excellency, the Baron of Carondelet, Commander-in-chief and Governor of his Catholic Majesty's provinces of West Florida, and Louisiana, having communications of importance, embracing the interests of said provinces, and at the same time deeply affecting those of Kentucky, and the western country in general, to make to its inhabitants through the medium of the influential characters in this country, and judging it, in the present uncertain and critical attidude of politics, highly imprudent and dangerous to lay them on paper, has expressly commissioned and authorized me to submit the following proposals to the consideration of Messrs. S., N., I., and M. [Sebastian, Nicholas, Innis, and

* Deposition of Innis. American State Papers, xx. 925 to 927.

Murray,] and also of such other gentlemen, as may be pointed out by them, and to receive from them their sentiments and determination on the subject.

1. The above named gentlemen are immediately to exert all their influence in impressing on the minds of the inhabitants of the western country, a conviction of the necessity of their withdrawing and separating themselves from the Federal Union, and forming an independent government, wholly unconnected with that of the Atlantic States. To prepare and dispose the people for such an event, it will be necessary that the most popular and eloquent writers in this State should, in well-timed publications, expose, in the most striking point of view, the inconveniences and disadvantages, that a longer connexion with, and depeudence on, the Atlantic States, must inevitably draw upon them, and the great and innumerable difficulties in which they will probably be entangled if they do not speedily secede from the Union; the benefits they will certainly reap from a secession, ought to be pointed out in the most forcible and powerful manner; and the danger of permitting the federal troops to take possession of the posts on the Mississippi; and thus forming a cordon of fortified places around them, must be particularly expatiated upon. In consideration of gentlemen's devoting their time and talents to this object, his Excellency, the Baron of Carondelet, will appropriate the sum of one hundred thousand dollars to their use, which shall be paid in drafts on the royal treasury at New Orleans; or if more convenient, shall be conveyed at the expense of his Catholic Majesty, into this country, and held at their disposal. Moreover, should such persons as shall be instrumental in promoting the views of his Catholic Majesty, hold any public employment, and in consequence of taking an active part in endeavoring to effect a secession, shall lose their employment—a compensation equal at least to the emoluments of their office, shall be made to them, by his Catholic Majesty, let their efforts be crowned with success, or terminate in disappointment.

2. Immediately after the declaration of independence, Fort Massac should be taken possession of by the troops of the new government, which shall be furnished by his Catholic Majesty without loss of time, together with twenty field-pieces, with their carriages, and every necessary appendage, including powder, ball, &c., together with a number of small arms and ammunition, sufficient to equip the troops that it shall be judged expedient to raise. The whole to be transported at his expense to the already named Fort Massac. His Catholic Majesty will further supply the sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the raising and maintaining said troops, which sum shall also be conveyed to and delivered at Fort Massac.

3. The northern boundary of his Catholic Majesty's provinces of East and West Florida shall be designated by a line commencing on the Mississippi at the mouth of the river Yazoo, extending due east to the River Confederation, or Tombigbee: Provided, That all his Catholic Majesty's forts, posts, and settlements on the Confederation or Tombigbee are included in the south side of such a line, but should any of his Majesty's forts, posts or settlements fall to the north side of said line, then the northern boundary of his Majesty's provinces of East and West Florida, shall be designated by a line beginning at the same point on the Mississippi, and drawn in such a direction as to meet the River Confederation or Tombigbee, six miles to the north of the most northern Spanish post, or settlement on the said river. All the lands north of that line shall be considered as constituting a part of the territory of the new government, saving that small tract of land at the Chickasaw Bluffs, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, ceded to his Majesty by the Chickasaw nation in a formal treaty concluded on the spot, in the year 1795, between His Excellency Senor Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of Natchez, and Augleakabce and some other Chickasaw chiefs; which tract of land his Majesty reserves for himself. The eastern boundary of the Floridas shall be hereafter regulated.

4. His Catholic Majesty will, in case the Indian nations south of the Ohio should declare war or commit hostilities against the new government, not only join and assist it in repelling its enemies, but if said Government shall at any future time esteem it useful to reduce said Indian nations, extend its dominion over them, and compel them to submit themselves to its constitution and laws, his Majesty will heartily concur and co-operate with the new government in the most effectual manner in obtaining this desirable end.

5. His Catholic Majesty will not either directly or indirectly interfere in the framing of the constitution or laws which the new government shall think fit to adopt; nor will he, at any time, by any means whatever, attempt to lessen the independence of the said government, or endeavor to acquire an undue influence in it, but will, in the manner that shall hereafter be stipulated by treaty, defend and support it in preserving its independence.

The preceding proposals, are the outlines of a provisional treaty, which his Excellency the Baron of Carondelet, is desirous of entering into with the inhabitants of the western country, the moment they shall be in a situation to treat for themselves. Should they not meet entirely with your approbation, and should you wish to make any alterations in, or additions to them, I shall on my return, if you think proper to communicate them to me, lay them before His Excellency,

who is animated with a sincere and ardent desire to foster this promising and rising infant country, and at the same time, promote and fortify the interests of his beneficent and royal master, in securing by a generous and disinterested conduct, the gratitude of a just, sensible and enlightened people.

The important and unexpected events that have taken place in Europe since the ratification of the treaty concluded on the 27th of October, 1795, between His Catholic Majesty and the United States of America, having convulsed the general system of politics in that quarter of the globe, and wherever its influence is extended, causing a collision of interests between nations formerly living in the most perfect union and harmony, and directing the political views of some States towards objects the most remote from their former pursuits, but none being so completely unhinged and disjointed as the cabinet of Spain, it may be confidently asserted, without incurring the reproach of presumption, that His Catholic Majesty will not carry the above-mentioned treaty into execution; nevertheless, the thorough knowledge I have of the disposition of the Spanish Government justifies me in saying that, so far from its being His Majesty's wish to exclude the inhabitants of this western country from the free navigation of the Mississippi, or withhold from them any of the benefits stipulated for them by the treaty, it is positively his intention, so soon as they shall put it in his power to treat with them, by declaring themselves independent of the Federal Government, and establishing one of their own, to grant them privileges far more extensive, give them a decided preference over the Atlantic States in his commercial connexions with them, and place them in a situation infinitely more advantageous, in every point of view, than that in which they would find themselves were the treaty to be carried into effect.

THOMAS POWER.

REPLY.

Sir:—We have seen the communication made by you to Mr. Sebastian. In answer thereto, we declare unequivocally, that we will not be concerned, either directly or indirectly, in any attempt that may be made to separate the western country from the United States. That whatever part we may at any time be induced to take in the politics of our country, that her welfare will be our only inducement, and that we will never receive any pecuniary, or any other reward, for any personal exertions made by us, to promote that welfare.

The free navigation of the Mississippi must always be the favorite object of the inhabitants of the western country; they cannot be contented without it; and will not be deprived of it longer than necessity shall compel them to submit to its being withheld from them.

We flatter ourselves that every thing will be set right, by the governments of the two nations; but if this should not be the case, it appears to us, that it must be the policy of Spain to encourage by every possible means, the free intercourse with the inhabitants of the western country, as this will be the most efficient means to conciliate their good will, and to obtain without hazard, and at reduced prices, those supplies which are indispensably necessary to the Spanish Government and its subjects.*

Whether Sebastian signed this reply, is not known; but upon proof that he had, for years afterwards, received two thousand dollars annually as a pension from Spain for services rendered, it was unanimously adjudged by the House of Representatives, in Kentucky, on the 6th of December, 1806, that he had been guilty, while holding the place of Judge of the Court of Appeals, of carrying on a criminal intercourse with the agents of the Spanish Government, and disgracing his country for pay. Before this decision, however, Sebastian had resigned his place, and thenceforward was lost to the councils of the State.

[Concerning this attempt to divide the Union, and erect a western confederacy, to be in alliance with Spain, there has been doubt and contradictory statements; but the references given to the public documents, and other authorities, will enable the reader who is disposed more fully to investigate the whole subject, to arrive at satisfactory conclusions.

In the month of August, 1798, Spain formed an alliance with France. In December, France quarreled with the United States. At the time of the visit of Power, Spain still held the ports east of the Mississippi, which, by the treaty of 1795, were to be given up; and maintained a hostile attitude towards the United States. These facts illustrate the intrigues of Spain. The strongest circumstance in favor of Sebastian, is, that no proof was given to show he had done any overt act, in the project of disunion.†]

We have so far, said nothing of those political parties which divided the United States during the administration of Washington; for, though it is not to be doubted that the contests of those parties gave Genet cause to trust in his plans of con-

* American State Papers, xx. 926, 929.

† See Documents in American State Papers, xx. 922 to 934. Marshall's Kentucky, ii. 377 to 384.

quest, and supported the hopes of Sebastian and his Spanish employers, yet their operations were not directly dependent upon the factions which rent the country. We have now, however, to speak of an event that derived its importance from its real or supposed connection with those factions, and which it seems proper to introduce by a brief sketch of their origin and character; we refer to the popular movement in western Pennsylvania, growing out of the excise on domestic spirits, commonly known as the Whiskey Insurrection. When the united colonies had won their independence, and the rule of George III. over them ended, the question, of course, arose as to the nature of the government which was to succeed. Two fears prevailed among the people of the freed provinces. On the one hand, a tendency to monarchy and ultimate tyranny was dreaded; it was thought that a foreign despot had been warred with in vain, if by the erection of a strong central or Federal power the foundations of domestic despotism were laid instead; the sovereignty of the several States, balancing one another, and each easily controlled by the voice of the people was, with this party of thinkers, to be the security of the freedom that had been achieved. In Europe, republicanism had been overthrown by the centralizing process, which had substituted the great monarchies for the Federal system, and the Italian and Flemish commonwealths; and in America, the danger, it was thought, would be, of too great a concentration of power in the hands of a central Federal sovereignty. [Governor Harrison of Virginia, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, said of the Constitution, as first adopted, that it "must, sooner or later, establish a tyranny not inferior to the triumvirate or centumviri of Rome. George Mason also said of it, that it would cause the government to "commence a moderate aristocracy," and would finally "produce a monarchy, or a corrupt aristocracy."*] While these views prevailed among one portion of the American people, another portion dreaded the excess of popular democratic passions, tending constantly to anarchy. To this party, a strong central power seemed essential, not only for financial and commercial purposes, but also to restrain the inevitable

* Sparks' Washington, ix. 267. Note, also 547.—Elliott's Debates. ii. 52, 213. Washington's views on the same subject, are found in the same volume, pp. 11, 167, 187, 203, 210, 211, 258. See also a letter to Doctor Gorton, in the North American Review, vol. xxv. p. 254. (October, 1827.)

disposition of popular governments to the abandonment of all law, all reverence, and all social unity. History and reflection, in short, showed men on the one side, that human rulers are readily converted into despots; on the other, that human subjects were impatient of even wholesome control, and readily converted into licentious, selfish anarchists. When at length the business sufferings of the country, and the worthlessness of the old confederacy, led to the formation of the present constitution, the two bodies of whom we have spoken, were forced to compromise, and while the strong executive, and complete centralization of Hamilton, Jay and Adams, had to be abandoned by them and their friends, the complete independence of the States, and the corresponding nullity of Congress, which Patrick Henry, Mason, and Harrison preferred, had also to be given up, or greater evils follow. In this sam spirit of compromise upon which our constitution rested, Washington framed his cabinet, and directed his administration, and it seemed possible, that in time the bitterness of feeling which had shown itself before and during the discussion of the great Bond of Union, would die away. But the difficulties of the first administration were enormous, such as no man but Washington could have met with success, and even he could not secure the unanimity he wished for.* Among those difficulties, none were greater than the payment of the public debt, and the arrangement of a proper system of finance. The party which dreaded anarchy, which favored a strong central rule, an efficient Federal Government—the Federalists, feeling that the whole country, as such, had contracted debts, felt bound in honor and honesty to do every thing to procure their payment; it also felt that the future stability and power of the Federal Government depended greatly upon the establishment of its credit at the outset of its career. The anti-

* For the views of

HAMILTON, see North American Review, xxv. 266. Journal of Convention at Philadelphia, May 14, 1787, p. 130.

JAY, " Sparks' Washington, ix. 510. North American Review, xxv. 263.

HENRY, " Sparks' Washington, ix. 266. Note, Elliott's Debates, ii. 64, 71, 139, 147, &c.

MADISON, " Sparks' Washington, ix. 516. North American Review, xxv. 264.

JEFFERSON " Sparks' Washington, x. 518 to 526. North American Review, xxv. 267 to 269. Jefferson's Writings, ii. 449.

KNOX, " North American Review, xxv. 264.

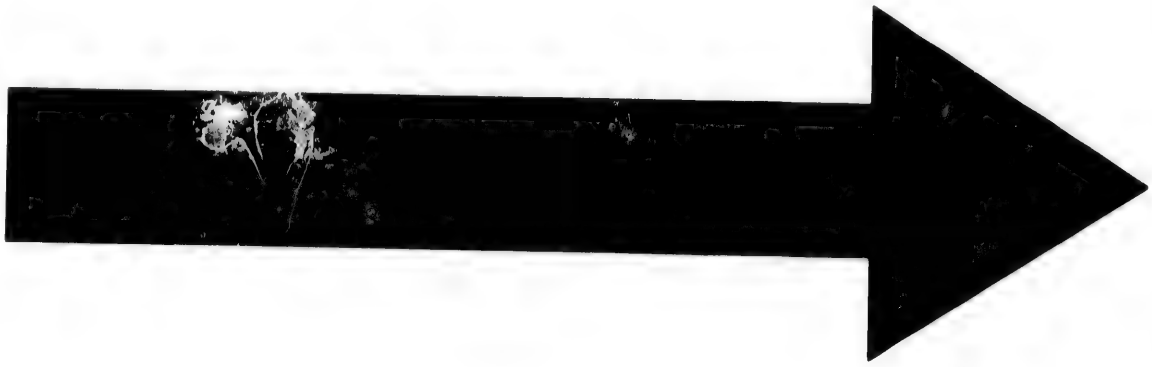
Federalists, who dreaded centralization, on the other hand, favoring State sovereignty, and wishing but a slight national union, neither desired the creation of a national credit, nor felt the obligation of a national debt in the same degree as their opponents, and feared the creation of a moneyed aristocracy by speculations in the public stocks. When, therefore, Mr. Hamilton, upon whom it devolved, as Secretary of the Treasury, to offer a plan for liquidating the debts of the confederation, attempted the solution of the financial problem, he was certain to displease one party or the other. In generalities, compromises had been found possible, but in details they were not readily admitted. Hamilton, moreover, was one of the most extreme friends of centralization, and any measure emanating from him was sure to be resisted. When he brought forward his celebrated series of financial measures, accordingly, the whole strength of the two divisions of which we have been speaking, appeared for and against his plans. And it is to be noted, that the question was not a mere question of Finance; it involved the vital principles for and against which the Federal and anti-Federal parties were struggling. The former actually hoped by means of the Funding and Bank systems, to found a class whose interests would so bind them to the Government, as to give it permanency,* while their opponents actually anticipated the formation of a moneyed aristocracy, which would overthrow the power and liberties of the people; they felt they were "sold to stockholders," and like the Roman debtors condemned to slavery.†

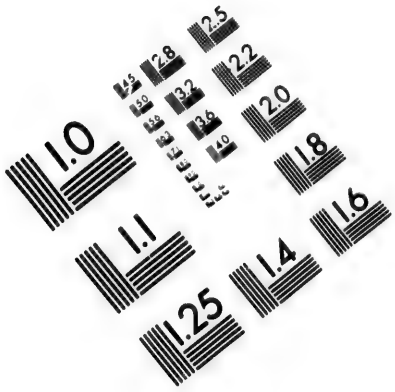
In the West, the opponents of the Central Government were numerous. Its formation had been resisted, and its measures were almost all unpopular. The Indian war was a cause of complaint, because Harmar and St. Clair had been defeated;‡ the army was a cause of complaint, because it was the beginning of a system of standing armies. The funding system was hated because of its injustice, inasmuch as it aided

* See letter of Oliver Wolcott, dated March 27, 1790, in Gibbs, i. 43.

† Address of Democratic Club of Wythe county, Virginia, dated July 4, 1794; it is in the Boston Independent Chronicle, of August 11, 1794. Jefferson's letter to Washington. (Sparks' Washington, x. 519–521.)

‡ In the Democratic newspapers of the time, the Funding system, the Excise, the Bank, and the Indian war are all equally condemned. See, for example, a series of letters on Hamilton's financial measures in the Independent Chronicle, of Boston, July, August and September, 1794.





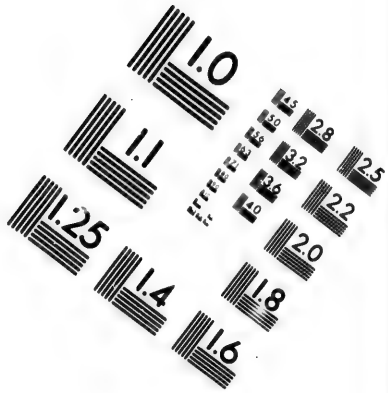
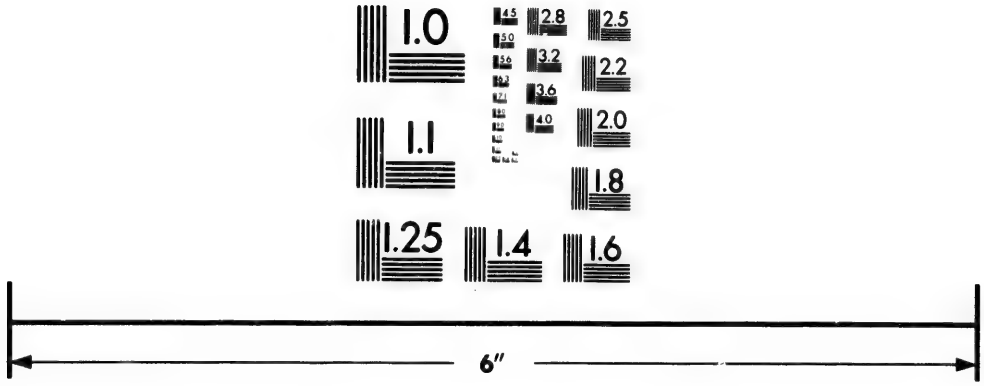
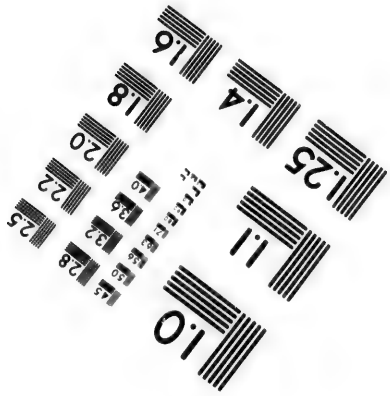
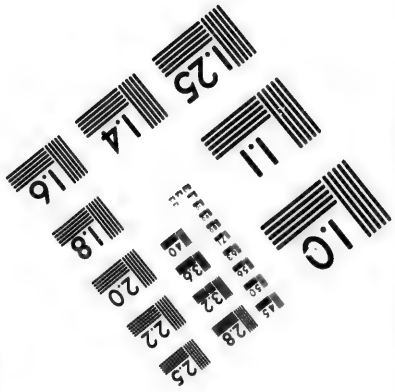


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speculation, and because it would lead to the growth of a favored class; the western posts were held by England, the Mississippi closed by Spain, and the frontier ravaged by the savages, and against all, the Federal Government did what? Nothing. So said the leaders of popular feeling. It was not strange, therefore, that the people of western Pennsylvania, especially those of foreign birth and descent, should object to the payment of the most unpopular kind of tax for the support of a Government which they disliked, and had no faith in. Unable readily to reach a market with their produce, they concentrated it into whisky, and upon this, while all other agricultural wealth was untouched, the hated tax-gatherer was sent to lay his excise. [A horse could pack only four bushels of rye, but he could carry the whisky from twenty-four bushels, when converted into what was called "high wines."*] Nor was it the producer only who complained; the consumers also felt aggrieved by the duty laid upon domestic spirits, for they were the common drink of the nation; the star of temperance had not then arisen. It was in December, 1790, that General Hamilton advised the excise on spirits; upon the 3d of the ensuing March, the law was passed; and instantly the spirit of opposition showed itself. At first this opposition was confined to efforts to discourage persons from holding offices connected with the excise; next associations were formed of those who were ready to "forbear" compliance with the law; but as men talked with one another, and the excise became more and more identified with the tyranny of Federalism, stronger demonstrations were inevitable, and upon the 27th of July, 1791, a meeting was called at Brownsville, (Redstone,) to consider the growing troubles of the western district of Pennsylvania.† This meeting, which was attended by influential and able men, agreed to a gathering of representatives from the five counties included in the fourth survey under the law in question, to be held at Washington, upon the 23d of August. [These five counties were Washington, Alleghany, Westmoreland, Fayette and Bedford.] The gathering took place, and we extract from Hamilton's report, of August 1794, the following sentence in relation to it:

* American Pioneer, ii. 215.

† American State Papers, vii. 64, 110; also xx. 107, 167, Ed.

This meeting passed some intermediate resolutions, which were afterwards printed in the Pittsburgh Gazette, containing a strong censure on the law, declaring that any person who had accepted or might accept an office under Congress, in order to carry it into effect, should be considered as inimical to the interests of the country; and recommending to the citizens of Washington county to treat every person who had accepted, or might thereafter accept, any such office, with contempt, and absolutely refuse all kind of communication or intercourse with the officers, and to withhold from them all aid, support, or comfort.

Not content with this vindictive proscription of those who might esteem it their duty, in the capacity of officers, to aid in the execution of the constitutional laws of the land, the meeting proceeded to accumulate topics of crimination of the Government, though foreign to each other; authorizing by this zeal for censure a suspicion that they were actuated, not merely by the dislike of a particular law, but by a disposition to render the Government itself unpopular and odious.

This meeting, in further prosecution of their plan, deputed three of their members to meet delegates from the counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, and Alleghany, on the first Tuesday of September following, for the purpose of expressing the sense of the people of those counties in an address to the Legislature of the United States upon the subject of the excise law and other grievances.

Here, for the first time, the connection of the antagonism to the Excise, with other topics, was brought forward, and a political character given to the movement, by a general assault upon the measures of the Federal Government. This assault assumed a yet more distinctive character at a subsequent meeting of delegates held at Pittsburgh, upon the 7th of September; at which the salaries of the Federal officers; the interest paid upon the national debt; the want of distinction between the original holders of that debt and those who had bought it at a discount; and the creation of a United States Bank, were all denounced in common with the tax on whisky. [But they refused to give aid of any kind to the excise officers, which practically meant they refused to sustain the laws, or protect life and property against illegal force.*] At these meetings all was conducted with propriety; and the resolutions adopted gave no direct countenance to violence. And when did the leaders of a community, its legislators, judges and clergy, ever express, in any manner, however

* American State Papers, xx. 107.

quiet, their utter disregard of law, without a corresponding expression by the masses, if uneducated, in acts of violence? It was not strange, therefore, that upon the day previous to the meeting last named, the collector for the counties of Alleghany and Washington was attacked. One report says:

A party of men, armed and disguised, waylaid him at a place on Pigeon creek, in Washington county, seized, tarred and feathered him, cut off his hair, and deprived him of his horse, obliging him to travel on foot a considerable distance in that mortifying and painful situation.

The case was brought before the district court of Pennsylvania, out of which processes were issued against John Robertson, John Hamilton, and Thomas McComb, three of the persons concerned in the outrage.

The serving of these processes was confided by the then marshal, Clement Biddle, to his deputy, Joseph Fox, who, in the month of October, went into Alleghany county for the purpose of serving them.

The appearances and circumstances which Mr. Fox observed himself in the course of his journey, and learned afterwards upon his arrival at Pittsburgh, had the effect of deterring him from the service of the processes, and unfortunately led to adopt the injudicious and fruitless expedient of sending them to the parties by a private messenger, under cover.

The deputy's report to the marshal states a number of particulars, evincing a considerable fermentation in the part of the country to which he was sent, and inducing a belief, on his part, that he could not with safety have executed the processes. The marshal, transmitting this report to the district attorney, makes the following observations upon it: "I am sorry to add that he (the deputy) found the people, in general, in the western part of the State, and particularly beyond the Alleghany Mountains, in such a ferment on account of the act of Congress for laying a duty on distilled spirits, and so much opposed to the execution of the said act, and from a variety of threats to himself personally, (although he took the utmost precaution to conceal his errand,) that he was not only convinced of the impossibility of serving the process, but that any attempt to effect it would have occasioned the most violent opposition from the greater part of the inhabitants; and he declares that, if he had attempted it, he believes he should not have returned alive.

I spared no expense nor pains to have the process of the court executed, and have not the least doubt that my deputy would have accomplished it, if it could have been done."

The reality of the danger to the deputy was countenanced by the opinion of Gen. Neville, the inspector of the revenue, a man who before had given, and since has given, numerous

proofs of a steady and firm temper; and what followed is a further confirmation of it.

The person who had been sent with the processes was seized, whipped, tarred, and feathered; and, after having his horse and money taken from him, was blindfolded and tied in the woods; in which condition he remained for five hours.

These intemperate expressions of their feelings by word and deed, startled the government, and puzzled its executive officers: it was determined, however, to await the influence of time, thought, information, and leniency, and to attempt, by a reconsideration of the law, at the earliest possible moment, to do away any real cause of complaint which might exist. But popular fury once aroused is not soon allayed; the worst passions of the same people who sent out the murderers of the Moravian Indians in 1782, had been excited, and excess followed excess.*

Some time in October, 1791, an unhappy man, by the name of Wilson, a stranger in the country, and manifestly disordered in his intellects, imagining himself to be a collector of the revenue, or invested with some trust in relation to it, was so unlucky as to make inquiries concerning distillers who had entered their stills, giving out that he was to travel through the United States, to ascertain and report to Congress the number of stills, &c. This man was pursued by a party in disguise; taken out of his bed, carried about five miles back, to a smith's shop; stripped of his clothes, which were afterwards burnt; and having been himself inhumanly burnt in several places with a heated iron, was tarred and feathered, and about day light dismissed, naked, wounded, and otherwise in a very suffering condition. These particulars are communicated in a letter from the inspector of the revenue, of the 17th of November, who declares that he had then himself seen the unfortunate maniac, the abuse of whom, as he expressed it, exceeded description, and was sufficient to make human nature shudder. The affair is the more extraordinary, as persons of weight and consideration in that county are understood to have been actors in it, and as the symptoms of insanity were, during the whole time of inflicting the punishment, apparent; the unhappy sufferer displayed the heroic fortitude of a man who conceived himself to be a martyr to the discharge of some important duty.

Not long after, a person by the name of Roseberry underwent the humiliating punishment of tarring and feathering with some aggravations, for having in conversation, hazarded the very natural and just, but unpalatable remark, that the inhabitants of that county could not reasonably expect

* American State Papers, xx. 107, 708.

protection from a government whose laws they so strenuously opposed.

The audacity of the perpetrators of these excesses was so great, that an armed banditti ventured to seize and carry off two persons who were witnesses against the rioters in the case of Wilson, in order to prevent their giving testimony of the riot in a court then sitting, or about to sit.

Notwithstanding the course of the western people, the Federal Government, during the session of 1791 and '92, proceeded in the discussion of the obnoxious statute; and upon the 8th of May, 1792, passed an amendatory act, making such changes as were calculated to allay the angry feelings that had been excited, except so far as they were connected with political animosities, and which in most districts produced the intended result. [Mr. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, made a report on the objections to the excise law, March 5, 1792.*] But in western Pennsylvania, opposition continued unabated, and it was announced that the inspectors who, by the new law, were to be appointed for all the counties, should not be allowed to open their offices; nor was this a mere threat; no buildings could be obtained for the use of the United States; and when, at length, in Washington, one Captain Faulkner dared to agree that a building of his should be occupied by the inspector, he was waylaid by a mob, a knife drawn upon him, and was threatened with scalping, loss of property by fire, and other injuries, if he did not revoke his agreement; so that upon the 20th of August, under the influence of fear, he did actually break his contract, and upon the next day advertised what he had done in the Pittsburgh paper.†

On the day of this advertisement, in the same town in which it appeared, a meeting was held, headed by members of the State Legislature,‡ judges, clergymen, and other leading characters. [Of these, the late Albert Gallatin was Secretary to the meeting. The Chairman of the Committee was Daniel Bradford, who acted as a leader in many of the violent proceedings. For his views on the subject, the reader is referred to a letter from him in the United States Gazette,

*American State Papers, xx. 108.

† American State Papers, vii. 150.

‡American State Papers, xx. 108.

of September 9th, 1794; and to Clymer's letter in Gibbs' Memoirs, i. 248.]

This meeting entered into resolutions not less exceptionable than those of its predecessors. The preamble suggests that a tax on spirituous liquors is unjust in itself and oppressive upon the poor; that internal taxes upon consumption must, in the end, destroy the liberties of every country in which they are introduced; that the law in question, from certain local circumstances, which are specified, would bring immediate distress and ruin upon the western country; and concludes with the sentiment, that they think it their duty to persist in remonstrance to Congress, and in every other legal measure that may obstruct the operation of the law.

The resolutions then proceed, first, to appoint a committee to prepare and cause to be presented to Congress, an address, stating objections to the law, and praying for its repeal; secondly, to appoint committees of correspondence for Washington, Fayette and Alleghany, charged to correspond together, and with such committees as should be appointed for the same purpose in the county of Westmoreland, or with any committees of a similar nature that might be appointed in other parts of the United States; and, also, if found necessary, to call together either general meetings of the people in their respective counties, or conferences of the several committees; and lastly, to declare that they will in future consider those who hold offices for the collection of the duty as unworthy of their friendship; that they will have no intercourse nor dealings with them, will withdraw from them every assistance, withhold all the comforts of life which depend upon those duties that as men and fellow-citizens we owe to each other, and will upon all occasions treat them with contempt; earnestly recommending it to the people at large to follow the same line of conduct towards them.

When notice of this meeting, and of the means used to intimidate Faulkner, was given to the government, Washington issued a proclamation, dated September 15th; the supervisor of the district was sent to the seat of trouble to learn the true state of facts and to collect evidence; while the Attorney General was instructed to inquire into the legality of the proceedings of the Pittsburgh meeting, with view to the indictment of the leaders. Mr. Randolph, however, felt so much doubt as to the character of the meeting of August 21, that no prosecutions on that score were instituted; and in serving process upon two persons said to have been among the assailants of Faulkner, either an error was made, or the

accusation proved to be false, which caused that matter also to be dropped by the government. [Mr. Finley, in his History of the Insurrection, (p. 71,) says the accusation was false, and the evidence perjured.*] It was then proposed to attempt a gradual suppression of the resistance to the law, by adopting these measures:

1st. The prosecution of all distillers who were not licensed, when it could be done with certainty of success, and without exciting violence.

2d. The seizure of all illegal spirits on their way to market, when it could be done without leading to outbreaks.

3d. By care that only spirits which had paid duty were bought for the use of the army.

The influence of these measures was in part lost in consequence of the introduction of the whisky that paid no tax into the North-western Territory, over which some of the laws relative to the matter did not extend; but still their effect was decided: in November, 1792, Wolcott wrote that the opposition was confined to a small part of Pennsylvania, and would soon cease;† and through the whole of 1793—although the Collector for Fayette county was obliged by force to give up his books and papers, and to promise a resignation; while the Inspector of Alleghany was burnt in effigy before the magistrates, and no notice of the act taken by them; and although when warrants were issued for the rioters in the former case, the Sheriff of the county refused to execute them, yet obedience to the excise became more general, and many of the leading distillers, yielding to the suggestions of pecuniary interest, for the first time entered their stills, and abandoned the party of Bradford and his coadjutors.‡ This abandonment, the political antagonists of the law by no means relished; still even they might have been subdued but for the introduction at that very juncture, of Mr. Genet's famous system of Democratic Societies, which, like the Jacobin clubs of Paris, were to be a power above the government. Genet reached the United States, April 8th; on the 18th of

* American State Papers, xx. 108, 109.—Sparks' Washington, x. 291, 305—526 to 533. Gibbs' Memoirs, i. 148.—Marshall's Washington, v. 365.

†Gibbs, i. 83.

‡ American State Papers, xx. 40

May, he was presented to the President; and by the 30th of that month the Democratic Society of Philadelphia was organized.* By means of this, its affiliated bodies, and other societies based upon it, or suggested by it, the French minister, his friends and imitators, waged their war upon the administration, and gave new energy to every man who, on any ground, was dissatisfied with the laws of his country. Among those dissatisfied, the enemies of the excise were of course to be numbered; and there can be little or no doubt that to the agency of societies formed in the disaffected districts, after the plan of those founded by Genet, the renewed and excessive hostility of the western people to the tax upon spirits is to be ascribed.† [It was natural enough in the heat of political excitement, to ascribe the whisky insurrection directly to the agency of Genet in these societies, as was done by Washington and his friends. But we think the evidence in the case disproves all design on the part of the proper Democratic Societies, to rebel against the laws, or produce anarchy, or a separation of the Union. The strong sympathy with the French people for their aid in the revolutionary struggle, and the ardent love of liberty, were reasons enough to account for the organization of these societies.] The proper Democratic Societies, when the crisis came, disapproved of the violence committed,‡ and so did Gallatin and many others; but, however much they may have disliked an appeal to force, even from the outset, their measures, their extravagancies, and political fanatacism, were calculated to result in violence and nothing else. Through 1793, as we have said, the law seemed gaining, but with the next January the demon was loosed again.

William Richmond, who had given information against some of the rioters in the affair of Wilson, had his barn burnt, with all the grain and hay which it contained; and the same thing happened to Robert Shawhan, a distiller, who had been among the first to comply with the law, and who had always spoken favorably of it; but in neither of these instances, (which happened in the county of Alleghany) though the presumptions were violent, was any positive proof obtained.

*Marshall's Washington, v. 426, note.

†See Sparks' Washington, x. 429, 437, &c.

‡U. S. Gazette, August 26, September 1, Stptember 6, &c., 1794.—Boston Independent Chronicle, August 18, 1794, October 6, 1794.

The inspector of the revenue, in a letter of the 27th of February, writes that he had received information that persons, living near the dividing line of Alleghany and Washington, had thrown out threats of tarring and feathering one William Cochran, a complying distiller, and of burning his distillery; and that it had also been given out that in three weeks there would not be a house standing in Alleghany county of any person who had complied with the laws; in consequence of which, he had been induced to pay a visit to several leading individuals in that quarter, as well to ascertain the truth of the information as to endeavor to avert the attempt to execute such threats.

It appeared afterwards, that, on his return home, he had been pursued by a collection of disorderly persons, threatening, as they went along, vengeance against him. On their way, these men called at the house of James Kiddoe, who had recently complied with the laws, broke into his still-house, fired several balls under his still, and scattered fire over and about the house.

In May and June new violences were committed. James Kiddoe, the person above mentioned, and William Cochran, another complying distiller, met with repeated injury to their property. Kiddoe had parts of his grist-mill at different times carried away; and Cochran suffered more material injuries. His still was destroyed; his saw-mill was rendered useless, by the taking away of the saw; and his grist-mill so injured as to require to be repaired, at considerable expense.

At the last visit, a note in writing was left, requiring him to publish what he had suffered, in the Pittsburgh Gazette, on pain of another visit, in which he is threatened, in figurative but intelligible terms, with the destruction of his property by fire. Thus adding to the profligacy of doing wanton injuries to a fellow-citizen the tyranny of compelling him to be the publisher of his wrongs.

June being the month for receiving annual entries of stills, endeavors were used to open offices in Westmoreland and Washington, where it had been hitherto found impracticable. With much pains and difficulty, places were procured for the purpose. That in Westmoreland was repeatedly attacked in the night by armed men, who frequently fired upon it; but, according to a report which has been made to this Department, it was defended with so much courage and perseverance by John Wells, an auxiliary officer, and Philip Ragan, the owner of the house, as to have been maintained during the remainder of the month.

That in Washington, after repeated attempts, was suppressed. The first attempt was confined to pulling down the sign of the office, and threats of future destruction; the

second effected the object in the following mode: About twelve persons, armed and painted black, in the night of the 6th of June, broke into the house of John Lynn, where the office was kept, and, after having treacherously seduced him to come down stairs, and put himself into their power, by a promise of safety, to himself and his house, they seized and tied him; threatened to hang him; took him to a retired spot in a neighboring wood, and there, after cutting off his hair, tarring and feathering him, swore him never again to allow the use of his house for an office, never to disclose their names, and never again to have any sort of agency in aid of the excise: having done which, they bound him naked to a tree, and left him in that situation till morning, when he succeeded in extricating himself. Not content with this, the malcontents, some days after, made him another visit, pulled down part of his house, and put him in a situation to be obliged to become an exile from his own home, and to find an asylum elsewhere.*

Even these acts, however, were followed by nothing on the part of the government more stringent than the institution, in the June following, of several suits against the rioters, and also against the non-complying distillers; to serve process in which the Marshal of the United States himself visited the West. This led to the catastrophe. These suits were in the United States Court, which sat east of the mountains, where the accused must of course be tried. But the seizure of offenders to be tried out of their own neighborhood, was opposed to the feelings of the Americans, and to the principles of that English law upon which they had relied through the discussions which preceded the Revolution. The federal government, it was said, in taking men to Philadelphia,† to be tried for alleged misdemeanors, was doing what the British did in carrying Americans beyond the sea. Then was shown, as we conceive, the power of those societies to which we have referred. In February, 1794, a society had been formed at Mingo creek, consisting of the militia of that neighborhood, the same persons who led in all future excesses.‡ In April a second association of the same character, and a regu-

* American State Papers, xx. 110.

† The writs were there returnable, in the District Court of the United States. (Findley 74.) There was needless excitement caused by this, as the United States Courts had been authorised to sit near the troubled district, and the State Courts to try revenue cases (Findley, 73.)

‡ Brackenridge's Incidents, pp. 25, 148.

lar Democratic Club, were formed in the troublesome district. In the latter, nothing was done in relation to the excise, so far as is known, but in the two first named bodies, there is reason to believe that the worst spirit of the French clubs was naturalized; the excise and the government thoroughly canvassed; and rebellion, disunion and bloodshed, sooner or later, made familiar to the minds of all. [A murderous spirit filled and excited the ignorant people in the country.*]

It may be readily understood that under such circumstances, great excitement was likely to prevail upon slight provocation. Notwithstanding, the Marshal was suffered to serve his writs unresisted, until, when he went with the last process in his hands, he unwisely took with him the Inspector of the county, General John Neville, a man once very popular, but who had been, as men considered, bought up by the Government, and had hence become exceedingly hateful to the populace. After serving this process, the Marshal and Inspector were followed by a crowd, and a gun was fired, though without doing any injury. The Marshal returned to Pittsburgh and the Inspector to his own house, but it being noised abroad that both were at General Neville's, a number of militia-men who were gathered under the United States law, agreed the next morning to pay the Inspector a visit. For some time, Neville had been looking for an attack, knowing his unpopularity, and had armed his negroes and barricaded his windows. An attack upon his house, with a view to a destruction of his papers, had probably been in contemplation, and those who gathered on the morning of the 16th of July, were determined, we presume, to carry the proposed destruction into effect. When General Neville discovered the party on that morning around his door, he asked their business, and upon receiving evasive replies, proceeded at once to treat them as enemies; shut his door again, and opened a fire, by which six of his supposed assailants were wounded, one of them mortally. This, of course, added greatly to the anger and excitement previously existing; news of the bloodshed were diffused through the Mingo creek neighborhood, and before nightfall, steps were taken to avenge the sufferers. [General Neville had been an opposer of a State excise, which had previously

* Findley, 166.—Brackenridge, iii. 25.

existed; he had taken the place of an Inspector, and made the statement that he did not consider what the people thought—he would have an independent salary of six hundred—he was understood to mean pounds, when he only meant dollars.*] What followed, we will give in the words of General Hamilton, adding afterwards some particulars gathered from Findley and Brackenridge.

Apprehending that the business would not terminate here, he [Neville] made application by letter to the judges, generals of militia, and sheriff of the county, for protection. A reply to his application, from John Wilkins, jun., and John Gibson, magistrates and militia officers, informed him that the laws could not be executed, so as to afford him the protection to which he was entitled, owing to the too general combination of the people in that part of Pennsylvania to oppose the revenue law; adding, that they would take every step in their power to bring the rioters to justice, and would be glad to receive information of the individuals concerned in the attack upon his house, that prosecutions might be commenced against them; and expressing their sorrow that should the *posse comitatus* of the county be ordered out in support of the civil authority, very few could be gotten that were not of the party of the rioters.

The day following the insurgents re-assembled with a considerable augmentation of numbers, amounting, as has been computed, to at least five hundred: and on the 17th of July, renewed their attack upon the house of the inspector, who, in the interval, had taken the precaution of calling to his aid a small detachment from the garrison of Fort Pitt, which, at the time of the attack, consisted of eleven men, who had been joined by Major Abraham Kirkpatrick, a friend and connexion of the inspector.

There being scarcely a prospect of effectual defence against so large a body as then appeared, and as the inspector had every thing to apprehend for his person, if taken, it was judged advisable that he should withdraw from the house to a place of concealment; Major Kirkpatrick generously agreeing to remain with the eleven men, in the intention, if practicable, to make a capitulation in favor of the property; if not, to defend it as long as possible.

A parley took place under cover of a flag, which was sent by the insurgents to the house to demand that the inspector should come forth, renounce his office, and stipulate never again to accept an office under the same laws. To this it was replied, that the inspector had left the house upon their

* Brackenridge, i. 6; iii. 1. Findley p. 79, 84. American State Papers, xx. 110, 111.

first approach, and that the place to which he had retired was unknown. They then declared that they must have whatever related to his office. They were answered that they might send persons, not exceeding six, to search the house, and take away whatever papers they could find appertaining to the office. But not satisfied with this, they insisted, unconditionally, that the armed men who were in the house for its defence, should march out and ground their arms, which Major Kirkpatrick peremptorily refused; considering it and representing it to them as a proof of a design to destroy the property. This refusal put an end to the parley.

A brisk firing then ensued between the insurgents and those in the house, which, it is said, lasted for near an hour, till the assailants, having set fire to the neighboring and adjacent buildings, eight in number, the intenseness of the heat, and the danger of an immediate communication of the fire to the house, obliged Major Kirkpatrick and his small party to come out and surrender themselves. In the course of the firing one of the insurgents was killed and several wounded, and three of the persons in the house were also wounded. The person killed, is understood to have been the leader of the party, of the name of James McFarlane, then a major in the militia, formerly a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania line. The dwelling-house, after the surrender, shared the fate of the other buildings, the whole of which were consumed to the ground. The loss of property to the inspector, upon this occasion, is estimated, and, as it is believed with great moderation, at not less than three thousand pounds, or ten thousand dollars.

The marshal, Col. Presly Neville, and several others, were taken by the insurgents going to the inspector's house. All, except the marshal and Col. Neville, soon made their escape; but these were carried off some distance from the place where the affray had happened, and detained till one or two o'clock the next morning. In the course of their detention, the marshal in particular, suffered very severe and humiliating treatment, and was frequently in imminent danger of his life. Several of the party frequently presented their pieces at him with every appearance of a design to assassinate, from which they were with difficulty restrained by the efforts of a few more humane and more prudent.

Nor could he obtain safety nor liberty, but upon the condition of a promise, guaranteed by Col. Neville, that he would serve no other process on the west side of the Allegheny Mountain. The alternative being immediate death, extorted from the marshal a compliance with this condition, notwithstanding the just sense of official dignity, and the firmness of character which were witnessed by his conduct throughout the trying scenes he had experienced.

The insurgents, on the 18th, sent a deputation of two of their number (one a justice of the peace) to Pittsburgh, to require of the marshal, a surrender of the process in his possession, intimating that his compliance would satisfy the people, and add to his safety; and also to demand of Gen. Neville, in peremptory terms the resignation of his office; threatening, in case of refusal, to attack the place and take him by force; demands which both these officers did not hesitate to reject, as alike incompatible with their honor and their duty.

As it was well ascertained that no protection was to be expected from the magistrates or inhabitants of Pittsburgh, it became necessary to the safety, both of the inspector and the marshal, to quit that place; and, as it was known that all the usual routes to Philadelphia were beset by the insurgents, they concluded to descend the Ohio, and proceed, by a circuitous route, to the seat of Government; which they began to put in execution on the night of the 19th of July.

The following points, which are of great importance, do not appear in the above narrative. First, it seems the attack was so deliberate that a committee of three was chosen to superintend it, who sat upon an elevation, and directed the various movements. Second, it seems that the object aimed at was the destruction of official papers, and not property or life. Third, McFarlane, the commander of the rebels, was shot dead, when he exposed himself in consequence of a call from the house to cease firing; this was regarded as intentional murder on the part of the defenders. Fourth, there is no doubt as to the burning having been authorized by the committee of attack.*

The attack upon Neville's house was an outrage of so violent a character, and the feeling that caused it was of so mixed a nature, that further movements were of necessity, to be expected. Those who thought themselves justified, as the early actors in the Revolution had been, would of course go forward; those who anticipated the vengeance of the laws, thought it safer to press on and make the rebellion formidable, than to stop and so be unable to hope for terms from the government: [which, as Brackenridge states, was the case with Bradford,] the depraved looked for plunder, the depressed for a chance to rise, the ambitious had the great men of France in view before them, and the cowardly followed what they dared not try to withstand.

* American State Papers, xx. 112.—Findley, 86, 87.—Breckenridge, i. 18, 19.—American Pioneer, ii. 207.

These various feelings showed themselves at a meeting held July 23d, at Mingo creek, the particulars of which are given by Brackenridge, who attended, in a vivid and clear narrative. The masses were half-mad, filled with true Parisian fury, and drove their apparent leaders powerless before them. At this gathering, a general convention to meet on the 14th of August, at Parkinson's Ferry, now Williamsport, upon the Monogahela, was agreed on; but the more violent meanwhile determined upon steps that would entirely close the way to reconciliation with the Government: these were, first, the robbery of the mail, by which they expected to learn who were their chief opponents; next, the expulsion from the country of the persons thus made known; and, lastly, the seizure of the United States arms and ammunition at Pittsburgh. The leading man in these desperate acts was David Bradford, an attorney and politician of some eminence. The first step was successfully taken on the 26th of July, and General John Gibson, Colonel Presly Neville, son of General John Neville, and three others, were found to have written letters in relation to the late proceedings. This being known, the people of Pittsburgh were requested by the Jacobins of the country to expel these persons forthwith, and such was the fear of the citizens that the order was obeyed, though unwillingly.* But the third project succeeded less perfectly. In order to effect it, a meeting of the masses had been called for August 1st, at Braddock's field; this call was made in the form usual for militia musters, and all were notified to come armed and equipped. Brackenridge was again present, though in fear and trembling. Terror, indeed, appears to have ruled as perfectly as beyond the Atlantic. The Pittsburgh representatives had gone to the conference from fear of being thought lukewarm in the rebel cause, and finding themselves suspected, passed the day in fear. The object of the gathering, an attack upon the United States arsenal, had been divulged to few, and upon further consultation was abandoned. But it was determined to march to Pittsburgh at any rate, for the purpose of intimidating the disaffected, robbing a few houses, and burning a few stores. The women of the country had gathered to see

* See Brackenridge's Incidents of the Insurrection of 1794, i. 30, 39, 45, 52, 66. vol iii, 148. Findley's History of the Whisky Insurrection, pp. 91, 93, 95, 103. American Pioneer, i. 65.

the sack of the city at the Fork—and it was with difficulty that the conflagration and robbery were prevented; the leaders in general opposed the excesses of their followers; the brother of the murdered McFarlane protected the property of Major Kirkpatrick, and as others who were most interested in the insurrection, showed equal vigor in the prevention of violence, the march to Pittsburgh resulted in nothing worse than the burning of a few barns and sheds.*

When a knowledge of the attack on Neville's house and the subsequent proceedings reached the Federal Government, it was thought to be time to take decided steps. On the 5th of August, Hamilton laid the whole matter before the President; Judge Wilson of the Supreme Court, having on the 4th certified the western counties to be in a state of insurrection; and upon the 7th, Washington issued his Proclamation giving notice that every means in his power would be used to put down the rebelion. As it was his wish, however, and also that of Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania, that no pains should be spared to prevent a recourse to arms, Commissioners were appointed, three by the United States and two by the State, to visit the West, and try to procure an abandonment of the insurrection without bloodshed. [The Commissioners on the part of the United States, were James Ross, a Senator in Congress, and a gentleman very popular with the people in western Pennsylvania, Jasper Yeates, an Associate Judge of the Supreme Court of that State; and William Bradford, the Attorney General of the United States. Those on the part of Pennsylvania were Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of the State; and William Irvine, a Representative in Congress. Their instructions are in the American State Papers, vol. xx. p. 86.]

When these messengers reached the neighborhood of Pittsburgh, the meeting at Parkinson's ferry was in session, and Gallatin and others were trying to prevent matters from becoming worse than they already were. This meeting, upon receiving notice of the approach of the Commissioners, agreed to send a committee of conference, to treat with them; and at the same time, named a standing committee, one from each

† See correspondence of Governor Mifflin and Mr. Randolph in American State Papers xx. 97 to 106.

township, making sixty in number, to whom the former were to report, and who were authorized to call a new meeting of deputies or recall the old ones, in order to accept or reject the terms offered on the part of Government. [The conferees were from the counties of Westmoreland, Alleghany, Fayette and Washington in Pennsylvania, and Ohio county in Virginia.*]

On the 21st of August the Commissioners and Committee of conference met, and after some discussion agreed upon terms, which the representatives of the insurgents thought their constituents would do well to accept. They were then submitted to the standing committee, but in that body so much fear and mutual distrust prevailed, as to lead to a mere recommendation to the people to accept the terms offered, by a vote of thirty-four to twenty-three, while the committee themselves failed to give the pledges which had been required of them. This state of things and the knowledge of the fact that even the recommendation was obtained only by shielding the voters through a vote by ballot, proved to the agents for Government that little was yet done towards tranquilizing the country, All the committee-men and leaders were in dread of popular violence, and after various letters had passed, and a second committee of conference had agreed that it would be wise to adopt the terms offered by the Government,† the question was referred to the people themselves, who were to sign their names to pledges prepared for the purpose; by which pledges they bound themselves to obey the law and help its operation, or unwilling to do this they were to refuse distinctly to sign any such promise. This trial of popular sentiment was to take place on the 11th of September, in the presence of persons who had been at Parkinson ferry meeting, or of magistrates; and the result of the vote was to be by them certified to the Commissioners. It would have been well to have given a longer time that the good disposition of the leaders might have had an opportunity of spreading among the people, but as the President in his proclamation had re-

* See Boston Independent Chronicle, Sept. 1st, 1794—United States Gazette, Sept. 9—American State Papers, vol. xx. 93—Brackenridge, i. 77, note—U. S. Gazette, August 22d, 1794.

† American State Papers, xx. 87 to 97; U. S. Gazette, September 6; Brackenridge, i. 117; Boston Independent Chronicle, for September 22d, 1794.

quired a dispersion by the 1st of September, it was thought impossible to wait. On the 11th a vote was taken, but very imperfect and unsatisfactory. In some portions of the country, men openly refused obedience to the law; in some, they were silent; in some they merely voted by ballot for and against submission; and upon the whole gave so little proof of a disposition to support the legal officers that the judges of the vote did not feel willing to give certificates that offices of inspection could be safely established in the several counties, and the Commissioners were forced to return to Philadelphia without having accomplished their objects. On the 24th of September they reported their proceedings and failure to the President; who, upon the 25th, called the militia of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia, into the field under the command of Henry Lee, Governor of the State last named. Washington himself visited the troops and met some deputations from the western counties, but was unable to accompany the army to Pittsburgh, whither, however, General Hamilton went to represent the Executive. No resistance was offered to the army, although the soldiers in many cases showed a spirit as bad as that of the rebels, and most needless cruelty was in some cases practiced. Bradford, and a few of the most prominent friends of violence, fled to the Spanish provinces of the south-west. To prevent a renewal of the insurrection, and secure obedience to the law, an armed force under General Morgan remained through the winter west of the mountains. Thus, at a cost of $669,992 34, the whisky riots were ended.*

But there is reason to think that the money was well spent; and that the insurrection was a wholesome eruption. It served several good purposes; it alarmed the wiser portion of the Democratic party, who saw how much of Jacobin fury lay hidden in the American people; it proved to the wiser part of the friends of the administration, that the societies they so much hated, even if they originated the evil feelings prevalent in the West, would not countenance the riotous acts that follow-

* American State Papers, xx. 89, 90, 76, 97, 112; also vol. vii. 661. United States Gazette, (1794,) September 5th. 6th, 12th, 22d and 26th. Boston Independent Chronicle October 2d. Sparks' Washington, x. 439, 441, 450. Findley's History of the Insurrection. Brackenridge, ii. 79, and many other pages. American Pioneer, i. 213. Marshall's Washington, v. 589.

For Washington's speech of November 19, 1794, see Sparks' Washington, xii. 44 to 52.

ed. The unruly portion of the western people was awed by the energy of the Executive, and to those who loved order, the readiness of the militia to march to the support of Government was evidence of a much better disposition than most had hoped to find. In addition to these advantages, we may name the activity of business, caused by the expenditure of so large a sum in the west, and the increase of frontier population from the ranks of the army. [And the Editor thinks the Government learned a very important lesson, that mere law, backed by force, cannot regulate the affairs of the nation; that the imposition of taxes by excise, or in any other form, cannot be carried out by mere authority; and that, while our government is one of law, it is also one of enlightened public opinion.

A few additional facts, selected from Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, p. 670, will close this sketch.

The province of Pennsylvania, as early as 1756, had looked to the excise on ardent spirits for the means of sustaining its bills of credit. The original law, passed to continue only ten years, was from time to time continued, as necessities pressed upon the treasury. During the revolution, the law was generally evaded in the west, by considering all spirits as *for domestic use*, such being excepted from excise; but when the debts of the revolution began to press upon the states, they became more vigilant in the enforcement of the law. Opposition arose at once in the western counties. Liberty-poles were erected, and the people assembled in arms, chased off the officers appointed to enforce the law. The object of the people was to compel a repeal of the law, but they had not the least idea of subverting the government.

The pioneers of this region, descended as they were from North Britain and Ireland, had come very honestly by their love of whiskey; and many of them had brought their hatred of an exciseman from the old country. The western insurgents followed, as they supposed, the recent example of the American revolution. The first attempt of the British parliament—the very cause of the revolution, had been an excise law. There was nothing in that day disreputable in either making or drinking whisky.

No temperance societies then existed; to drink whisky was as common and honorable as to eat bread; the fame of "old Monongahela" was proverbial, both at the east and the west. Distilling was then esteemed as moral and respectable as any other business. It was early commenced, and extensively carried on in western Pennsylvania. There was neither home nor foreign market for rye, their principal crop; the

grain would not bear packing across the mountains. Whisky, therefore, was the most important item of remittance to pay for their salt, sugar and iron. The people had cultivated their land for years at the peril of their lives, with little or no protection from the Federal Government; and when, by extraordinary efforts, they were enabled to raise a little more grain than their immediate wants required, they were met with a law restraining them in the liberty of doing what they pleased with the surplus. The people of western Pennsylvania regarded a tax on whisky in the same light as the citizens of Ohio would now regard a United States tax on lard, pork, or flour.

It is but justice to General John Neville and his descendants, that we should give the following extract from the pen of the late Judge Wilkeson, to be recorded. It is to be found, with much other valuable matter, in his "Early Recollections of the West."*

In order to allay opposition, (to the excise law,) as far as possible, General John Neville, a man of the most deserved popularity, was appointed collector for western Pennsylvania. He accepted the appointment from a sense of duty to his country. He was one of the few men of wealth, who had put his all at hazard for independence. At his own expense, he raised and equipped a company of soldiers, marched them to Boston, and placed them, with his son, under the command of General Washington. He was the brother-in-law to the distinguished General Morgan, and father-in-law to Majors Craig and Kirkpatrick, officers highly respected in the western country. Besides General Neville's claims as a soldier and patriot, he had contributed greatly to relieve the sufferings of the settlers in his vicinity. He divided his last loaf with the needy; and in a season of more than ordinary scarcity, he opened his fields to those who were suffering with hunger. If any man could have executed this odious law, General Neville was that man.]

[During the period in which we have traced the "Annals of the West" in this chapter, we must not omit the notice of settlements formed in that part of the North Western Territory, now included within the State of Ohio. And the first is the settlement of Galliopolis, commonly called Gallipolis.]

In May or June, 1788, Joel Barlow left this country for Europe, "authorized to dispose of a very large body of land" in the west. In 1790, this gentleman distributed proposals in Paris, for the sale of lands, at five shillings per acre, which

*American Pioneer, ii. 207.—Day's Pennsylvania, 671. note.

promised, says Volney, "a climate healthy and delightful; scarcely such a thing as frost in winter; a river, called by way of eminence, 'The Beautiful,' abounding in fish of an enormous size; magnificent forests of a tree from which sugar flows, and a shrub which yields candles: venison in abundance, without foxes, wolves, lions or tigers; no taxes to pay; no military enrolments; no quarters to find for soldiers. Purchasers became numerous, individuals and whole families disposed of their property; and, in the course of 1791, some embarked at Havre, others at Bordeaux, Nantes, or Rochelle," each with his title deed in his pocket. Five hundred settlers, among whom were not a few carvers and gilders to his majesty, coachmakers, friseurs, and peruke makers, and other artizans and *artistes*, equally well fitted for a backwoods life, arrived in the United States in 1791–92; and, acting without concert, traveling without knowledge of the language, customs or roads, they at last managed to reach the spot designated for their residence, after expending nearly or quite, the whole proceeds of their sales in France.*

They reached the spot designated, but it was only to learn, that the persons whose title deeds they held, did not own one foot of land, and that they had parted with all their worldly goods merely to reach a wilderness, which they knew not how to cultivate, in the midst of a people, of whose speech and ways they knew nothing, and at the very moment when the Indians were carrying destruction to every white man's hearth. Without food, without land, with little money, no experience, and with want and danger closing rround them, they were in a position that none but Frenchmen could be in without despair.

Who brought them to this pass? Volney says, the Scioto Company, which had bought of the Ohio Company; Mr. Hall says in his Letters from the West, (p. 137,) a company who had obtained a grant from the United States; and, in his Statistics of the West, (p. 164,) the Scioto Company, which was formed from or by the Ohio Company, as a subordinate. Barlow, he says, was sent to Europe by the Ohio Company; and by them the lands in question were conveyed to the Scioto

* Volney's view of the climate and soil of the United States, &c. The sugar-tree was the maple, and the wax-bearing myrtle, the shrub that yielded candles.

Brackenridge's Recollections, p. 42.

Company. Kilbourn says, "the Scioto Land Company, which intended to buy of Congress all the tract between the western boundary of the Ohio Company's purchase and the Scioto, directed the French settlers to Galliopolis, supposing it to be west of the Ohio Company's purchase, though it proved not to be." The Company, he tells us, failed to make their payments, and the whole proposed purchase remained with government.*

The truth undoubtedly is, that those for whom Barlow acted, were the persons referred to by Doctor Cutler, who joined with the Ohio Company in their purchase to the extent of three and one-half millions of acres; among whom, he says, were many of the principal characters of America. [This is demonstrated by the fact, that Col. Duer, who applied to Dr. Cutler "to take in another company," as the agent of the Scioto company, did receive the French Immigrants and send them to Galliopolis.†] These persons, however, never paid for their lands, and could give no title to the emigrants they had allured across the ocean. Their excuse was, that their agents had deceived them, but it was a plea good neither in morals or law. Who those agents were, and how far they were guilty, and how far the company was so, are points which seem to be still involved in doubt.‡

But, whatever doubt there may be as to the causes of the suffering, there can be none as to the sufferers. The poor gilders, and carvers, and peruke-makers, who had followed a jack-a-lantern into the "howling wilderness," found that their lives depended upon their labor. They must clear the ground, build their houses, and till their fields. Now the spot upon which they had been located by the Scioto Company was covered in part with those immense sycamore trees, which are so frequent along the rivers of the west, and to remove which is no small undertaking even for the American woodman. The coach-makers were wholly at a loss; but at last, hoping to conquer by a *coup-de-main*, they tied ropes to the branches, and while one dozen pulled at them with might and main, another dozen went at the trunk with axes, hatchets, and every variety of edged tool, and by dint of perseverance and cheerfulness, at

* Kilbourn's Gazetteer, 1831.

† American State Papers, xvi. 30.

‡ M. Meulette, one of the settlers, in American Pioneer, ii. 185.

length overcome the monster, though not without some hair-breadth escapes; for when a mighty tree, that had been hacked on all sides, fell, it required a Frenchman's heels to avoid the sweep of the wide-spread branches. But when they had felled the last vegetable, they were little better off than before; for they could not move or burn it. At last a good idea came to their aid; and while some chopped off the limbs, others dug, by the side of the trunk, a great grave, into which, with many a heave, they rolled their fallen enemy.

Their houses they did not build in the usual straggling American style, but made two rows or blocks of log-cabins, each cabin being about sixteen feet square; while at one end was a larger room, which was used as a council-chamber and ball-room.

In the way of cultivation they did little. The land was not theirs, and they had no motive to improve it; and, moreover, their coming was in the midst of the Indian war. Here and there a little vegetable garden was formed: but their main supply of food they were forced to buy from boats on the river, by which means their remaining funds were sadly broken in upon. Five of their number were taken prisoners by the Indians; food became scarce; in the fall, a marsh behind the town sent up miasm that produced fevers; then winter came, and, despite Mr. Barlow's promise, brought frost in plenty; and, by and by, they heard from beyond seas of the carnage that was desolating the fire-sides they had left. Never were men in a more mournful situation; but still, twice in the week, the whole colony came together, and to the sound of the violin danced off hunger and care. The savage scout that had been lurking all day in the thicket, listened to the strange music, and hastening to his fellows, told them, that the whites would be upon them, for he had seen them at their war-dance; and the careful Connecticut man, as he guided his broadhorn in the shadow of the Virginia shore, wondered what mischief "the red varmint" were at next; or, if he knew the sound of the fiddle, shook his head, as he thought of the whisky that must have been used to produce all that merriment.

But French vivacity, though it could work wonders, could not pay for land. Some of the Galliopolis settlers went to Detroit, others to Kaskaskia; a few bought their lands of the

Ohio Company, who treated them with great liberality; and in 1795, Congress, being informed of the circumstances, granted to the sufferers twenty-four thousand acres of land opposite Little Sandy River, to which, in 1798, twelve hundred acres more were added; which tract has since been known as *French Grant*.

The influence of this settlement upon the State was unimportant; but it forms a curious little episode in Ohio history, and affords a strange example of national character.*

During this period, however, other settlements had been taking place in Ohio, which in their influence upon the destinies of the State were deeply felt; we mean that of the Virginia Reserve, between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers, that of the Connecticut Reserve, and that of Dayton.

In 1787, the reserved lands of the Old Dominion, north of the Ohio, were examined, and in August of that year entries were commenced. Against the validity of these entries, Congress, in 1788, entered their protest. This protest, which was practically a prohibition of settlement, was withdrawn in 1790. As soon as this was done, it became an object to have surveys made in the reserved region, but as this was an undertaking of great danger, in consequence of the Indian wars, high prices in land or money had to be paid to the surveyors. The person who took the lead in this gainful but unsafe enterprise was Nathaniel Massie, then twenty-seven years old. He had been for six years or more in the west, and had prepared himself in Colonel Anderson's office for the details of his business. Thus prepared, in December, 1790, he entered into the following contract with certain persons therein named:†

Articles of agreement between Nathaniel Massie, of one part, and the several persons that have hereunto subscribed, of the other part, witnesseth, that the subscribers hereof doth oblige themselves to settle in the town laid off, on the north-west side of the Ohio, opposite to the lower part of the Two Islands; and make said town, or the neighborhood, on the north-west side of the Ohio, their permanent seat of residence for two years from the date hereof; no subscriber shall

* See the communication of Mr. Moulette referred to above. We have something from oral communications. Also American Pioneer, i. 94, 95. American State Papers, xvi. 29.

†McDonald's Sketches, 26. American Pioneer, i. 72, 438. Old Journals, iv. 836. Passed July 17th. From one-fourth to one-half of the lands surveyed, ten pounds, Virginia currency, per thousand acres, beside chain-men's expenses. [McDonald, 28.]

absent himself more than two months at a time, and during such absence furnish a strong, able-bodied man sufficient to bear arms at least equal to himself; no subscriber shall absent himself the time above mentioned in case of actual danger, nor shall such absence be but once a year; no subscriber shall absent himself in case of actual danger, or if absent shall return immediately. Each of the subscribers doth oblige themselves to comply with the rules and regulations that shall be agreed on by a majority thereof for the support of the settlement.

In consideration whereof, Nathaniel Massie doth bind and oblige himself, his heirs, &c., to make over and convey to such of the subscribers that comply with the above mentioned conditions, at the expiration of two years, a good and sufficient title unto one in-lot in said town, containing five poles in front and eleven back, one out-lot of four acres convenient to said town, in the bottom, which the said Massie is to put them in immediate possession of, also one hundred acres of land, which the said Massie has shown to a part of the subscribers; the conveyance to be made to each of the subscribers, their heirs or assigns.

In witness whereof, each of the parties have hereunto set their hands and seals, this 1st day of December, 1790.

The town thus laid off was situated some twelve miles above Maysville, and was called Manchester; it is still known to the voyager on the Ohio. From this point Massie and his companions made surveying expeditions through the perilous years from 1791 to 1796, but though often distressed and in danger, they were never wearied nor afraid; and at length, with Wayne's treaty all danger of importance was at an end.*

Connecticut, as we have stated, had, in 1786 resigned her claims to western lands, with the exception of a reserved tract extending one hundred and twenty miles beyond Pennsylvania. Of this tract, so far as the Indian title was extinguished, a survey was ordered in October, 1786, and an office opened for its disposal: part was sold, and in 1792, half a million of acres were given to those citizens of Connecticut, who had lost property by the acts of the British troops, during the Revolutionary War, at New London, New Haven and elsewhere; these lands are known as the "Firelands" and the "Sufferers' lands," and lie in the western part of the Reserve.†

*McDonald's Sketch of General Massie.

† American State Papers, v. 696.

In May, 1795, the Legislature of Connecticut authorized a committee to take steps for the disposal of the remainder of their western domain; this committee made advertisement accordingly, and before autumn had disposed of it to fifty-six persons, forming the Connecticut Land Company, for one million two hundred thousand dollars, and upon the 5th or 9th of September, quit claimed to the purchasers the whole title of the State, territorial and juridical.* These purchasers, on the same day, conveyed the three millions of acres transferred to them by the State, to John Morgan, John Caldwell, and Jonathan Brace, in trust; and upon the quit-claim deeds of those trustees, the titles to all real estate in the Western Reserve, of necessity, rest. Surveys were commenced in 1796, and by the close of 1797, all the lands east of the Cuyahoga were divided into townships five miles square. The agent of the Connecticut Land Company was General Moses Cleveland, and in honor of him the leading city of the Reserve, in 1796, received its name. That township and five others were retained for private sale, and the remainder were disposed of by a lottery, the first drawing in which took place in February, 1798.†

Wayne's treaty also led at once to the foundation of Dayton, and the peopling of that fertile region. The original proposition by Symmes had been for the purchase of two millions of acres between the Miamies; this was changed very shortly to a contract for one million, extending from the Great Miami eastwardly twenty miles; but the contractor being unable to pay for all he wished, in 1792, a patent was issued for 248,540 acres. But although his tract was by contract limited toward the east, and greatly curtailed in its extent toward the north, by his failure to pay the whole amount due, Judge Symmes had not hesitated to sell lands lying between the eastern boundary of his purchase and the Little Miami, and even after his patent issued continued to dispose of an imaginary right in those north of the quantity patented. The first irregularity, the sale of lands along the Little Miami, was cured by the act of Congress in 1792, which authorized the extension of his purchase from one river to the other;

*For the title of Connecticut and the above facts, see American State Papers, xvi. 94 to 98, and American Pioneer, ii. 24.

†See American Pioneer, ii. 23, &c.

but the sales of territory north of the tract transferred to him by Congress, were so entirely unauthorized in the view of the government, that in 1796.it refused to recognize them as valid, and those who had become purchasers beyond the patent line, were at the mercy of the Federal rulers, until an act was procured in their favor in 1799, by which pre-emption rights were secured to them. Among those who were thus left in suspense during three years, were the settlers throughout the region of which Dayton forms the centre.*

Seventeen days after Wayne's treaty, St. Clair, Wilkinson, Jonathan Dayton and Israel Ludlow contracted with Symmes for the seventh and eighth ranges between Mad river and the Little Miami. Three settlements were to be made, one at the mouth of Mad River, one on the Little Miami, in the seventh range, and another on the Mad river. On the 21st of September, 1795, Daniel C. Cooper started to survey and mark out a road in the purchase, and John Dunlap to run its boundaries, which was done before the 4th of October. Upon the 4th of November, Mr. Ludlow laid off the town of Dayton, which was disposed of by lottery.†

From 1790 to 1795, the Governor and Judges of the Northwest Territory published sixty-four statutes. Thirty-four of these were adopted at Cincinnati, during June, July and August of the last named year, and were intended to form a pretty complete body of statutory provisions: they are known as the Maxwell Code, from the name of the publisher, but were passed by Governor St. Clair and Judges Symmes and Turner. Among them was that which provided that the common law of England and all statutes in aid thereof made previous to the fourth year of James the 1st, should be in full force within the territory. Of the system, as a whole, Mr. Chase says, that with many imperfections, "it may be doubted whether any colony, at so early a period after its first establishment, ever had one so good."‡

Just after the conclusion of Wayne's treaty, a speculation in Michigan of the most gigantic kind was undertaken by

*See for the full particulars of Symmes' contract, American State Papers, xvi. 75, 104 127.

†See B. Vancleve's Memoranda, American Pioneer, ii. 294, 295.

‡Sketch of History of Ohio, p. 27. For the laws from 1790 to 1795, see Chase's Statutes, i. 103 to 204.

certain astute New Englanders, named Robert Randall, Chas. Whitney, Israel Jones, Ebenezer Allen, &c., who, in connection with various persons in and about Detroit, proposed to buy of the Indians eighteen or twenty million acres, lying on lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, the pre-emption right of which they hoped to obtain from the United States, by giving members of Congress an interest in the investment. Some of the members who were approached, however, revealed the plan, and Randall, the principal conspirator, having been reprimanded, the whole speculation disappeared.*

Another enterprise, equally gigantic, but far less objectionable, dates from the 20th of February, 1795; we refer to the North American Land Company, which was formed in Philadelphia under the management of Robert Morris, John Nicholson, and James Greenleaf. This Company owned vast tracts in various States, which, under an agreement bearing date as above, were offered to the public.†

But we have hitherto taken no notice of Jay's treaty in so far as it concerned the west; nor have we mentioned the negotiations with Spain which secured the use of the Mississippi. To these we may now turn. The portion of Mr. Jay's treaty with which we are concerned, is the second article, and that is as follows:

Art. 2. His Majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrison from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. This evacuation shall take place on or before the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and all the proper measures shall be taken in the interval by concert between the government of the United States and His Majesty's Governor General in America, for settling the previous arrangements which may be necessary respecting the delivery of the said posts: the United States, in the mean time, at their discretion, extending their settlements to any part within the said boundary line, except within the precincts or jurisdiction of any of the said posts. All settlers and traders within the precincts or jurisdiction of the said posts, shall continue to enjoy, unmolested, all their property, of every kind, and shall be protected therein. They shall be at full liberty to remain there, or to remove with all or any part of their effects; and it shall also be free to them to sell their lands, houses or effects, or retain the property

* See papers and evidence, American State Papers, xx. 125 to 133.

† Observations on the North American Land Company, London, 1796. Imlay (Ed. 1797) p. 572.

thereof, at their discretion; such of them as shall continue to reside within the said boundary lines shall not be compelled to become citizens of the United States, or to take any oath of allegiance to the government thereof; but they shall be at full liberty so to do if they think proper; they shall make and declare their election within one year after the evacuation aforesaid. And all persons who shall continue there after the expiration of the said year, without having declared their intention of remaining subjects to His Britannic Majesty, shall be considered as having elected to become citizens of the United States.*

Turning to the negotiation with Spain, we find, that in November, 1794, Thomas Pinckney was despatched to treat with the court of Madrid, in relation to boundaries to the Mississippi, and to general trade. Many reams of paper had been spoiled by previous messengers, Jay, Carmichael and Short, to little purpose, and it was a matter of three months' farther correspondence, to mature the treaty of October 27th, 1795. This treaty, signed by plain Thomas Pinckney, "a citizen of the United States, and their envoy extraordinary to His Catholic Majesty," on the one part, and on the other by "the most Excellent Lord Don Manuel de Godoy and Alvarez de Faria, Rios, Sanchez, Zarzosa, Prince de la Paz, Duke de la Alcudia, Lord of the Soto de Roma and of the State of Albala, Grandee of Spain of the first class, Perpetual Regidor of the city of Santiago, Knight of the illustrious order of the Golden Fleece and Great Cross of the royal and distinguished Spanish order of Charles III., commander of Valencia del Ventoso Rivera, and Aceuchal in that of Santiago, Knight and Great Cross of the religious order of St. John, Counsellor of State, First Secretary of State and Despatcho, Secretary to the Queen, Superintendent General of the Ports and Highways, Protector of the Royal Academy of the noble Arts and of the Royal Societies of Natural History, Botany, Chemistry, and Astronomy, Gentleman of the King's Chamber, in employment, Captain General of his armies, Inspector and Major of the Royal Corps of Body Guards, &c. &c. &c."† contains, among other provisions, the following, once deeply interesting to the West.

*American State Papers, i. 520. For the treaty and correspondence entire, see American State Papers, i. 470 to 525.

†The after history of this man of many titles is a lesson worth the study of all those in power: see his memoirs translated, London, 1836; also an article in Westminster Review, for April, 1836.

ART. 4. It is likewise agreed that the Western boundary of the United States, which separates them from the Spanish colony of Louisiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the river Mississippi, from the northern boundary of the said States to the completion of the thirty-first degree of latitude north of the equator. And his Catholic Majesty has likewise agreed that the navigation of the said river in its whole breadth, from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects and the citizens of the United States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other powers by special convention.

And in consequence of the stipulations contained in the fourth article, His Catholic Majesty will permit the citizens of the United States, for the space of three years from this time, to deposit their merchandise and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores; and his Majesty promises either to continue this permission, if he finds, during that time, that it is not prejudicial to the interests of Spain, or if he should not agree to continue it there, he will assign to them, on another part of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment.*

This being approved, closed the Mississippi question and defeated the plans of Sebastian.

*American State Papers, i. 547, 549. For treaty, see American State Papers. i. 546 to 549. For Pinckney's Correspondence, do. 533 to 546. For that of Jay, Carmichael and Short, do. 131, 243 to 278, 328, 433 to 446.

CHAPTER XV.

EXTENSION OF SETTLEMENTS.

Survey of Chillicothe and Cleveland—Settlements in Ohio—Progress in Tennessee—Interference of Spain, and Power's mission—Organization of Mississippi Territory—Nullification in Kentucky—First Legislative Assembly of the Northwest—Constitution of Kentucky amended.

The great event of 1796, was the final transfer of the northern posts from Britain to the United States, under Jay's treaty. This was to have taken place on or before the 1st of June, but owing to the late period at which the House of Representatives, after their memorable debate upon the treaty, passed the necessary appropriations, it was July before the American Government felt itself justified in addressing the authorities in Canada in regard to Detroit and the other frontier forts. When at last called upon to give them up, the British at once did so, and Wayne transferred his head quarters to the neighborhood of the Lakes, where a county named from him was established, including the northwest of Ohio, the northeast of Indiana, and the whole of Michigan.* Meanwhile, the treaty with Spain was likely to become ineffectual in consequence of the alliance of Spain and France upon the 19th of August, and the difficulties which, at the same time, arose between the latter power and the United States. Spain took advantage of the new position of affairs to refuse the delivery of the posts on the Mississippi as had been stipulated, and proceeded, as we have already related, to tempt the honesty of leading western politicians.†

During this year settlements went on rapidly in the West. Early in the year Nathaniel Massie, of whom we have already spoken, took steps to found a town upon the Scioto, on a portion of the lands which he had entered. This town he named, when surveyed, Chillicothe.

* Washington's speech, American State Papers, i. 30. Chase's Sketch p. 27.

† Pitkins' History United States, ii. 484—American State Papers, i. 559 to 760—Adams' Speech, American State Papers, i. 44. Documents, do. ii. 20, &c. 66, &c. 78, &c.

"One hundred in and out-lots in the town, were chosen by lot, by the first one hundred settlers, as a donation, according to the original proposition of the proprietor. A number of in and out-lots were also sold to other persons, desiring to settle in the town. The first choice of in-lots were disposed of for the moderate sum of ten dollars each. The town increased rapidly, and before the winter of 1796, it had in it several stores, taverns, and shops for mechanics. The arts of civilized life soon began to unfold their power and influence in a more systematic manner, than had ever been witnessed by many of its inhabitants, especially those who were born and raised in the frontier settlements, where neither law nor gospel were understood or attended to."*

[There were three places in Ohio, called Chillicothe by the Indians, one of which was in the neighborhood of this town site. It is a Shawanese word, and denotes *place* or *site*. Old Chillicothe was on the Little Miami, and the other was on or near the Maumee, or Miami of the Lake. The Shawanese nation, which originated from the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida, was divided into four tribes; the Piqua, Mequachake, Kiskapocoke, and Chillicothe tribes.

We have already given the fact of the reservation made by Connecticut, of the tract of country in the northeast part of Ohio, known as the "Western Reserve," and of the sale of this tract to the "Connecticut Land Company."

In September, 1796, the town of Cleveland was surveyed, and by a treaty with the Iroquois, all their claims to the tract east of the river Cuyahoga, were surrendered to the Connecticut Land Company.

Cleveland, on Lake Erie, was regarded as an important site for a commercial city. It is on a dry, sandy plain, between the Lake and Cuyahoga river; gently sloping towards the Lake, with a fine water view. It was a point of note in the journeyings of the aborigines.

The Land Company already mentioned, was organized in Hartford, Con., on the 5th of September, 1795. The next year, the trustees sent out forty-three surveyors, who were instructed to divide that part of the Western Reserve that lay east of the Cuyahoga river into townships, five miles square. The

* McDonald's Sketches, pp. 56, 60 to 64.

first resident in Cleveland was a Mr. Job Stiles and family, and Mrs. Stiles was mother of the first white child born on the Reserve. Immigrants came slowly to the country; a majority being from Connecticut, and the peculiar characteristics of the puritans of that ancient state, with some modifications, still prevail on the Western Reserve.*

In the western section of the present state of Ohio, settlers and speculators appeared in much larger numbers.

A detachment of American troops, consisting of sixty-five men, under the command of Captain Moses Porter, took possession of the evacuated fort at Detroit, about the 12th of July. In September, Winthrop Sergeant, Secretary of the North Western Territory, proceeded to Detroit, and organized the county of Wayne, and established the civil authority in that quarter.

This year, also, the settlements in the Muskingum, Scioto, and Miami valleys, were much extended. The immigrants from the New England and middle states, came into the West by way of Brownsville and Wheeling. At Brownsville many fitted up flat boats and descended the Ohio to Limestone, and other points in Kentucky, or else landed on the north side of the Ohio. Others proceeded by land from Wheeling, to that section of the territory they had selected for their future homes. The colonies destined for the valleys of the Muskingum and Scioto chiefly passed by this route.

Small villages and farming settlements were made on the banks of the Ohio and its tributaries below the Muskingum. Symmes' purchase, on the Miami, underwent rapid changes.

Cincinnati had increased its population and improved its style of buildings. In 1792, it contained about thirty log cabins, besides the barracks and other buildings connected with Fort Washington; and about two hundred and fifty inhabitants.

The first house of worship, for the first Presbyterian Church, was erected. In the beginning of the year 1796, Cincinnati had more than one hundred log cabins, beside twelve or fifteen frame houses, and a population of about six hundred persons.†

Within the Virginia Military Land District, which lay be-

* See an article by Charles Whittlesey, Esq. in the American Pioneer, ii. 22, 33.

† Cincinnati in 1841, p. 28—Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, ii. 313.

tween the Little Miami and Scioto rivers, several new settlements were made, and surveys were executed by Nathaniel Massie, the enterprising pioneer of the Scioto valley, over the most fertile lands westward to the Little Miami, as far north as Todd's fork, and on all the branches of Paint Creek, and eastward to the Scioto. He performed much service as a pioneer in extending the settlements and the boundaries of civilization in this part of Ohio. As early as 1790, he laid out the town of Manchester, on the Ohio, twelve miles above Limestone. By the following March, he had his stockade complete, and about thirty families within it.

Emigrants from Virginia, in great numbers, advanced into the Scioto valley, and settlements extended on the fine lands lying on Paint and Deer creeks, and other branches of the Scioto.

At the same time the pioneers of civilization were gradually extending settlements along the Muskingum as far as the mouth of Licking. It was in this year that Ebenezer Zane obtained the grant of a section of land as the consideration of opening a bridle-path from the Ohio river at Wheeling, across the country by Chillicothe to Limestone, in Kentucky, which was located where Zanesville now is. The United States' mail traversed this route for the first time the following year.*

Before the close of the year 1796, the white population of the North Western Territory, now included in the State of Ohio, had increased to about five thousand souls of all ages. These were chiefly distributed in the lower valleys of the Muskingum, Scioto and Miami rivers, and on their small tributaries, within fifty miles of the Ohio river.

With this progress of settlements, the end of the Indian war by the treaty at Greenville, and the delivery of the northern posts by the British, under Jay's treaty, all apprehension of danger on the part of the whites ceased, and friendly intercourse with the natives succeeded. Such disaffected Indians as persisted in their feelings of hostility to the Americans, retired into the interior of the North Western wilderness, or to their allies in Canada. Forts, stations and stockades, became useless, and were abandoned to decay. The hardy pioneer pushed further into the forest, and men of enterprize and capi-

* Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, ii. 316.

tal in the older settlements, became interested in securing claims and titles to extensive bodies of fertile lands, and sending out colonies for their occupation. Settlements were made, and towns and villages planted in Western Virginia and Kentucky.

During the period in which the "Annals" of the northwest have been given, in this and the preceding chapters, frequent acts of hostility were committed by the Cherokees and other southern Indians on the settlements in Tennessee, especially those along the Cumberland river. These depredations, in which many persons were killed and scalped, were committed by small marauding parties. The termination of the Indian war in the northwest, was followed by treaties with the south western Indians, and the cessation of hostilities in that quarter.

In 1790, North Carolina, which claimed jurisdiction over the territorial district of Tennessee, ceded to the Federal government all this territory. The ceded country, by act of Congress, approved May 20th, was erected into a territory of the United States, under the name of the "South Western Territory." The ordinance of 1787, for the North Western Territory, (with the exception of the sixth article, prohibiting slavery,) was adopted as the fundamental law in its organization.

Notwithstanding the hostile attitude of the Indians, large numbers of emigrants, each year, left Virginia, North and South Carolina, and even Georgia, for this district of country, and settlements continued to extend into the wilderness. In 1793 the people became impatient of their dependant form of government, and adopted an address to the governor, that as the territory contained more than five thousand free white male persons, (the requisite number, as provided by the ordinance of 1787,) they might have a territorial Legislature.

In December of that year, the Governor issued his proclamation for the election of a General Assembly, as provided by law.

The Legislature assembled at Knoxville, in February, 1794, and passed the necessary laws to open roads, protect the inhabitants from Indian depredations, and other matters.

(It ought to have been noticed in its proper place, that owing to the tardy and vascillating course of North Carolina, the peo-

ple, after several efforts to obtain what they supposed to be their rights, elected five deputies from each county, which met at Greenville, in November, 1785, formed a constitution, and proceeded to organize the "State of Frankland." A Legislature was chosen, and a delegation was sent to Congress with their constitution, asking for admission into the confederation, which was rejected, to avoid collision with North Carolina. The State government of Frankland, and that of North Carolina, attempted to exercise jurisdiction over the same territory, which collision continued for two years, when the new government, very reluctantly, yielded.)*

According to a census ordered by the Territorial Legislature, in 1795, the aggregate population of the territory was 77,262 persons; of whom 66,490 were whites, and the remainder slaves and free persons of color. This amount of population more than entitled them to a State government, according to the provisions of the ordinance of Congress.

The governor of the territory issued his proclamation for an election of five persons in each county, to meet in convention, for the purpose of forming a constitution. This convention assembled at Knoxville, on the 11th of January, 1796, and formed the constitution, and on the 9th of February, governor Blount, forwarded to Mr. Pickering, Secretary of State, a copy. This was sent by Mr. McMinn, who was instructed to tarry long enough in Philadelphia, to ascertain whether the new State would be admitted into the Union. On the 6th of June, the act was passed by Congress to receive the State of Tennessee.

Four years after the organization of the State government, the population had increased to 105,602 souls, including 13,584 slaves and persons of color.†

During 1796, Samuel Jackson and Jonathan Sharpless erected "Redstone paper-mill," four miles east of Brownsville; it being the first manufactory of the kind west of the Alleghanies.‡

In the month of December, 1796, General Anthony Wayne, being on his way from Detroit to Philadelphia, was attacked with sickness, and died in a cabin, at or near Erie, (Presqu'ile)

* Monette's History, ii. 270—272. Haywood's Civil History, 140—160.

† Haywood's Civil and Political History of Tennessee—Monette, ii. 280.

‡ American Pioneer, ii. 64.

in the north part of Pennsylvania. He was born in Chester county, Pa. January 1st, 1745; hence in a few days, had he lived, he would have been fifty-one years of age. He was a distinguished officer in the revolutionary war, a man of unparalleled bravery, and led the forlorn hope in the attack upon Stoney Point. His remains were removed from Presqu'ile in 1809, by his son, Col. Isaac Wayne, to Radnor church-yard, near the place of his birth, and an elegant monument erected on his tomb by the Pennsylvania Cincinnati Society.*

[Before the Spanish posts on the eastern side of the Mississippi were surrendered to the United States, according to the treaty of 1795, efforts were made by agents of France and Spain, to induce the people of the western country to separate themselves from the American Union, and to establish, in conjunction with France and Spain, an independent government in the Mississippi valley. After the death of Gen. Wayne, Gen. Wilkinson was appointed to the command of the United States' troops in this valley. In the month of June, 1797, the Baron de Carondelet, Governor General of Louisiana, sent Thomas Power, one of his agents, to General Wilkinson, with a letter, in which Wilkinson was requested to delay the march of the American troops for the posts on the Mississippi, until the adjustment of certain questions which were then pending between the government of the United States and that of Spain. The real object of the mission of Power was to ascertain the opinions and sentiments of the western people, on the subject of a separation from the Union.

In the mean time, and for some years preceding, the agents of Spain were engaged in enlisting the Indians in the southwest on their side, and the officers of that government proceeded to reinforce and strengthen their posts in Upper Louisiana. To understand the design of the mission of Power, it is necessary to lay before the reader the secret instructions of the Baron de Carondelet, dated on the 26th of May, 1797.†

"On your journey, you will give to understand adroitly, to those persons to whom you have an opportunity of speaking, that the delivery of the posts which the Spaniards occupy on the Mississippi, to the troops of the United States, is directly

* Burnett's Letters, 49—Allen's American Biography—Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania, p. 216—Encyclopedia Americana, vol. xiii. Article, Wayne.

† Dillon's Indiana, i. 410—Butler's Kentucky, p. 256—Marshall's Kentucky, vol. ii. 219.

opposed to the interest of those of the west, who, as they must one day separate from the Atlantic states, would find themselves without any communication with lower Louisiana, from whence they ought to expect to receive powerful succors in artillery, arms, ammunition and money, either publicly or secretly, as soon as ever the western states should determine on a separation, which must injure their prosperity and their independence; that, for this reason, Congress is resolved on risking every thing to take those posts from Spain; and that it would be forging fetters for themselves, to furnish it with militia and means, which it can only find in the western states. These same reasons, diffused abroad by means of the public papers, might make the strongest impressions on the people, and induce them to throw off the yoke of the Atlantic states.

* * * If a hundred thousand dollars distributed in Kentucky would cause it to rise in insurrection, I am very certain, that the minister, in the present circumstances, would sacrifice them with pleasure; and you may, without exposing yourself too much, promise them to those who enjoy the confidence of the people, with another equal sum to arm them, in case of necessity, and twenty pieces of field artillery.

"You will arrive without danger, as bearer of a despatch for the General, where the army may be, whose force, discipline, and disposition, you will examine with care; and you will endeavor to discover, with your natural penetration, the General's disposition. I doubt that a person of his disposition would prefer, through vanity, the advantages of commanding the army of the Atlantic states, to that of being the founder, the liberator, in fine, the Washington of the Western states: his part is as brilliant as it is easy; all eyes are drawn towards him; he possesses the confidence of his fellow citizens, and of the Kentucky volunteers: at the slightest movement, the people will name him the General of the new republic; his reputation will raise an army for him, and Spain as well as France will furnish him the means of paying it. On taking Fort Massac, we will send him instantly arms and artillery; and Spain, limiting herself to the possession of the forts of Natchez and Walnut Hills, as far as fort Confederation, will cede to the western states all the eastern bank to the Ohio, which will form a very extensive and powerful republic, connected by its situation and by its interest, with Spain, and in concert with it, will force the savages to become a party to it, and to confound themselves in time with its citizens.

"The public are discontented with the new taxes; Spain and France are enraged at the connection of the United States with England; the army is weak and devoted to Wilkinson; the threats of Congress authorize me to succor, on the spot, and openly, the western states: money will not then be wanting to me, for I shall send without delay, a ship to Vera Cruz

in search of it, as well as of ammunition; nothing more will consequently be required, but an instant of firmness and resolution to make the people of the west perfectly happy. If they suffer this instant to escape them, and we are forced to deliver up the posts, Kentucky and Tennessee, surrounded by the said posts, and without communication with Lower Louisiana, will ever remain under the oppression of the Atlantic states."*

"The emissary, Power, passed through Tennessee, Kentucky and the North Western Territory, as far as Detroit, where he found General Wilkinson, and communicated his message about the posts down the Mississippi. The General wrote a letter to Captain Robert Buntin of Vincennes, dated "Detroit, September 4th, 1797," in which he expresses fears that the posts would not be surrendered without war, but suggests the letter "may be a mask for other purposes."

The result of Power's mission, was the entire defeat of the project. Contrary to his remonstrances, he was obliged to return to Louisiana by the way of Vincennes and Fort Massac, under the escort of Captain Shaumberg, of the American army. It appears that the United States' government got information of this nefarious mission, and issued orders to the governor of the North Western Territory, to arrest Power and send him to Philadelphia.†]

The "occupying claimant" law of Kentucky—which was intended to relieve those who were ejected from lands, from the hardship of paying rent for the time they had held them, while their improvements were not paid for or regarded—was also passed in this year. It was afterwards decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, to be unconstitutional, but the justice of that decision was not acquiesced in by the best men of Kentucky, and the Appellate Court of that State never recognized it, upon the ground that it was not a decision of the majority of the Supreme Court.‡

Detroit, during 1797, contained, as we learn from Weld, three hundred houses.§

[The Congress of the United States, on the 7th of April, 1798, passed an act organizing the territory of the Mississippi,

* American State Papers, Miscellaneous ii. 103.

† Butler's Kentucky, 251—Dillon's Indiana, i. 414.]

‡ Marshall, ii. 208-221;—Butler, 266 to 279.

§ Weld's Travels, ii. 183.

and Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the North-western Territory, was appointed the Governor.* Mr. Sargent, for some cause, was an unpopular man as Secretary and acting Governor in the absence of St. Clair. He was a pompous, overbearing man; and in 1801, he was accused of misdoings in Mississippi.†] During the spring of this year General Wilkinson had been ordered to the country still held by the Spaniards, who, however, abandoned the region in dispute without serious opposition. By the 10th of October, the line dividing the possessions of Spain and the Federal Government was in a great measure run, and the head-quarters of the American commander were fixed at Loftus Heights, six miles north of the 31st degree of North latitude.‡

The appointment of Sargent to the charge of the South-west Territory, led to the choice of William Henry Harrison, who had been aid-de-camp to General Wayne in 1794, and whose character stood very high in the estimation of all who knew him, to the Secretaryship of the North-west; which place he held until appointed to represent that territory in Congress.§

The North-western Territory, as may be seen by a reference to the ordinance of 1787, was to have a representative assembly as soon as its inhabitants numbered five thousand. Upon the 29th of October, Governor St. Clair gave notice by proclamation that the required population existed, and directed an election of representatives to be held on the third Monday in December.

[The representatives, when assembled, were required to nominate ten persons, whose names were sent to the President of the United States, who selected five, and with the advice and consent of the Senate appointed them, for the Legislative Council.

In this mode the country passed into the second grade of a territorial government.]‖

During the summer of 1798, the famous alien and sedition laws were passed by Congress. They were, by the Demo-

* American State Papers, xx. 203.

† For particulars reference is had to Burnett's Letters, p. 79; the Freeman's Journal (Cincinnati) November 26th, 1796; and American State Papers, xx. 233 to 241.

‡ Wilkinson's Memoirs, i. 434 and ii. 133.

§ Burnet, in Ohio Historical Transactions, part 2, vol. ii. p. 69.

‖ Dillon i. 431. Burnet in Ohio Historical Transactions, part 2, vol. i. p. 70.

cratic party every where regarded with horror, and hated, and in Virginia and Kentucky especially, called forth in opposition the most able men, and produced the most violent measures. The Governor of Kentucky called the attention of the Legislature to them, and upon the 8th of November resolutions, prepared by Mr. Jefferson, were introduced into the House, declaring that the United States are "united by a compact under the style and title of a constitution for the United States; that to this compact, each State acceded, as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming to itself the other party; that the government created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or *final* judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for himself, as well of infractions as the mode and manner of redress." And this doctrine was further developed by the mover of the resolutions, Mr. John Breckenridge: said he, "I consider the co-States to be alone parties to the federal compact, and solely authorized to judge in the last resort of the power exercised under the compact—Congress not being a party, but merely the creature of the compact, and subject as to its assumption of power, to the final judgment of those by whom, and for whose use, itself and its powers were all created." In another passage he says, "if upon the representation of the States from whom they derive their powers, they should nevertheless attempt to enforce them, I hesitate not to declare it as my opinion, that it is then the right and duty of the several States, to *nullify those acts, and protect their citizens* from their operation."*

To this doctrine, since disclaimed by Kentucky, in a clear and formal declaration, in 1838, William Murray, of Franklin, alone offered a steady opposition, and took the ground since occupied by Mr. Webster with so great power; but he argued in vain, the Senate unanimously passed the resolutions, the House acted with almost equal unanimity, and the Governor gave them his approbation.†

* Butler from 285 to 287.

† Butler, 285, &c. See the Virginia resolutions, the alien and sedition laws, the debate in Virginia, the resolutions of other States, and Madison's "Vindication," in a volume published at Richmond, by Robert I. Smith, in 1132. See also North American Review, vol. 31, (Oct. 1840.) This is a very full and able paper.—Marshall, ii. 254, &c., 317.

A change in the Penal Code of Kentucky took place during 1798, by which the punishment of death was confined to the crime of murder; and for all others the penitentiary system was substituted.*

[The election of Representatives having taken place in December, they met on the 22nd of January, 1799, and performed their first duty by nominating ten persons, whose names were sent to the President of the United States. Governor St. Clair then prorogued the session until the 16th of September. On the second of March, President Adams selected from the list of ten nominees, the names of Jacob Burnet, James Findlay, Henry Vanderburgh, Robert Oliver, and David Vance. The next day the Senate confirmed the nomination of these gentlemen for the Legislative Council, or Upper House, in the Territorial Legislature, for five years.

On the 16th of September, both branches of the legislature assembled at Cincinnati, but a quorum not appearing, the two houses were not organized until the 24th of September.

As this was the first House of Representatives elected by the people of the North-western Territory, it is deemed necessary to record their names and the counties they represented.

Hamilton County.—William Goforth, William McMillan, John Smith, John Ludlow, Robert Benham, Aaron Cadwell, Isaac Martin.

Ross County.—Thomas Worthington, Samuel Finlay, Elias Langham, Edward Tiffin.

Wayne County (now Michigan).—Solomon Sibley, Charles F. Chobert de Joncaire, Jacob Visger.

Adams County.—Joseph Darlington, Nathaniel Massie.

Jefferson County.—James Pritchard.

Washington County.—Return Jonathan Meigs.

Knox County, (including the Illinois country)—Shadrach Bond, from Illinois.

They elected Edward Tiffin, Speaker; John Reilly, Clerk; Joshua Rowland, Door-keeper; and Abraham Cary, Sergeant-at-arms.

Henry Vanderburgh was chosen President of the Council, and William C. Schenk, Secretary.

Both houses being fully organized, were addressed by Governor St. Clair, on the 25th day of September. From the

* Butler, 281. Marshall, ii. 238.

letters of the Hon. Jacob Burnet, the only surviving member of this body, (in 1850,) we extract the following account of these early proceedings.]

The Governor met the two houses in the representatives' chamber, and in a very elegant address, recommended such measures as he thought were suited to the condition of the country, and would advance the safety and prosperity of the people. The legislative body continued in session till the 19th of December, when having finished their business, the governor prorogued them, at their request, till the first Monday in November. This being the first session, it was necessarily a very laborious one. The transition from a colonial to a semi-independent government, called for a general revision, as well as a considerable enlargement of the statute-book. Some of the adopted laws were repealed, many others altered and amended, and a long list of new ones added to the code. New offices were to be created and filled—the duties attached to them prescribed, and a plan of ways and means devised, to meet the increased expenditures, occasioned by the change which had just taken place. As the number of members in each branch was small, and a large portion of them either unprepared or indisposed to partake largely of the labors of the session, the pressure fell on the shoulders of a few. Although the branch to which I belonged, was composed of sensible, strong-minded men, yet they were unaccustomed to the duties of their new station, and not conversant with the science of law. The consequence was, that they relied chiefly and almost entirely on me, to draft and prepare the bills and other documents, which originated in the council, as will appear by referring to the journal of the session. One of the important duties which devolved on the legislature was the election of a delegate to represent the territory in Congress. As soon as the governor's proclamation made its appearance, the election of a person to fill that station excited general attention. Before the meeting of the legislature, public opinion had settled down on William Henry Harrison, and Arthur St. Clair, jun., who were eventually the only candidates. On the 3d of October, the two houses met in the representatives' chamber, according to a joint resolution, and proceeded to the election. The ballots being taken and counted, it appeared that William Henry

Harrison had eleven votes, and Arthur St. Clair, jun., ten votes;—the former was therefore declared to be duly elected. The legislature by joint resolution, prescribed the form of a certificate of his election: having received that certificate, he resigned the office of Secretary of the territory—proceeded forthwith to Philadelphia, and took his seat, Congress being then in session. Though he represented the territory but one year, he obtained some important advantages for his constituents. He introduced a resolution to subdivide the surveys of the public lands, and to offer them for sale in small tracts —he succeeded in getting that measure through both houses, in opposition to the interests of speculators who were, and who wished to be, the retailers of land to the poorer classes of the community. His proposition became a law, and was hailed as the most beneficent act that Congress had ever done for the territory. It put it in the power of every industrious man, however poor, to become a freeholder, and to lay a foundation for the future support, and comfort of his family. At the same session, he obtained a liberal extension of time for the pre-emptioners in the northern part of the Miami purchase, which enabled them to secure their farms, and eventually to become independent, and even wealthy.*

From a circular by Harrison to the people of the territory, dated May 14, 1800, we quote in relation to this matter the following passage:

"Amongst the variety of objects which engaged my attention, as peculiarly interesting to our territory, none appeared to me of so much importance, as the adoption of a system for the sale of the public lands, which would give more favorable terms to that class of purchasers who are likely to become actual settlers, than was offered by the existing laws upon that subject; conformably to this idea, I procured the passage of a resolution at an early period for the appointment of a committee to take the matter into consideration. And shortly after I reported a bill containing terms for the purchaser, as favorable as could have been expected. This bill was adopted by the house of representatives without any material alteration; but in the senate, amendments were introduced, obliging the purchaser to pay interest on that part of the money for which a credit was given from the date of the purchase, and directing that one half the land (instead of the whole, as was provided by the bill from the house of repre-

* Historical Transactions of Ohio, i. 71.

sentatives,) should be sold in half sections of three hundred and twenty acres, and the other half in whole sections of six hundred and forty acres. All my exertions, aided by some of the ablest members of the lower house, at a conference for that purpose, were not sufficient to induce the senate to recede from their amendments; but, upon the whole, there is cause of congratulation to my fellow-citizens that terms as favorable as the bill still contains, have been procured. This law promises to be the foundation of a great increase of population and wealth to our country; for although the minimum price of the land is still fixed at two dollars per acre, the time for making payments has been so extended as to put it in the power of every industrious man to comply with them, it being only necessary to pay one-fourth part of the money in hand, and the balance at the end of two, three, and four years; besides this, the odious circumstance of forfeiture, which was made the penalty of failing in the payments under the old law, is entirely abolished, and the purchaser is allowed one year after the last payment is due to collect the money; if the land is not then paid for, it is sold, and, after the public have been reimbursed, the balance of the money is returned to the purchaser. Four land-offices are directed to be opened —one at Cincinnati, one at Chilicothe, one at Marietta, and one at Steubenville, for the sale of the lands in the neighborhood of those places." (Life of Harrison, by Todd and Drake, p. 20.)

To the foregoing paragraphs by Judge Burnet, our first law-maker, may be properly added the following from Mr. Chase, the first collector of our Northwestern Statutes.

The whole number of acts passed and approved by the governor was thirty-seven. Of these the most important related to the militia, to the administration of justice, and to taxation. Provision was made for the efficient organization and discipline of the military force of the territory; justices of the peace were authorised tc hear and determine all actions upon the case, except trover, and all actions of debt, except upon bonds for the performance of covenants, without limitation as to the amount in controversy; and a regular system of taxation was established. The tax for territorial purposes, was levied upon lands; that for county purposes, upon persons, personal property, and houses and lots.

During this session, a bill, authorising a lottery for a public purpose, passed by the council, was rejected by the representatives. Thus early was the policy adopted of interdict-

ing this demoralizing and ruinous mode of gambling and taxation; a policy which, with but a temporary deviation, has ever since honorably characterized the legislature of Ohio.

Before adjournment, the legislature issued an address to the people, in which they congratulated their constituents upon the change in the form of government; rendered an account of their public conduct as legislators; adverted to the future greatness and importance of this part of the American empire; and the provision made by the national government for secular and religious instruction in the west; and upon these considerations, urged upon the people the practice of industry, frugality, temperance and every moral virtue. "Religion, morality and knowledge," said they, "are necessary to all good governments. Let us, therefore, inculcate the principles of humanity, benevolence, honesty and punctuality in dealing, sincerity, and charity, and all the social affections."

About the same time an address was voted to the President of the United States, expressing the entire confidence of the legislature in the wisdom and purity of his administration, and their warm attachment to the American constitution and government. The vote upon this address proved that the differences of political sentiment, which then agitated all the states, had extended to the territory. The address was carried by eleven ayes against five noes.

On the nineteenth of December, this protracted session of the first legislature was terminated by the governor. In his speech on this occasion he enumerated eleven acts, to which, in the course of the session, he had thought fit to apply his absolute veto. These acts he had not returned to the legislature, because the two houses were under no obligation to consider the reasons on which his veto was founded; and, at any rate, as his negative was unqualified, the only effect of such a return would be to bring on a vexatious, and probably fruitless, altercation between the legislative body and the executive. Of the eleven acts thus negatived, six related to the erection of new counties. These were disapproved for various reasons, but mainly because the governor claimed that the power exercised in enacting them, was vested by the ordinance, not in the legislature, but in himself. This free exercise of the veto power excited much dissatisfaction among the people,

and the controversy which ensued between the governor and the legislature, as to the extent of their respective powers, tended to confirm and strengthen the popular disaffection.*

During this year Kentucky proceeded to amend her Constitution, now seven years old. It is not our purpose to enter into the details of the several State charters, and we shall only mention the fact that the earliest born of our western commonwealths, when change was made in her fundamental law, gave it a more democratic and popular character. This was done by making the choice of the senate and governor direct, instead of being as formerly through a college of electors; and by limiting the veto power.†

In 1799, Kentucky began, or rather threatened to begin, a system of internal improvements, by a survey of the river upon which her capital stands; the work recommended by the engineer, however, and which might have been done very cheaply, was not undertaken.‡

CHAPTER XVI.

OHIO AND INDIANA.

Territory of Indiana organized—Difficulties with Governor St. Clair—Organization of the State of Ohio—Difficulties with Spain renewed—Purchase of Louisiana from France—Reasons for its sale by Napoleon explained—History of Symmes' College Township—Detroit burnt and re-built—Movements and Intrigues of Aaron Burr—His Trial and Purposes—Extensive purchases from the Indians.

The great extent of the territory northwest of the Ohio made the ordinary operations of Government extremely uncertain, and the efficient action of Courts almost impossible. The Committee of Congress, who, upon the 3d of March, 1800, reported upon the subject, said:—

* Chase's Sketch p. 20.

† Marshall, ii. 233, 246, 252, 292, 293, etc.—Butler 290.

‡ Marshall, ii. 317.—Butler, 293.

In the three western countries there has been but one court having cognizance of crimes in five years; and the immunity which offenders experience, attracts, as to an asylum, the most vile and abandoned criminals, and at the same time deters useful and virtuous persons from making settlements in such society. The extreme necessity of judiciary attention and assistance, is experienced in civil as well as criminal cases. The supplying to vacant places such necessary officers as may be wanted, such as clerks, recorders, and others of like kind, is, from the impossibility of correct notice and information, utterly neglected. This Territory is exposed, as a frontier, to foreign nations, whose agents can find sufficient interest in exciting or fomenting insurrection and discontent, as thereby they can more easily divert a valuable trade in furs from the United States, and also have a part thereof on which they border, which feels so little the cherishing hand of their proper Government, or so little dread of its energy, as to render their attachment perfectly uncertain and ambiguous. The committee would further suggest, that the law of the 3d of March, 1791, granting land to certain persons in the western part of said territory, and directing the laying out of the same, remains unexecuted; that great discontent, in consequence of such neglect, is excited in those who were interested in the provisions of said law, and which require the immediate attention of this legislature. To minister a remedy to these evils, it occurs to this committee that it is expedient that a division of said territory into two distinct and separate governments should be made; and that such division be made, by a line beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami river, running directly north, until it intersects the boundary between the United States and Canada.*

In accordance with the spirit of this resolution an act was passed, and approved upon the 7th of May, from which we extract these provisions:

That from and after the 4th day of July next, all that part of the territory of the United States, northwest of the Ohio river, which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of Kentucky river, and running thence to fort Recovery, and thence north, until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana territory.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That there shall be established within the said territory a government, in all respects similar to that provided by the ordinance of Congress, passed on the thirteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, for the government of the territory of the

* American State Papers, xx. 206.

United States northwest of the river Ohio; and the inhabitants thereof shall be entitled to, and enjoy, all and singular, the rights, privileges and advantages, granted and secured to the people by the said ordinance.

SEC. 4. And be it further enacted, That so much of the ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river, as relates to the organization of a General Assembly therein, and prescribes the powers thereof, shall be in force and operate in the Indiana Territory, whenever satisfactory evidence shall be given to the Governor thereof, that such is the wish of a majority of the freeholders, notwithstanding there may not be therein five thousand free male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years and upwards: Provided, that until there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of twenty-one years and upwards, in said territory, the whole number of Representatives to the General Assembly shall not be less than seven, nor more than nine, to be apportioned by the Governor to the several counties in said territory, agreeably to the number of free males of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, which they may respectively contain.

SEC. 5. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained, shall be construed so as in any manner to affect the government now in force in the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river, further than to prohibit the exercise thereof within the Indiana Territory, from and after the aforesaid fourth day of July next: Provided, That, whenever that part of the territory of the United States which lies to the eastward of a line beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami river, and running thence, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall be erected into an independent State, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, thenceforth said line shall become and remain permanently the boundary line between such State and the Indiana Territory, any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

SEC. 6. And be it further enacted, That until it shall be otherwise ordered by the Legislatures of the said Territories, respectively, Chillicothe, on the Scioto river, shall be the seat of the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio river; and that St. Vincennes, on the Wabash river, shall be the seat of the government for the Indiana Territory."*

[William Henry Harrison, through whose agency as the delegate in Congress, the formation of this Territory was obtained, was appointed Governor.]

We have already mentioned, that Connecticut in her Re-

* nd Laws, 451.

serve had retained the jurisdiction thereof, as well as the soil. When she disposed of the soil, however, troubles at once arose, for the settlers found themselves without a government upon which to lean. Upon their representation, the mother state, in October 1797, authorized her Senators to release her jurisdiction over the Reserve, to the Union; upon the 21st of March, 1800, a Committee of Congress reported in favor of accepting this cession, and upon the 30th of May, the release was made by the Governor of the State, in accordance with a law passed during that month; the United States issuing letters patent to Connecticut for the soil, and Connecticut transferring all her claims of jurisdiction to the Federal Government.* At that time, settlements had been commenced in thirty-five of the townships, and one thousand persons had become settlers; mills had been built, and seven hundred miles of road cut in various directions.†

[The "Connecticut Reserve" continued to receive numerous emigrants from the New England States, who formed settlements chiefly near Lake Erie. The population in this part of the territory had increased so fast, that in December, 1800, the county of Trumbull was organized. About this period a large number of settlers on the "Pennsylvania Grants," northwest of the Alleghany river, who had made an unfortunate bargain with certain rich land owners, abandoned their improvements, to avoid litigation, and retired to the southern part of the Western Reserve. They were an acquisition to this part of Ohio, and by industry and frugality, in a few years more than retrieved the loss of their improvements.‡]

Congress having made Chillicothe the Capital of the northwestern Territory, on the 3d of November, 1800, the General Assembly met at that place. At this meeting Governor St. Clair in strong terms expressed his sense of the want of popularity under which he labored; he said:—

"My term of office, and yours, gentlemen of the House of Representatives, will soon expire.—It is, indeed, very uncertain, whether I shall ever meet another Assembly, in the character I now hold, for I well know, that the vilest calumnies and the greatest falsehoods, are insidiously circulated among the

* American State Papers, xvi. 94 to 98—Chase's Statutes, i. 64 to 66.

† American State Papers, xvi. 97.

‡ American Pioneer, ii. pp. 368, 371.

people, with a view to prevent it. While I regret the baseness and malevolence of the authors, and well know that the laws have put the means of correction fully in my power, they have nothing to dread from me but the contempt they justly merit. The remorse of their own consciences will one day be punishment sufficient:—Their arts may, however, succeed:—Be that as it may, of this I am certain, that, be my successor whom he may, he can never have the interests of the people of this Territory more truly at heart than I have had, nor labor more assiduously for their good than I have done; and I am not conscious that any one act of my administration has been influenced by any other motive than a sincere desire to promote their welfare and happiness.*

Notwithstanding the general dislike felt towards him, however, St. Clair was reappointed in 1801, to the place he had so long occupied.

Toward the close of this year the first Missionary to the Connecticut Reserve, came thither under the patronage of the Connecticut Missionary Society. He found no township containing more than eleven families.†

Upon the 1st of October, in this year, the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso was made between Napoleon as First Consul, and the King of Spain, whereby the latter agreed to cede to France the province of Louisiana.‡

By this year's census, Kentucky contained 179,875 whites; and 40,343 slaves; an increase in ten years of 118.742 whites, and 28,913 slaves.§

The Governor and several of the legislators of the northwestern Territory having been insulted during the autumn of 1801 at Chillicothe, while the Assembly was in session—and no measures being taken by the authorities of the Capitol to protect the Executive—a law was passed removing the seat of government to Cincinnati again.‡ But it was not destined that the Territorial Assembly should meet again any-

* Burnet's Letters, p. 73.

† American Pioneer, ii. 275.

‡ American State Papers, ii. 507.

§ Marshall, ii. 332.

‡Burnet's letters, 75. We state the fact as given by Judge Burnet, but cannot reconcile it with the Journals. On the 16th of December the removal of the seat of government was broached in the House. (Journal of House, 62;) on the 19th it was fully debated, (Journal, 71 to 73;) on the 21st was passed by the House, (Journal of House, 77;) on the same day it was passed by the Council, (Journal of Council, 32, 33;) on the 24th it was signed by the Speaker and President, (Journal of Council, 35,) and given the Governor for his appro-

where. The unpopularity of St. Clair, already referred to, was causing many to long for a State government and self-rule. This unpopularity arose in part from the feelings connected with his defeat; in part from his being identified with the Federal party then fast falling into disrepute; and in part from his assuming powers which most thought he had no right to exercise, especially the power of sub-dividing the counties of the Territory.

But the opposition, though very powerful out of the Assembly, was in the minority, even in the House of Representatives, and during December, 1801, was forced to protest against a measure brought forward in the Council for changing the Ordinance of 1787 in such a manner as to make the Scioto and a line drawn from the intersection of that river and the Indian boundary to the western extremity of the Connecticut Reserve, the limit of the most eastern State to be formed from the territory. This change, if made, would long have postponed the formation of a State Government beyond the Ohio, and against it Tiffin, Worthington, Langham, Darlinton, Massie, Dunlavy, and Morrow, recorded solemnly their objections. Not content with this it was determined that some one should at once visit Washington on behalf of the objectors, and upon the 20th of December, Thomas Worthington obtained leave of absence for the remainder of the session. His acts and those of his co-laborers belong to the next year.*

[From 1799 to 1803 the territorial legislature met annually, but made not many laws, owing to the extraordinary powers conferred on the Governor, by the ordinance of 1787, and the very arbitrary manner by which he vetoed many of the bills that passed. During the period of the territorial legislature, most of the business usually done by territorial legislatures since, was done by the governor of the territory. He erected new counties, fixed county seats, and issued divers proclamations enacting laws by his own authority, and put his veto upon all legislative enactments, which he fancied encroached

bation, (Journal of House, 89.) On the night of the 25th and 26th the only riots mentioned in the Journals took place. (Journal of Council, 39; Journal of House, 98.) On the 21st of December Mr. Burnet asked leave of absence for ten days which was granted; (Journal of Council, 33.) The Governor's approbation to the bill was given January 1st; (Journal of House, 108.) Possibly his consent was determined by the riots.

*Journal of House, 81 to 83 and 93. See also Journal of Council, 16 and 17. Journal of House, 68.

on his prerogatives. Hence his administration became singularly unpopular.*]

By the treaty with Spain, New Orleans, or "an equivalent establishment," was to be allowed the citizens of the United States as a place of deposite for property sent down the Mississippi. Until the 16th of October, 1802, no change in relation to this place of deposit took place, but on that day Morales, the intendant of Louisiana, issued an order putting an end to the cherished and all-important privilege granted to the Americans. This led to instant excitement and remonstrance, and, upon the 7th of January following, to a resolution by the House of Representatives, affirming, "their unalterable determination to maintain the boundaries, and the rights of navigation and commerce through the River Mississippi as established by existing treaties."† The act of the Intendant had not, it appeared, been authorized by the Spanish Government, and was not acquiesced in by the Governor of Louisiana: but the suspension continued notwithstanding, until the 25th of February, 1803, when the port was opened to provisions, upon paying a duty; and, in April, orders from the King of Spain reached the United States, restoring the right of deposit.‡

In January, 1802, a bill was passed by the Assembly of the North-Western Territory, and approved by the Governor, establishing a university in the town of Athens.

We have already noticed the dissatisfaction with Governor St. Clair, which prevailed in the North-Western Territory, and the wish of a party therein to obtain a State Government, although not yet entitled to ask it under the ordinance. Mr. Worthington left late in 1801, to urge upon Congress the evils of the proposition to change the bounds of the north-western States, and if advisable, to procure permission to call a convention for the formation of a State, having the boundaries mentioned in the ordinance, namely, the west line of Pennsylvania, the north and south lines of the territory, and a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami.

† Atwater's History of Ohio, p. 167.

*American State Papers, ii. 556. 561.

‡ See Documents, American State Papers, ii. 469 to 471, 527, 528, 531, 536, 544, 548.

While Worthington was journeying, upon the 4th of January, Massie presented a resolution for choosing a committee to address Congress in respect to the proposed State Government. This, upon the following day, the House refused to pass, however, by a vote of twelve to five. An attempt was next made to procure a census of the Territory, and an act for that purpose, passed the House, but the council postponed the consideration of it until the next session, which was to commence at Cincinnati on the fourth Monday of the following November.*

Worthington, meantime, at Philadelphia, pursued the ends of his mission, and used his influence to effect that organization, "which, terminating the influence of tyranny," was to "meliorate the circumstances of thousands by freeing them from the domination of a despotic chief."‡ His efforts proved successful, and upon the 4th of March a report was made to the House in favor of authorizing a State Convention. This report went upon the basis that the Territory, by the United States' census made in 1800, contained more than forty-five thousand inhabitants, and as the Government since that time had sold half a million of acres, that the territory east of the Miami, supposing the past rate of increase to continue, would, by the time a State government could be formed, contain the sixty thousand persons contemplated by the ordinance; and upon this basis proposed that a convention should be held, to determine, 1st, whether it were expedient to form a State Government, and 2d, to prepare a Constitution, if such an organization were deemed best.† In the formation of this State, however, a change of boundaries was proposed, by which, in accordance with the fifth article of the ordinance of 1787, all of the territory north of a line drawn due east from the head of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie, was to be excluded from the new government about to be called into existence. The report closed as follows:

The committee observe, in the ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the Western Territory, of the

*See Journal of the Council, 53 and 78; and Journal of the House, 111, 115, 155.

†See his letter to Mr. Giles, chairman of the committee of Congress, February 13th, 1802, (American State Papers, xx. 328.) See letter by him to James Finley, chairman, February 12th, 1802. (American State Papers, xx. 329.

‡American State Papers, xx. 326.)

20th of May, 1785, the following section, which, so far as respects the subject of schools, remains unaltered:

There shall be reserved for the United States out of every township, the four lots, being numbered 8, 11, 26, 29; and out of every fractional part of a township so many lots of the same numbers as shall be found thereon for future sale. There shall be reserved the lot No. 16, of every township, for the maintenance of public schools within the said township; also, one-third part of all gold, silver, lead, and copper mines, to be sold, or otherwise disposed of as Congress shall hereafter direct.

The committee also observe, in the third and fourth articles of the ordinance of the 13th July, 1787, the following stipulations, towit:

Art. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged, &c.

Art. 4. The Legislatures of those districts or new States shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in Congress assembled, nor with any regulations Congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the *bona fide* purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents.

The committee, taking into consideration these stipulations, viewing the lands of the United States within the said territory as an important source of revenue; deeming it also of the highest importance to the stability and permanence of the union of the eastern and western parts of the United States, that the intercourse should, as far as possible, be facilitated, and their interests be liberally and mutually consulted and promoted, are of opinion that the provisions of the aforesaid articles may be varied for the reciprocal advantage of the United States and the State of ——— when formed, and the people thereof; they have therefore deemed it proper, in lieu of the said provisions, to offer the following propositions to the convention of the eastern State of the said territory, when formed, for their free acceptance or rejection, without any condition or restraint whatever, which, if accepted by the convention, shall be obligatory upon the United States:

1st. That the section No. 16, in every township, sold or directed to be sold by the United States, shall be granted to the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools.

2d. That the six miles reservation, including the salt springs, commonly called the Scioto salt springs, shall be granted to the State of ——— when formed, for the use of the people thereof; the same to be used under such terms,

conditions, and regulations, as the Legislature of the said State shall direct: Provided, the said Legislature shall never sell nor lease the same for a longer term than ——— years.

3d. That one-tenth part of the nett proceeds of the lands lying in the said State, hereafter sold by Congress, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be applied to the laying out and making turnpike or other roads, leading from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic to the Ohio, and continued afterwards through the State of ———; such roads to be laid out under the authority of Congress, with the consent of the several States through which the roads shall pass: Provided, that the convention of the State of ——— shall, on its part, assent that every and each tract of land sold by Congress shall be and remain exempt from any tax laid by order and under authority of the State, whether for State, county, township, or any other purpose whatever, for the term of ten years, from and after the completion of the payment of the purchase money on such tract, to the United States.*

In accordance with the recommendation of their committee, Congress, upon the 30th of April, passed a law, carrying, with slight modifications, the view above given, into effect.† The provisions of this law were thought by many in the Territory unauthorized, but no opposition was offered to the appointment of persons to attend the Convention, and the Legislature even gave way to the embryo Government, and failed to assemble according to adjournment. The Convention met upon the 1st of November; its members were generally Jeffersonian in their national politics and had been opposed to the change of boundaries proposed the previous year. Before proceeding to business, Governor St. Clair proposed to address them, in his official character, as the chief executive magistrate of the territory. This proposition was resisted by several of the members; but after discussion, a motion was made, and adopted, by a majority of five, that, "Arthur St. Clair, sen., Esquire, be permitted to address the convention, on those points which he deems of importance."

He advised the postponement of a State organization until the people of the original eastern division were plainly entitled to demand it, and were not subject to be bound by conditions.‡ This advice, given as it was, caused Jefferson in-

*American State Papers, xx. 326.
†See this act in Chase, i. 70.
‡Burnet's Letters, 108, 111.

stantly to remove St. Clair, but when the vote was taken upon doing that which he advised them not to do, but one of thirty-three, Ephraim Cutler of Washington, voted with the Governor.*

On one point, the proposed boundaries of the new State were altered.

To every person who has attended to this subject, and who has consulted the maps of the western country, extant at the time the ordinance of 1787 was passed, Lake Michigan was believed to be, and was represented by all the maps of that day, as being very far north of the position which it has since been ascertained to occupy. I have seen the map in the department of state, which was before the committee of Congress, who framed and reported the ordinance for the government of the territory. On that map, the southern boundary of Michigan, was represented as being above the forty-second degree of north latitude. And there was a pencil line, said to have been made by the committee, passing through the southern bend of the lake, to the Canada line, which struck the strait, not far below the town of Detroit. That line was manifestly intended by the committee and by Congress, to be the northern boundary of our State; and on the principles by which courts of chancery construe contracts, accompanied by plats, it would seem that the map, and the line referred to, should be conclusive evidence of our boundary, without reference to the real position of the lake. When the convention sat, in 1802, the prevailing understanding was, that the old maps were nearly correct, and that the line, as defined in the ordinance, would terminate at some point, on the strait, above the Maumee bay. While the convention was in session, a man who had hunted, many years, on lake Michigan, and was well acquainted with its position, happened to be in Chillicothe; and in conversation with one of its members, told him, that the lake extended much further south than was generally supposed, and that a map of the country, which he had seen, placed its southern bend many miles north of its true position. This information excited some uneasiness, and induced the convention to modify the clause, describing the north boundary, so as to guard its being depressed below the most northern cape of the Maumee bay.†

With this change, and some extension of the school and road donations, the convention agreed to the proposal of Congress, and upon the 29th of November, their agreement was ratified and signed, as was also the Constitution of the State of Ohio.‡ Of this Constitution we shall say nothing farther

*Burnet's Letters, 110.

†Historical transactions of Ohio, p. 115.

‡Chase's Statutes, i. 74 is the Resolution of November 29th.

than that it bore in every provision the marks of democratic feeling; of full faith in the people. By the people themselves, however, it was never examined; but no opposition was offered to it, and a General Assembly was required to meet at Chillicothe on the first Tuesday of March, 1803.

After the agreement by Congress to the Constitution of Ohio, and her admission into the Union, the Peninsula of Michigan was wholly within the territory of Indiana.

On the 17th of September, 1802, Governor Harrison of Indiana Territory, at Vincennes, entered into an agreement with various chiefs of the Pottawatomie, Eel river, Piankeshaw, Wea, Kaskaskia and Kickapoo tribes, by which were settled the bounds of a tract of land near that place, said to have been given by the Indians to its founder; and certain chiefs were named who were to conclude the matter at Fort Wayne. This was the first step taken by Harrison in those negotiations which continued through so many years, and added so much to the dominions of the Confederation. He found the natives jealous and out of temper, owing partly to American injustice, but also in a great degree, it was thought, to the arts of the British traders and agents.*

In January of this year, Governor Harrison also communicated to the President the following letter, detailing some of the most curious land speculations of which we have any account:

The court established at this place, under the authority of the State of Virginia, in the year 1780, (as I have before done myself the honor to inform you,) assumed to themselves the right of granting lands to every applicant. Having exercised this power for some time without opposition, they began to conclude that their right over the land was supreme, and that they could with as much propriety grant to themselves as to others. Accordingly, an arrangement was made, by which the whole country to which the Indian title was supposed to be extinguished, was divided between the members of the court; and orders to that effect entered on their Journal, each member absenting himself from the court on the day that the order was to be made in his favor, so that it might appear to be the act of his fellows only. The tract thus disposed of, extends on the Wabash twenty-four leagues from La Pointe Coupee to the mouth of White River, and forty leagues into the country west, and thirty east from the Wabash, excluding

*Dawson's Harrison, 7 to 58.

only the land immediately surrounding this town, which had before been granted to the amount of twenty or thirty thousand acres.

The authors of this ridiculous transaction soon found that no advantage could be derived from it, as they could find no purchasers, and I believe that the idea of holding any part of the land was, by the greater part of them, abandoned a few years ago; however, the claim was discovered, and a part of it purchased by some of those speculators who infest our country, and through these people, a number of others in different parts of the United States have become concerned, some of whom are actually preparing to make settlements on the land the ensuing spring. Indeed, I should not be surprised to see five hundred families settling under these titles in the course of a year. The price at which the land is sold enables any body to become a purchaser; one thousand acres being frequently given for an indifferent horse or a rifle gun. And as a formal deed is made reciting the grant of the court, (made, as it is pretended, under the authority of the State of Virginia,) many ignorant persons have been induced to part with their little all to obtain this ideal property, and they will no doubt endeavor to strengthen their claim, as soon as they have discovered the deception, by an actual settlement. The extent of these speculations was unknown to me until lately. I am now informed that a number of persons are in the habit of repairing to this place, where they purchase two or three hundred thousand acres of this claim, for which they get a deed properly authenticated and recorded, and then disperse themselves over the United States, to cheat the ignorant and credulous. In some measure, to check this practice, I have forbidden the recorder and prothonotary of this county from recording or authenticating any of these papers; being determined that the official seals of the Territory should not be prostituted to a purpose so base as that of assisting an infamous fraud.* WM. H. HARRISON.

To JAS. MADISON, *Sec'y. of State.*

During the session of 1802, the Legislature of Kentucky chartered an "Insurance Company," whose notes payable to bearer were to be transferred or assigned by delivery; this feature made the institution a Bank of circulation, and such it became.†

Upon the 11th of January, Mr. Jefferson sent a message to the Senate nominating Robert R. Livingston and James Monroe ministers at the Court of France, and Charles Pinckney and James Monroe at that of Spain, with full power to form

* American State Papers, xvi. 123.
† Marshall, ii. 348.

treaties for "enlarging and more effectually securing our rights and interests in the river Mississippi, and in the territories eastward thereof."* This was done in consequence of the order by Morales taking from the Americans the use of New Orleans as a place of deposit; and the knowledge of the Government of the United States, that in some form a treaty had been made by which Spain had transferred her interest in Louisiana to France.

The secret† treaty of St. Ildefonso had been formed on the 1st of October, 1800; on the 29th of the next March, Rufus King, then Minister in London, wrote home in relation to a reported cession of Louisiana, and its influence on the United States;‡ on the 9th of June, 1801, Mr. Pinckney, at Madrid, was instructed in relation to the alleged transfer, and upon the 28th of September, Mr. Livingston, at Paris, was written to upon the same topic. On the 20th of November, Mr. King sent from London a copy of the treaty signed at Madrid, March 21, 1801, by which the Prince of Parma, (son-in-law of the King of Spain,) was established in Tuscany; this had been the consideration for the grant of Louisiana to France in the previous autumn, and that grant was now confirmed. From that time till July 1802, a constant correspondence went on between the American Secretary of State and the Ministers at Paris, London, and Madrid, relative to the important question, What can be done to secure the interests of the Union in relation to the Mississippi? Mr. Livingston, in France, was of opinion that a cession of New Orleans might possibly be obtained from that power; and to obtain it he advised the payment of "a large price" if required. Mr. Livingston at the same time wrote and laid before the French leaders an elaborate memoir, intended to show that true policy required France not to retain Louisiana, but when, on the last of August, he again made propositions, Talleyrand told him that the First Consul was not ready to receive them. Still the sagacious Ambassador felt "persuaded that the whole would end in a relinquishment of the country, and transfer of the Capital to the United States;" and pursued his labors in

* American State Papers, ii. 475.

† In regard to the secresy practised, see Mr. Livingston's letters, American State Papers, ii. 512, 513.

‡ American State Papers, ii. 509.

hope; -asking from his Government only explicit instructions as to how much he might offer France for the Floridas, which it was supposed she would soon get from Spain, and also for New Orleans. His views were acquiesced in by the President, and Mr. Monroe went out in March, 1803, bearing instructions, the object of which was "to procure a cession of New Orleans and the Floridas to the United States." All idea of purchasing Louisiana west of the Mississippi, was thus far disclaimed by Mr. Livingston, in October, 1802, and by Mr. Jefferson in January, 1803. Upon the 10th of the latter month, however, Mr. Livingston proposed to the Minister of Napoleon to cede to the United States not only New Orleans and Florida, but also all of Louisiana above the River Arkansas. But such were not the views entertained in the Cabinet of the United States, and upon the 2d of March the instructions sent to Messrs. Livingston and Monroe, gave a plan which expressly left to France "all her territory on the west side of the Mississippi.* In conformity with these orders, when Talleyrand, on the 11th of the next month, asked Livingston if he wished all of Louisiana, he answered that his Government desired only New Orleans and Florida, though in his opinion, good policy would lead France to cede all west of the Mississippi above the Arkansas, so as to place a barrier between her own Colony and Canada. Talleyrand still suggested the cession of the whole French domain in North America, and asked how much would be given for it; Mr. Livingston intimated that twenty millions (of francs,) might be a fair price; this the Minister of Bonaparte said was too low, but asked the American to think of the matter. He did think of it, and this thought was that the purchase of Louisiana entire was too large an object for the United States, and that, if acquired, it ought to be exchanged with Spain for the Floridas, reserving only New Orleans. On the 12th of April Mr. Monroe reached Paris, and upon the 13th the Minister of the Treasury, Marbois, who was a personal friend of Livingston, had with him a long conversation, from which it appeared that Napoleon, then about to renew his wars with England, wished to sell Louisiana entire, and that the only question was as to price. Bonaparte had named what equalled 125 millions of francs, but to this the Republicans

* For the documents on this subject, see American State Papers, vol. ii. pp. 525 to 544.

turned a deaf ear, offering only 40 or 50 millions. In a short time, however, a compromise took place, and the American negotiators, going entirely beyond the letter of their instructions, agreed to pay 80 millions of francs for the vast territory upon and beyond the river first navigated by Marquette:—the treaty was arranged upon the 30th of the month in which the purchase had first been suggested. This act of the Ministers, though unauthorized and unexpected, was at once agreed to by the President. Congress was summoned to meet upon the 17th of October, and on that day the treaty was laid before the Senate: by the 21st the transfer was ratified, and upon the 20th of the following December, the Province of Louisiana was officially delivered over to Governor Claiborne of Mississippi, and General Wilkinson, who were empowered to assume the Government.

To this transfer of Louisiana, Spain at first objected, as she alleged "on solid grounds," but early in 1804 renounced her opposition.*

From what has been said it will be seen, that Mr. Jefferson had no agency in the purchase of Louisiana beyond the approval of the unlooked-for act of his Ministers in France. If any person deserves to be remembered in connection with that great bargain, it was Mr. Livingston, whose efforts were constant and effectual. An account of them may be found in his letters, read in the following order: 1st, that of May 12, 1802, (American State papers, ii. 557;) 2d, that of December 30, 1801, (do. 512;) and after that in the order of dates and arrangement. The person through whom Mr. Livingston obtained the ear of Napoleon was Joseph Bonaparte.

[It is here proper, in as few words as possible, to explain the circumstances which surrounded Napoleon as First Consul, and the motives by which he was influenced in the sale of Louisiana. These may be found in detail, with many other original facts, in the "History of Louisiana," by M. de Barbe Marbois, a translation of which, was published in Philadelphia in 1830. M. Marbois had been for some time a member of the cabinet, and minister of the Public Treasury, and he

* For the various documents see American State Papers, ii. 552, 553, 557 to 560, 566, 572, 581 to 583. For the treaty see pp. 507 to 508, Laws of Missouri, 1842, i. 1 to 4.—Marbois Louisiana, Appendix, 403 to 412. For the objections of Spain, see American State Papers, ii. 567 to 572, and 583.

held this post during the negotiations for the cession of Louisiana, was confidential Secretary of Napoleon, and to him was confided the whole transactions, as the plenipotentiary on the part of the French republic. His pen drew up the treaty.

The crisis was an alarming one to France. The Court of St. James had learned the purport of the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso, by which Louisiana had been re-ceded to France. The latter government had its fleet fitted out ostensibly, for America. The King of England became alarmed, and in quick succession sent messages to Parliament, and prompt action was taken to fit out the navy. Napoleon dreaded the maritime power of England. To Marbois he said :—

"The principles of a maritime supremacy are subversive of one of the noblest rights that nature, science, and genius have secured to man; I mean the right of traversing every sea with as much liberty as the bird flies through the air; of making use of the waves, winds, climates, and productions of the globe; of bringing near to one another, by a bold navigation, nations that have been separated, since the creation; of carrying civilization into regions that are a prey to ignorance and barbarism."*

The discussions in the French Cabinet continued at intervals for several days. Mr. Livingston was the American minister to the French Republic, and for two years had been negotiating for indemnity for maritime spoliations. Mr. Monroe was on his way thither, with instructions to secure the navigation of the Mississippi, and even to purchase New Orleans and some small part of the vast territory of Louisiana. Napoleon wanted money, and he foresaw the probability that this province would fall into the hands of England, and that a sale of the whole country to the United States, would add to its national greatness and make this government a formidable rival of Great Britain. After the close of the conference with his counsellors, Napoleon said to Marbois :—

"Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in season; I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede; it is the whole country without any reservation."

* * * * * * * * * *

* Marbois Louisiana, p. 253.

"If I should regulate my terms, according to the value of these vast regions to the United States, the indemnity would have no limits. I will be moderate, in consideration of the necessity in which I am of making a sale. But keep this to yourself. I want fifty millions, [of francs] and for less than that sum I will not treat; I would rather make a desperate attempt to keep these fine countries. To-morrow you shall have full powers." * * * * * * *

"Perhaps it will also be objected to me, that the Americans may be found too powerful for Europe in two or three centuries; but my foresight does not embrace such remote fears. Besides, we may hereafter expect rivalries among the members of the Union. The confederations, that are called perpetual, only last until one of the contracting parties finds it to its interest to break them, and it is to prevent the danger, to which the collosal power of England exposes us, that I would provide a remedy."

The Minister (Barbois, who gives this conversation) made no reply. The First Consul continued:—

"Mr. Monroe is on the point of arriving. To this minister going two thousand leagues from his constituents, the President must have given, after defining the object of his mission, secret instructions, more extensive than the ostensible authorization of Congress, for the stipulation of the payments to be made.

"Neither this minister nor his colleague is prepared for a decision which goes infinitely beyond anything that they are to ask of us. Begin by making them the overture, without any subterfuge. You will acquaint me, day by day, hour by hour, of your progress. The Cabinet of London is informed of the measures adopted at Washington, but can have no suspicion of those which I am now taking. Observe the greatest secresy, and recommend it to the American ministers; they have not a less interest than yourself in conforming to this council."*

The conferences began the same day between Mr. Livingston and M. Barbe Marbois, to whom the First Consul confided the negotiation. The American minister had not the necessary powers, and he had become distrustful of the French cabinet. Such an offer as the sale of the whole of Louisiana, came so unexpected, and being ignorant of course, as he was, of the motives and views of Napoleon, he suspected artifice. Mr. Monroe arrived on the 12th of April, with more extensive powers, but heard with surprise and distrust the offer of the French ambassador. The historian says:

* Marbois' History of Louisiana, pp. 260, 280.

"As soon as the negotiation was entered on, the American ministers declared they were ready to treat on the footing of the cession of the entire colony, and they did not hesitate to take on themselves the responsibility of augmenting the sum that they had been authorized to offer. The draft of the principal treaty was communicated to them. They prepared another one, but consented to adopt provisionally, as the basis of their conferences, that of the French negotiator, and they easily agreed to the declaration contained in the first article."

The negotiations being finished, the treaty for the sale and purchase of Louisiana, was completed on the 30th of April, and signed on the 3d of May. The intelligence of this negotiation was not less astounding to the people of the United States, than the proposition to sell the whole country by Marbois, was to Messrs. Livingston and Monroe. The Federal party rallied to defeat it; Mr. Jefferson and the plenipotentiaries were assailed in their public journals, and, as is common, under high party excitement, extravagant tales were told on both sides. Yet, as the prominent actors have passed away, and the transaction is now viewed in the perspective of history, the purchase and possession has long been regarded as one of the most valuable and splendid achievements ever acquired by this nation.

The following words from Napoleon, after the conclusion of the treaty, give us insight to his reflections:

To Marbois, he said:

"This accession of territory, strengthens forever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival, that will sooner or later humble her pride."*

The English ministry, when they were informed of the mission of Mr. Monroe to France, and its object, made a proposition to Rufus King, the American envoy at London, to undertake the conquest of Louisiana, with the concurrence of the United States, and retrocede it to our government, as soon as peace should be made with France. But it appears, the British ministry had no knowledge of the nature and extent of the negotiations at Paris, until they were concluded. The result was communicated without delay, and Mr. King received a satisfactory answer from Lord Hawkesbury, respecting the cession.

The treaty was forwarded to Washington, with as much despatch as possible, where it arrived on the 14th of July.

* Marbois, 312.

And now, another difficulty arose with Spain. The Spanish minister, having received orders from his government, made a solemn protest against the ratification of the treaty, alledging that France had contracted with Spain not to retrocede the province to any other power.

The Federalists, who opposed the treaty, imputed to France a disgraceful deception; that there was a secret concert, and that Spain was acting under the influence of that government. Amidst a series of complicated embarrassments, Mr. Jefferson convened Congress, which met on the 17th of October, and laid the treaties (for there were three separate documents) before the Senate. Both the nature of the contract, and the magnitude of the sum, opened a wide field of debate.

The opposers of the treaty, contended that Congress had no power to annex by treaty new territories to the confederacy; as that right could only belong to the whole people of the United States. But after a free debate, the Senate ratified the treaties on the 20th day of October, by a majority of twenty-four votes against seven, to which the President gave his sanction the next day. All the documents were communicated to the House of Representatives, and after a short debate the necessary law to create the stock, and carry out the treaty, was passed without any formidable opposition.

The next step was to make the regular transfer from Spain to France and from France to the United States, for the secret treaty of St. Ildefonso had not been carried into effect in Louisiana.

M. Laussat had been appointed the Plenipotentiary of the French republic, and on the 30th of November he met the Spanish Commissioners in the Council Chamber at New Orleans, received in due form the keys of the city, and issued a proclamation to the Louisianians, informing them of the retrocession of the country to France, and by that government to the United States. At a signal, given by the firing of cannon, the Spanish flag was lowered and the French hoisted.

The French sovereignty lasted only twenty days, during which M. Laussat, as Governor General, provided for the administration of justice only in summary and urgent matters.

General Wilkinson, having command of the United States troops, established his camp on the 19th of December, a short distance above New Orleans; at the same time the Spanish

troops embarked and sailed for Havana. The next day, discharges of artillery from the forts and vessels announced the farewell of the French officers. On the 20th, M. Laussat, with a numerous retinue went to the City Hall, while by previous arrangement, the American troops entered the capital. General Wilkinson and Governor Claiborne, American Commissioners, were received in due form in the Hall.

The treaty of cession, the respective powers of the Commissioners, and the certificate of exchange of ratifications, were read. M. Laussat then pronounced these words :—

"In conformity with the treaty, I put the United States in possession of Louisiana and its dependencies. The citizens and inhabitants who wish to remain here and obey the laws, are from this moment exonerated from the oath of fidelity to the French republic."

Mr. Claiborne, the Governor of the territory of Mississippi, exercising the power of Governor General and Intendent of the Province of Louisiana, delivered a congratulatory discourse to the Louisianians.

"This cession," said he, "secures to you and your descendants the inheritance of liberty, perpetual laws, and magistrates, whom you will elect yourselves."

The ceremonies closed with the exchange of flags, which was done by lowering the one and raising the other. When they met midway, they were kept stationary for a moment, while the artillery and trumpets celebrated the Union. The American flag then rose to its full height, and while it waived in the air the Americans expressed their joy in a tremendous shout.*

The American Government went into operation quietly, and the French and Spanish population soon became accustomed to the new order of things, and after a lapse of forty-six years no distinction appears, except in family names.

Thus, in a persevering effort to gain the free navigation of the Mississippi, and the port of New Orleans, by an unexpected and fortuitous train of circumstances, the United States gained the immense territories of Louisiana and extended her boundaries to the Pacific Ocean.

We now return, to bring up a series of events pertaining to 1803, in the State of Ohio, and territory of Indiana.

* Marbois' History, 320, 335.

During the month of June, certain Indian chiefs, agreeable to their promise made at Vincennes the preceding year, met at Fort Wayne, and transferred to Governor Harrison the lands claimed by the United States about Post Vincennes, and their act was confirmed at Vincennes, on the 7th of August, by various chiefs and warriors. On the 13th of August, the Illinois tribes, including the Kaskaskias, Michiganies, Cahokias and Tamarois, made a conveyance to the United States, their right to a large portion of the Illinois country south of the Illinois river.*

Upon the 15th of April, the House of Representatives of the new State of Ohio, signed a bill respecting a College Township in the District of Cincinnati. The history of this township is somewhat curious, and we give it in the words of Judge Burnet.

"The ordinance adopted by Congress, for the disposal of the public domain, did not authorize a grant of college land, to the purchasers, of less than two millions of acres. The original proposition of Mr. Symmes being for that quantity, entitled him to the benefit of such a grant. It was his intention, no doubt, to close his contract, in conformity with his proposal. He therefore stated, in his printed publication, before referred to, that a college township had been given; and he described his situation to be, as nearly opposite the mouth of Licking river, as an entire township could be found, eligible in point of soil and situation. He also selected in good faith, one of the best townships in the purchase, answering the description, and marked it on his map, as the college township. The township thus selected was the third of the first entire range on which the town of Springdale now stands.—The tract was reserved from sale, and retained for the intended purpose: until Mr. Symmes ascertained, that his agents had relinquished one half of his proposed purchase, by closing a contract for one million of acres, by which his right to college lands was abandoned, and of course not provided for in the contract. He then, very properly, erased the endorsement from the map, and offered the township for sale, and as it was one of the best, and most desirable portions of his purchase, it was rapidly located. The matter remained in this situation, till the application in 1792, to change the boundaries of the purchase, and to grant a patent for as much land as his means would enable him to pay for. When the bill for that purpose was under consideration, General Dayton, the agent, and one of the associates of Mr. Symmes, being then an influential member of the House of Representatives, proposed a section, authorising the President to convey to Mr.

* American State Papers, v. 687, 688.

Symmes and his associates, one entire township in trust, for the purpose of establishing an academy, and other schools of learning, conformably to an order of Congress, of the 2nd of October, 1787. The fact was, that the right, under the order referred to, had been lost, by the relinquishment of half the proposed purchase, in consequence of which the contract contained no stipulation for such a grant. Notwithstanding, from some cause, either want of correct information, or a willingness then, to make the gratuity, — most probably the latter — the section was adopted and became a part of the law. At that time there was not an entire township in the purchase, undisposed of. Large quantities of all of them, had been sold by Mr. Symmes, after his right to college lands had been lost, by the conduct of his agents, Dayton and Marsh. It was not, therefore, in his power to make the appropriation required by the act of Congress, though in arranging his payment at the treasury, he was credited with the price of the township. The matter remained in that situation, till about the time the legislature was elected, under the second grade of the territorial government, in 1799. Mr. Symmes then feeling the embarrassment of his situation, and aware that the subject would be taken up by the legislature, made a written proposition to the governor, offering the second township of the second fractional range, for the purposes of a college. On examination, the governor found, that he had sold an undivided moiety of that township, for a valuable consideration, in 1788; that the purchaser had obtained a decree in the circuit court of Pennsylvania, for a specific execution of the contract; and that he had also sold several smaller portions of the same township to others, who then held contracts for same. As a matter of course, the township was refused. He then appealed from the decision of the governor, to the territorial legislature. They also refused to receive it, for the same reasons which had been assigned by the governor. A similar refusal was afterward made, for the same reason, by the state legislature; to whom it was again offered. I had the charity to believe, that when Mr. Symmes first proposed the township, to the governor, it was his intention to buy up the claims against it, which he probably might have done at that time, on fair and moderate terms; but he omitted to do so, till that arrangement became impracticable, and until his embarrassments, produced by the refusal of Congress to confirm his contract for the land he had sold out of his patent, rendered it impossible for him, to make any remuneration to government, or the intended beneficiaries of the grant. The delegates representing the territory in Congress, were instructed, from time to time, to exert their influence to induce the government in some form, to secure the grant to the people of the Miami purchase. But nothing effectual was accomplished, till the

establishment of the state government in 1803; when a law was passed by Congress vesting in the legislature of Ohio, a quantity of land equal to one entire township, to be located under their direction, for the purpose of establishing an academy, in lieu of the township already granted, for the same purpose, by virtue of the act, entitled "an act authorising the grant and conveyance of certain lands, to John C. Symmes and his associates." Under the authority of an act of the Ohio legislature, passed in April, 1803, Jacob White, Jeremiah Morrow, and William Ludlow, made a location of these lands, amounting to thirty-six sections, as they are now held by the Miami University. In consequence of the early sales, by Judge Symmes, these lands were necessarily located west of the Great Miami river; and consequently without the limit of Symmes' purchase.*

[One of the prominent events of 1804, was the ceremony of the transfer of Upper Louisiana, at St. Louis, on the 9th and 10th of March.

Amos Stoddard, a captain of artillery in the service of the United States, and to whom we are indebted for an admirable historical sketch of Louisiana, was constituted the agent of the French republic, for receiving from the Spanish authorities, the possession of Upper Louisiana.

He arrived at St. Louis early in March, and on the 9th day, received in due form possession of the province in the name of the French republic, and the next day made the transfer to the United States government, which he represented.

Mr. Primm says:—

"When the transfer was completely effected—when in the presence of the assembled population, the flag of the United States had replaced that of Spain—the tears and lamentations of the ancient inhabitants, proved how much they were attached to the old government, and how much they dreaded the change which the treaty of cession had brought about."†

Congress, on the 20th of March, divided Louisiana into two territories. The southern province was denominated the territory of Orleans; the northern was called Upper Louisiana. Captain Stoddard was appointed temporarily the Governor, with all the powers and prerogatives of the Spanish Lieutenant Governor in Upper Louisiana.

* See Chase's Statutes, i. 72;—American Pioneer, i. 269;—Historical Transactions of Ohio, i. 152–155.

†Discourse at the Celebration, February 15, 1847.

In his sketches of Louisiana, Major Stoddard, (for that was soon his title) says:—

"St. Louis has two long streets, running parallel to the river, with a variety of others intersecting them at right angles. It contains about one hundred and eighty houses, and the best of them are built of stone. Some of them include large gardens, and even squares, attached to them, are enclosed with high stone walls; and these, together with the rock scattered along the shore and about the streets, render the air uncomfortably warm in summer. A small sloping hill extends along in the rear of the town, on the summit of which is a garrison, and behind it an extensive prairie, which affords plenty of hay, as also pasture for the cattle and horses of the inhabitants."*

Mr. Primm says,

"This statement is only partially correct, for the street now called Third street then existed, and was known as, "La Rue des Granges," *the street of the barns.* And in the common parlance of the country, First [or Main] street bore the appellation of "La Rue principale," *the principal street;* and Second street that of "La Rue de L'Eglise," *the street of the Church*, from the fact that the only church building in the town fronted on that street.

"This was a structure of hewn logs, planted upright in the ground, and covered with a roof, the eaves of which projected beyond the body of the building, and formed a kind of gallery or promenade around it.†

On entering upon the office, Major Stoddard published the following address to the inhabitants of Upper Louisiana:

"The period has now arrived, when, in consequence of amicable negotiations, Louisiana is in the possession of the United States. The plan of a permanent territorial government for you, is already under the consideration of Congress, and will doubtless be completed as soon as the importance of the measure will admit. But in the meantime, to secure your rights, and prevent a delay of justice, his excellency William C. C. Claiborne, governor of the Mississippi territory, is invested with those authorities and powers (derived from an act of Congress) usually exercised by the governor and intendant general under his Catholic Majesty; and permit me to add that, by virtue of the authority and power vested in him by the President of the United States, he has been pleased to commission me as first civil commander of Upper Louisiana.

* Stoddard's Sketches, p. 218, 219.

† Discourse, 12.

"Directed to cultivate friendship and harmony among you, and to make known the sentiments of the United States relative to the security and preservation of all your rights, both civil and religious, I know of no mode better calculated to begin the salutary work, than a circular address.

"It will not be necessary to advert to the various preliminary arrangements which have conspired to place you in your present political situation; with these it is presumed you are already acquainted. Suffice it to observe, that Spain in 1800, and in 1801, retroceded the colony and province of Louisiana to France; and that France in 1803, conveyed the same territory to the United States, who are now in the peaceable and legal possession of it. These transfers were made with honorable views, and under such forms and sanctions as are usually practised among civilized nations.

"Thus you will perceive, that you are divested of the character of subjects, and clothed with that of citizens. You now form an integral part of a great community, the powers of whose government are circumscribed and defined by charter, and the liberty of the citizen extended and secured. Between this government and its citizens, many reciprocal duties exist, and the prompt and regular performance of them is necessary to the safety and welfare of the whole. No one can plead exemption from these duties; they are equally obligatory on the rich and the poor; on men in power, as well as on those not intrusted with it. They are not prescribed as whim and caprice may dictate; on the contrary, they result from the actual or implied compact between society and its members, and are founded not only on the sober lessons of experience, but in the immutable nature of things. If, therefore, the government be bound to protect its citizens in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion, the citizens are no less bound to obey the laws, and to aid the magistrate in the execution of them; to repel invasion, and in periods of public danger, to yield a portion of their time and exertions in defence of public liberty. In governments differently constituted, where popular elections are unknown, and where the exercise of power is confided to those of high birth, and great wealth, the public defence is committed to men who make the science of war an exclusive trade and profession; but in all free republics, where the citizens are capacitated to elect, and to be elected, into offices of emolument and dignity, permanent armies of any considerable extent are justly deemed hostile to liberty; and therefore the militia is considered as the palladium of their safety. Hence the origin of this maxim, that every soldier is a citizen, and every citizen a soldier.

"With these general principles before you, it is confidently

expected, that you will not be less faithful to the United States, than you have been to his Catholic majesty.

"Your local situation, the varieties in your language and education, have contributed to render your manners, laws, and customs, and even your prejudices, somewhat different from those of your neighbors, but not less favorable to virtue, and to good order in society. These deserve something more than mere indulgence; they shall be respected.

"If, in the course of former time, the people on different sides of the Mississippi, fostered national prejudices and antipathies against each other, suffer not these cankers of human happiness any longer to disturb your repose, or to awaken your resentment; draw the veil of oblivion over the past, and unite in pleasing anticipations of the future; embrace each other as brethren of the same mighty family, and think not, that any member of it can derive happiness from the misery or degradation of another.

"Little will the authority and example of the best magistrates avail, when the public mind becomes tainted with perverse sentiments, or languishes under an indifference to its true interests. Suffer not the pride of virtue, nor the holy fire of religion, to become extinct. If these be different in their nature, they are necessary supports to each ohter. Cherish the sentiments of order and tranquility, and frown on the disturbers of the public peace. Avoid as much as possible all legal contests; banish village vexation, and unite in the cultivation of the social and moral affections.

"Admitted as you are into the embraces of a wise and magnanimous nation, patriotism will gradually warm your breasts, and stamp its features on your future actions. To be useful, it must be enlightened; not the effect of passion, local prejudice, or blind impulse. Happy the people who possess invaluable rights, and know how to exercise them to the best advantage; wretched are those who do not think and act freely. It is a sure test of wisdom to honor and support the government under which you live, and to acquiesce in the decisions of the public will, when they be constitutionally expressed. Confide, therefore, in the justice and integrity of our federal president; he is the faithful guardian of the laws; he entertains the most beneficent views relative to the glory and happiness of this territory; and the merit derived from the acquisition of Louisiana, without any other, will perpetuate his fame to posterity. Place equal confidence in all the other constituted authorities of the Union. They will protect your rights, and indeed your feelings, and all the tender felicities and sympathies, so dear to rational and intelligent creatures. A very short experience of their equitable and pacific policy, will enable you to view them in their proper light. I flatter myself that you will give their measures a fair trial, and not precipitate yourselves into conclusions, which you may after-

wards see cause to retract. The first official acts of my present station, authorized by high authority, will confirm these remarks.

"The United States, in the acquisition of Louisiana, were actuated by just and liberal views. Hence the admission of an article in the treaty of cession, the substance of which is, that the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the Union, and admitted as soon as possible to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States: and, in the meantime, be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion.

"From these cursory hints you will be enabled to comprehend your present political situation, and to anticipate the future destinies of your country. You may soon expect the establishment of a territorial government, administered by men of wisdom and integrity, whose salaries will be paid out of the treasury of the United States. From your present population, and the rapidity of its increase, this territorial establishment must soon be succeeded by your admission as a State into the Federal Union. At that period, you will be at liberty to try an experiment in legislation, and to frame such a government as may best comport with your local interests, manners, and customs; popular suffrage will be its basis. The enaction of laws, and the appointment of judges to expound them, and to carry them into effect, are among the first privileges of organized society. Equal to these, indeed, and connected with them, is the inestimable right of trial by jury. The forms of judicial processes, and the rules for the admission of testimony in courts of justice, when firmly established, are of great and obvious advantage to the people. It is also of importance, that a distinction be made between trials of a capital nature, and those of an inferior degree, as likewise between all criminal and civil contestations. In fine, Upper Louisiana, from its climate, population, soil, and productions, and from other natural advantages attached to it, will, in all human probability, soon become a star of no inconsiderable magnitude in the American constellation.

"Be assured that the United States feel all the ardor for your interests, which a warm attachment can inspire. I have reason to believe that it will be among some of their first objects, to ascertain and confirm your land titles. They well know the deranged state of these titles and of the existence of a multitude of equitable claims under legal surveys, where no grants or concessions have been procured. What ultimate measures will be taken on this subject, does not become me to conjecture; but thus much I will venture to affirm, that the most ample justice will be done; and that, in the final adjustment of claims, no settler or landholder, will have any just cause to complain. Claimants of this description have hith-

erto invariably experienced the liberality of government; and surely it will not be less liberal to the citizens of Upper Louisiana, who form a strong cordon across an exposed frontier of a vast empire, and are entitled by solemn stipulations to all the rights and immunities of freemen.

"My duty, not more indeed than my inclination, urges me to cultivate friendship and harmony among you, and between you and the United States. I suspect my talents to be unequal to the duties which devolve on me in the organization and temporary administration of the government; the want of a proper knowledge of your laws and language, is among the difficulties I have to encounter. But my ambition and exertions bear some proportion to the honor confered on me; and the heavy responsibility attached to my office, admonishes me to be prudent and circumspect. Inflexible justice and impartiality shall guide me in all my determinations. If, however, in the discharge of a variety of complicated duties, almost wholly prescribed by the civil law and the code of the Indies, I be led into error, consider it as involuntary, and not as the effect of inattention, or of any exclusive favors or affections. Destined to be the temporary guardian of the rights and liberties of at least ten thousand people, I may not be able to gratify the just expectations of all; but your prosperity and happiness will claim all my time and talents; and no earthly enjoyment could be more complete, than that derived from your public and individual security, and from the increase of your opulence and power."

Upper Louisiana, included all that part of the ancient province which lay north of a spot on the Mississippi, called "Hope Encampment," nearly opposite the Chickasaw bluffs: including the territory now within the jurisdiction of the States of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, a large part of the territory of Minnesota, and all the vast regions of the west, far as the Pacific Ocean, south of the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, not claimed by Spain.

The civilized population of this territory is given by Major Stoddard, with as much accuracy as the nature of the case admitted. The settled portions had been divided into "Districts," for purposes of local government. The population in 1803, in the settlements of Arkansas, Little Prairie and New Madrid, was estimated on such data as could be obtained, at one thousand three hundred and fifty; of which about two-thirds were Anglo-Americans, and the other third French.

The District of Cape Girardeau, included the territory between Tywappaty bottom and Apple creek—population in 1804, one thousand four hundred and seventy whites, and a

few slaves. Excepting three or four families, all were emigrants from the United States.

The District of Ste. Genevieve extended from Apple creek to the Merrimac. The settlements, (besides the village of Ste. Genevieve) included settlements on the head waters of the St. Francois and the lead mines. Population in 1804, two thousand three hundred and fifty whites, and five hundred and twenty slaves. More than half were Anglo-Americans.

The District of St. Louis, included the territory lying between the Merrimac and Missouri rivers. It contained the villages of St. Louis, Carondelet and St. Ferdinand, with several good settlements extending westward into what is now Franklin county.

The village of Carondelet contained between forty and fifty houses, population chiefly Canadian-French. St. Ferdinand contained sixty houses. The population of the district was about two thousand two hundred and eighty whites, and five hundred blacks. St. Louis contained about one hundred and eighty houses, which, allowing six persons to each house, would make the population one thousand and eighty. About three-fifths of the population in this District were Anglo-Americans. Each of the Districts extended indefinitely west.

The largest and most populous settlement in St. Louis District, was called St. Andrews. It was situated near the Missouri, in the north-western part of the present county of St. Louis.

The District of St. Charles, included all the inhabited country between the Missouri and Mississippi rivers. It had two compact villages, St. Charles and Portage des Sioux, the inhabitants of which were French Creoles and Canadians.—Femme Osage was an extensive settlement of Anglo-American families. The population of the District in 1804, was about one thousand four hundred whites and one hundred and fifty blacks. The American and French population were about equally divided.*

The aggregate population of Upper Louisiana at the period of the cession, was about 10,120, of which 3,760 were French, including a few Spanish families; 5,090 were Anglo-Americans, who had immigrated to the country after 1790;—

* See Stoddard's Sketches, p. 211, 224.

and 1,270 black people, who were slaves, with very few exceptions.

Several circumstances gave impulse to migration to this province. The transfer of the Illinois country to the British crown in 1765, caused many wealthy and respectable families to retire across the Mississippi.

The ordinance of 1787, which prohibited involuntary servitude in the north-western territory, caused slave holders, who were disposed to preserve this species of property, to abandon their ancient possessions. The proffered aid of Clark in 1779, (ante page 250) when he apprehended an attack from Canada, and more especially the projected attack on the Spanish possessions along the Mississippi, from the same quarter, in 1797, induced a friendly feeling towards Americans.

Major Stoddard says:—

"The distance of this province from the capital, [New Orleans,] added to a wilderness of nearly a thousand miles in extent between them, seemed to point out the necessity of strengthening it; and she conceived it good policy to populate it by the citizens of the United States, especially as they appeared disposed to act with vigor against the English. Additional prospects, therefore, were held out to settlers, and pains were taken to disseminate them in every direction.—Large quantities of land were granted them, attended with no other expenses than those of office fees, and surveys, which were not exorbitant; and they were totally exempted from taxation. This sufficiently accounts for the rapid population of Upper Louisiana; which, in 1804, consisted of more than three-fifths of English Americans." †

Why did so many American citizens expatriate themselves, place themselves and their posterity under Spanish despotism, and beyond the protection of the rights of conscience? This is a question of grave and momentous import, and if it remained unanswered, might leave a suspicion on the character and motives of the American emigrants. Happily, we have the opportunity for explanation. We have been intimately acquainted with a large number of these pioneers, a few of whom still linger amongst us, and more than thirty years since we heard their own explanations.

They acted under a presentiment, that, in some way, the jurisdiction of the United States would be extended over this country.—They projected no violent action—no revolutionary schemes. The impression, doubtless, had its origin in the efforts in the

†Sketches of Louisiana, 225.

western country to obtain the navigation of the Mississippi. Of the character of the American population, we ought to say a word, to correct an erroneous notion that has prevailed in the Atlantic States, concerning frontier emigration.

"A very small number had fled their country to avoid the consequences of crime or improvidence. But a very large majority were peaceable, industrious, moral and well-disposed persons, who, from various motives, had crossed the "Great Water;" some from the love of adventure; some from that spirit of restlessness, which belongs to a class; but a much larger number with the expectation of obtaining large tracts of land, which the government gave to each settler for the trifling expense of surveying and recording. * * *

"Under the Spanish government the Roman Catholic faith was the established religion of the province, and no other christian sect was tolerated by the laws of Spain. Each emigrant was required to be *un bon Catholique*, as the French expressed it; yet by the connivance of the commandants of Upper Louisiana, and by the use of a legal fiction in the examination of Americans, who applied for lands, toleration in fact existed.

"Many Protestant families, communicants in Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian, and other Churches, settled in the province, and remained undisturbed in their religious principles. Protestant itinerant clergymen passed over from Illinois, and preached in the log cabins of the settlers unmolested, though they were occasionally threatened with imprisonment in the *calabozo* at St. Louis. Yet these threats were never executed.*"

No religious society was organized amongst these emigrants until after the treaty of cession.

We now return to events in the territory of Indiana. During the month of August, a series of treaties were made by Governor Harrison at Vincennes, by which the claims of several Indian nations to large tracts of land in Indiana and Illinois, were relinquished to the United States, for due consideration. The Delawares sold their claim to a large tract between the Wabash and Ohio rivers; and the Piankeshaws gave up their title to lands granted by the Kaskaskia Indians the preceding year.

It should be understood by all, that, in most instances, Indian claims are vague and undefined; that several tribes set up a claim to the same tract; and that the policy of the United

* Life of Boone in Sparks' Biography, vol. xxiii. pp. 166, 167, 169, 170.

States has been to negotiate with each claimant, without regard to priority of right.

In November, Governor Harrison negotiated with the chiefs of the united nations of Sacs and Foxes, for their claim to the immense tract of country lying between the Mississippi, Illinois, Fox river of Illinois, and Wisconsin rivers, comprehending about fifty millions of acres. The consideration given was the protection of the United States, and goods delivered at the value of two thousand two hundred and thirty-four dollars and fifty cents, and an annuity of one thousand dollars, ($600 to the Sacs and $400 to the Foxes) forever.—An article in this treaty provided, that as long as the United States remained the owner of the land, "the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting" on the land.

The remark just made applies to this case. When the French discovered and took possession of Illinois, neither the Sacs nor Foxes had any claim or existence on this tract of country.*]

During this year measures were adopted to learn the facts as to the settlements about Detroit, and an elaborate report upon them was made by C. Jouett, the Indian Agent in Michigan. From that report, we take some sentences illustrative of the state of the capital.

The town of Detroit.—The charter, which is for fifteen acres square, was granted in the time of Louis XIV. of France, and is now from the best information I have been able to collect, at Quebec. Of those two hundred and twenty-five acres, only four are occupied by the town and Fort Lenault. The remainder is a common, except twenty-four, which were added twenty years ago to a farm belonging to William Macomb. As to the titles to the lots in town, I should conceive that the citizens might legally claim, from a length of undisturbed and peaceable possession, even in the absence of a more valid and substantial tenure. Several of those lots are held by the commanding officer as appendages of the garrison. A stockade encloses the town, fort, and citadel. The pickets, as well as the public houses, are in a state of gradual decay, and in a few days, without repairs, they must fall to the ground. The streets are narrow, straight, regular, and intersect each other at right angles. The houses are, for the most part, low and inelegant; and although many of them are convenient and suited to the occupations of the people,

* American State Papers, v. 689, 690, 663. Dawson's Life of Harrison, 59.

there are perhaps a majority of them which require very considerable reparation.*

Congress, during 1804, granted a township of land in Michigan for the support of a College.†

On the 11th of January, 1805, Congress made Michigan a separate territory, with William Hull for its Governor: the change of Government was to take place on June 30th. On the 11th of that month a fire at Detroit destroyed all the buildings at that place, public and private, together with much of the personal property of the inhabitants. On the 29th of June, the Presiding Judge reached the Strait, and upon the 1st of July, the Governor arrived there. They found the people, in part, encamped on and near the site of the destroyed town, and in part scattered through the country.‡ From their report to Congress, made in October, we extract the following passages:

"The place which bore the appellation of the town of Detroit, was a spot of about two acres of ground, completely covered with buildings and combustible materials, the narrow intervals of fourteen or fifteen feet, used as streets or lanes, only excepted; and the whole was environed with a very strong and secure defence of tall and solid pickets. The circumjacent ground, the bank of the river alone excepted, was a wide commons; and though assertions are made respecting the existence, among the records of Quebec, of a charter from the King of France, confirming this commons as an appurtenance to the town, it was either the property of the United States, or at least such as individual claims did not pretend to cover. The folly of attempting to rebuild the town, in the original mode, was obvious to every mind: yet there existed no authority, either in the country, or in the officers of the new government, to dispose of the adjacent ground. Hence had already arisen a state of dissension which urgently required the interposition of some authority to quiet. Some of the inhabitants, destitute of shelter, and hopeless of any prompt arrangements of Government, had re-occupied their former ground, and a few buildings had already been erected in the midst of the old ruins. Another portion of the inhabitants had determined to take possession of the adjacent public ground, and to throw themselves on the liberality of the Government of the United States, either to make them a do-

* American State Papers, xvi. 190 to 192. On titles in Michigan, see American State Papers, *Public Lands*, vol. i. from 283 to 508.

† Lanman, 230.

‡ Lanman, 169.—American State Papers, xvi. 247.—Land Laws, 514.

nation of the ground, as a compensation for their sufferings, or to accept of a very moderate price for it. If they could have made any arrangement of the various pretensions of individuals, or could have agreed on any plan of a town, they would soon have begun to build. But the want of a civil authority to decide interfering claims, or to compel the refractory to submit to the wishes of a majority, had yet prevented them from carrying any particular measure into execution.—On the morning of Monday, the 1st day of July, the inhabitants had assembled for the purpose of resolving on some definitive mode of procedure. The Judges prevailed on them to defer their intentions for a short time, giving them assurances that the Governor of the territory would shortly arrive, and that every arrangement in the power of their domestic Government would be made for their relief. On these representations they consented to defer their measures for one fortnight. In the evening of the same day the Governor arrived; it was his first measure to prevent any encroachments from being made on the public land. The situation of the distressed inhabitants then occupied the attention of the members of the Government for two or three days. The result of these discussions was, to proceed to lay out a new town, embracing the whole of the old town and the public lands adjacent; to state to the people that nothing in the nature of a title could be given under any authorities then possessed by the Government; and that they could not be justified in holding out any charitable donations whatever, as a compensation for their sufferings, but that every personal exertion would be made to obtain a confirmation of the arrangements about to be made, and to obtain the liberal attention of the Government of the United States to their distresses.

A town was accordingly surveyed and laid out, and the want of authority to impart any regular title, without the subsequent sanction of Congress, being first impressed and clearly understood, the lots were exposed to sale under that reservation. Where the purchaser of a lot was a proprietor in the old town, he was at liberty to extinguish his former property in his new acquisition, foot for foot, and was expected to pay only for the surplus, at the rate expressed in his bid. A considerable part of the inhabitants were only tenants in the old town, there being no means of acquiring any new titles. The sale of course could not be confined merely to former proprietors, but, as far as possible, was confined to former inhabitants. After the sale of a considerable part, by auction, the remainder was disposed of by private contract, deducting from the previous sales the basis of the terms. As soon as the necessities of the immediate inhabitants were accommodated, the sales were entirely stopped, until the pleasure of Government could be consulted. As no title could be made, or was pre-

tended to be made, no payments were required, or any moneys permitted to be received, until the expiration of one year, to afford time for Congress to interpose. The remaining part was stipulated to be paid in four successive annual instalments. The highest sum resulting from the bids was seven cents for a square foot, and the whole averaged at least four cents. In this way the inhabitants were fully satisfied to commence their buildings, and the interfering pretensions of all individuals were eventually reconciled.*

In this same report attention was called to the unsettled southern boundary of Michigan, to the state of the land titles generally, and other important points. [Only six *regular* titles were found in Michigan.†]

While in Michigan the territorial government was taking shape, Indiana passed to the second grade of the same, as provided by the ordinance, and obtained her General Assembly; while various treaties with the northern tribes were transferring to the United States the Indian title to large and valuable tracts of country. On the 4th of July, the Wyandots and others, at Fort Industry, on the Maumee, ceded all their lands as far west as the western boundary of the Connecticut Reserve; upon the 21st of August, Governor Harrison, at Vincennes, received from the Miamies a region containing two million acres within what is now Indiana; and upon the 30th of December, at the same place, purchased of the Piankeshaws a tract eighty or ninety miles wide, extending from the Wabash west to the cession by the Kaskaskias in 1803. At this time, although some murders by the red men had taken place in the far west, the body of natives seemed bent on peace.‡ But mischief was gathering. Tecumthe, his brother the Prophet and other leading men, had formed at Greenville the germ of that union of tribes by which the whites were to be restrained in their invasions. We are by no means satisfied that the Great Indian of later days used any concealment, or meditated any treachery toward the United States, for many years after this time. The efforts of himself and his brother were directed to two points: first, the reformation of the savages, whose habits unfitted them for continuous and heroic effort; and second, such a union as would make the

*American State Papers, xvi. 247.

†American State Papers, xvi. 203 to 284; 305 to 557 and 592.

‡American State Papers, v. 695, 695, 696, 791, 702, 704, 705.

purchase of land by the United States impossible, and give to the aborigines a strength that might be dreaded. Both these objects were avowed, and both were pursued with wonderful energy, perseverance and success; in the whole country bordering upon the lakes, the power of the Prophet was felt, and the work of reformation went on rapidly.*

[The policy of Tecumthe was to bring into one grand confederation all the nations of Indians that had any intercourse with the United States, and admit of no treaties, or sales of land, without the united consent of all the tribes. Such a confederation never had existed, and magnificent as was the scheme, it was wholly impracticable in the nature of things. Tecumthe could read and write, and he had for his confidential secretary and adviser, Billy Caldwell, a half-breed, an educated man, and subsequently head chief of the Pottawatomie nation, who died in 1845, near Council Bluffs in Iowa. Mr. Caldwell, who gave the editor these facts, had a trunk full of papers, including the "talks," and negotiations sent to various Indian tribes before the war of 1812–15. The interview was in Chicago, in 1833, where he then resided.]

It was during this year that Burr paid his first visit to the West. On the 11th of July, 1804, he had shot General Hamilton, an event which he felt would "ostracise" him; would force him to seek elsewhere for power, money, and fame. On the 2d of March, 1805, the Vice President took his celebrated leave of the Senate, and upon the 29th of April was at Pittsburgh. His purpose in going westward was not the gratification of curiosity merely, and from Wilkinson we learn that he was concerned with Dayton and others in the projected canal round the Falls, at Louisville; a proposal which had been before the United States' Senate in January. From Pittsburgh he proceeded down the Ohio to Louisville, thence went to Lexington and Nashville by land, and from the latter place passed down the Cumberland, and upon the 6th of June reached Fort Massac. During his visit to Tennessee he was treated with great attention, and both then and previously had some conversation relative to a residence in that state, with a view to political advancement. His intentions, however, seem to have been entirely vague: among other plans, he had some thought of trying to displace Governor Claiborne of the Or-

*Drake's Tecumseh, 88, 93, 103.

leans territory, and took from Wilkinson, whom he met at Fort Massac, a letter to Daniel Clark, the Governor's most violent foe. On the 25th of June, Burr reached the capitol of the south-west, where he remained until the 10th of July, when he crossed by land to Nashville, and spent a week with General Jackson—and upon the 20th of August, was at Lexington again: from Lexington, he went by the Falls, Vincennes and Kaskaskia, to St. Louis, where he met General Wilkinson about the middle of September. By this time, all his plans appear to have undergone a change again. At New Orleans he had been made aware of the existence of an association to invade Mexico and wrest it from Spain; he was asked to join it, but refused. He saw, however, at that time, if not before, that, should the dispute relative to boundaries then existing between the United States result in war, an opportunity would be given to men of spirit to conquer and rule Mexico, and this idea thenceforth became his leading one. But in connection with this plan of invasion, in case of war, there arose whispers in relation to effecting a separation of the western from the Atlantic States; of this we have knowledge by a letter from Daniel Clark to General Wilkinson, written September 7th. What Burr's conversations with the commander at St. Louis were, we are not particularly told, but we learn that he suggested the Mexican plan, and also intimated that the Union was rotten and the western people dissatisfied. Such was the effect of his talk that soon after he left, Wilkinson wrote to the Secretary of the Navy advising the government to have an eye on Burr, as he was "about something, but whether internal or externl," he could not learn. Thus, during 1805, the idea of a separation of the western states from the Union by Burr and Wilkinson, had become familiar to many minds, even though the principals themselves may have had no more thought of such a thing than of taking possession of the moon, and dividing her among their friends.*

Upon the 23d of September, Lieutenant Pike, on his way up the Mississippi, bought of the Sioux two tracts, one at the

*For all these facts see Davis' Memoirs of Burr, ii. 327, 367, 368 to 370, 378, 379, 380.—Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 274 to 278; Spence's Deposition, ii. 283, note;—also, *ibid*, Appendix, 2, xviii. Col. Lyon's Deposition. American State Papers, xx. 571. *Ibid*, ii. 660 to 669. Also, Burr's Trial at Richmond, Va.

mouth of the St. Croix river, the other at the mouth of the St. Peters, including the Falls of St. Anthony.*

In the bill authorizing Ohio to become a State, was the following provision:

Third, that one twentieth part of the nett proceeds of the lands lying within the said State, sold by Congress, from and after the thirtieth day of June next, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be applied to the laying out and making public roads, leading from the navigable waters emptying into the Atlantic, to the Ohio, to the said State, and through the same; such roads to be laid out under the authority of Congress, with the consent of the several States through which the road shall pass.†

In conformity with this clause, steps were taken during 1805, which resulted in the making of the Cumberland or National road.

During the year 1806, the conviction became more and more strong that the north-western tribes were meditating hostilities against the United States, but nothing of consequence took place; although Tecumthe and the Prophet constantly extended and confirmed their influence.‡

In September, 1806, Messrs. Lewis and Clarke returned from their exploration of the Missouri and Oregon rivers. This expedition had been suggested by Mr. Jefferson in January, 1803. His views being sanctioned by Congress, Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clarke entered the Missouri, May 14, 1804. The ensuing winter they spent among the Mandans, and in April, 1805, again set forward. With great difficulty the mountains were passed, in the September following, and the Pacific reached upon the 17th of November. Here the winter of 1805–6 was passed. On the 27th of March, 1806, the return journey was begun, and the mountains were crossed late in June.

The difficulties with Spain began early in the year to assume a serious appearance; in February, acts of a semi-hos-

*American State Papers, v. 753, 755. Pike's Expedition up the Mississippi, in 1805, '6 '7, published in Philadelphia, 1810.

† Land Laws, 476.

‡ Dawson's Harrison, 83 to 90. Drake's Tecumseh, 89 to 91.

American State Papers, v. 684, 705. Lewis and Clarke's Journal.

tile character took place,* and in August, Spanish troops crossed the Sabine and took possession of the territory east of that river. This led first to a correspondence between Gov. Claiborne and the Spaniard in command; and next to a movement by General Wilkinson and his army to the contested border. While his troops were at Natchitoches, in immediate expectation of an engagement, Samuel Swartwout reached Wilkinson's camp, with letters from Burr and Dayton of such a character as to bring matters in relation to the conquest of Mexico almost instantly to a crisis.†

[Burr had not entirely given up his chance as a politician in the Atlantic states, as may be seen in the letter of General Adair, in Wilkinson's Memoirs of his Own Times, vol. ii. Appendix, lxxvii.]

Burr, from January to August, Mr. Davis tells us, was most of the time in Washington and Philadelphia, but not idle, for in a letter to Wilkinson, dated April 16th, the conspirator says, "Burr will be throughout the United States this summer;" and refers to "the association," as enlarged, and to the "project" as postponed till December. In July, Commodore Truxton learned from Burr that he was interested largely in lands upon the Washita, which he proposed to settle if his Mexican project failed, and in August we find that he left for the west. On the 21st of that month he was in Pittsburgh, and there suggested to Colonel George Morgan and his son the probable disunion of the States, growing out of the extreme weakness of the Federal Government; a suggestion similar to that said to have been made, though in a much more distinct and strong form, to General Eaton, in the March preceding. His plans, indeed, whatever their extent, were before this time fixed and perfected, for it was upon the 29th of July that he wrote from Philadelphia to General Wilkinson the letter confided to Swartwout, which led to the development of the whole business; this letter we extract, together with Wilkinson's deposition of December 26th, explanatory of Burr's plans.‡

* American State Papers, ii. 798.

† American State Papers, ii. 803 to 804. See for documents Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. appendix, lx. lxxxvii, to xciii. Also, American State Papers, xx, 561 to 563, 565.

‡ Davis' Memoirs, ii. 375;—Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. Appendix, lxxxiii;—American State Papers, xx. 471, 472, 493 to 596.

[Yours, post-marked 13th of May, is received.]* I, Aaron Burr, have obtained funds, and have actually commenced the enterprise. Detachments from different points, and under different pretences, will rendezvous on Ohio, 1st November—every thing internal and external favors views: protection of England is secured. T——— is going to Jamaica, to arrange with the Admiral on that station; it will meet on the Mississippi.—England.—Navy of the United States are ready to join, and final orders are given to my friends and followers; it will be a host of choice spirits. Wilkinson shall be second to Burr only: Wilkinson shall dictate the rank and promotion of his officers. Burr will proceed westward 1st of August, never to return: with him go his daughter: the husband will follow in October, with a corps of worthies.

Send forth an intelligent and confidential friend with whom Burr may confer; he shall return immediately with further interesting details: this is essential to concert and harmony of movement; send a list of all persons known to Wilkinson, west of the mountains, who may be useful, with a note delineating their characters. By your messenger send me four or five commissions of your officers, which you can borrow under any pretence you please; they shall be returned faithfully. Already are orders to the contractor given, to forward six months provisions to points Wilkinson may name; this shall not be used until the last moment, and then under proper injunctions: the project is brought to the point so long desired. Burr guarantees the result with his life and honor, with the lives, the honor and fortune of hundreds, the best blood of our country. Burr's plan of operations is, to move down rapidly from the Falls on the 15th November, with the first 500, or 1000 men, in light boats now constructing for that purpose, to be at Natchez between the 5th and 15th of December; there to meet Wilkinson; there to determine whether it will be expedient in the first instance to seize on or pass by Baton Rouge: on receipt of this send an answer; draw on Burr for all expenses, &c. The people of the country to which we are going, are prepared to receive us: their agents now with Burr say, that if we will protect their religion and will not subject them to a foreign power, that in three weeks all will be settled. The gods invite to glory and fortune: it remains to be seen whether we deserve the boon: the bearer of this goes express to you; he will hand a formal letter of introduction to you from Burr: he is a man of inviolable honor and perfect discretion; formed to execute rather than to project; capable of relating facts with fidelity, and incapable of relating them otherwise; he is thoroughly informed of the plans

* The parts in brackets were omitted in the copy which Wilkinson used, in causing the arrest of Bollman and others. (See American State Papers, xx. 471, 472.) This omission was the ground of the accusation hereafter referred to

and intentions of [Burr,] and will disclose to you as far as you inquire, and no further: he has imbibed a reverence for your character, and may be embarrassed in your presence: put him at ease and he will satisfy you.*

JULY 29.

I instantly resolved—says Wilkinson in his affidavit—to avail myself of the reference made to the bearer, and, in the course of some days, drew from him (the said Swartwout) the following disclosure: "That he had been despatched by Colonel Burr from Philadelphia; had passed through the States of Ohio and Kentucky, and proceeded from Louisville for St. Louis, where he expected to find me; but discovering at Kaskaskias that I had descended the river, he procured a skiff, hired hands, and followed me down the Mississippi to Fort Adams; and from thence set out for Natchitoches, in company with Captain Sparks and Hooke, under the pretence of a disposition to take part in the campaign against the Spaniards, then depending. That Colonel Burr, with the support of a powerful association extending from New York to New Orleans, was levying an armed body of seven thousand men from the State of New York and the western States and territories, with a view to carry an expedition against the Mexican provinces; and that five hundred men, under Colonel Swartwout and a Colonel or Major Tyler, were to descend the Alleghany, for whose accommodation light boats had been built and were ready." I inquired what would be their course; he said, "this territory would be revolutionized, where the people were ready to join them; and that there would be some seizing, he supposed, at New Orleans; that they expected to be ready to embark about the 1st of February; and intended to land at Vera Cruz, and to march from thence to Mexico." I observed that there were several millions of dollars in the bank of this place; to which he replied, "we know it full well;" and, on my remarking that they certainly did not mean to violate private property, he said, "they meant to borrow, and would return it; that they must equip themselves in New Orleans; that they expected naval protection from Great Britain; that the captains and the officers of our navy were so disgusted with the Government that they were ready to join; that similar disgusts prevailed throughout the western country, where the people were zealous in favor of the enterprise; and that pilot-boat built schooners were contracted for along our southern coast for their service; that he had been accompanied from the falls of Ohio to Kaskaskias, and from thence to Fort Adams, by a Mr. Ogden, who had proceeded on to New Orleans with letters from Colonel Burr to his friends there." Swartwout asked me whether I had

* Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii, 3

heard from Dr. Bollman; and, on my answering in the negative, he expressed great surprise, and observed, "that the Doctor and a Mr. Alexander had left Philadelphia before him with despatches for me; and that they were to proceed by sea to New Orleans, where he said they must have arrived.

Though determined to deceive him, if possible, I could not refrain telling Mr. Swartwout it was impossible that I could ever dishonor my commission; and I believe I duped him by my admiration of the plan and by observing, that although I could not join in the expedition, the engagements which the Spaniards had prepared for me in my front might prevent my opposing it. Yet I did, the moment I had deciphered the letter, put it into the hands of Colonel Cushing, my adjutant and inspector; making the declaration that I should oppose the lawless enterprise with my utmost force. Mr. Swartwout informed me that he was under engagements to meet Colonel Burr at Nashville on the 2[illegible]h of November, and requested of me to write to him, which I declined; and on his leaving Natchitoches about the 18th of October, I immediately employed Lieutenant T. A. Smith to convey the information in substance to the President without the commitment of names; for from the extraordinary nature of the project and the more extraordinary appeal to me, I could but doubt its reality, notwithstanding the testimony before me; and I did not attach solid belief to Mr. Swartwout's reports respecting their intentions on this Territory and city, until I received confirmatory advice from St. Louis.*

After leaving Pittsburgh, Burr went probably direct to Blennerhassett's Island, where he had stopped the previous summer, while passing down the Ohio, and which he thenceforth made his head-quarters. This he was probably led to do by the fact that Blennerhassett, in December, 1805, had written him, that he should like to take part in any western speculations, or in attacking Mexico, should a Spanish war actually occur. This offer, together with the supposed wealth of Blennerhassett, and the admirable position of his island for Burr's purposes, made that place the very one most desirable for him to select as his centre of operations. From this point the Chief made excursions into Ohio and Kentucky, obtaining money, men, boats and provisions.

Among those from whom he received the most aid was Davis Floyd, of Jeffersonville, a member of the Indiana Assembly: this gentleman, Blennerhassett, Comfort Tyler and Israel Smith, were Burr's chiefs of division, and led the few fol-

* American State Papers, xx. 472.

lowers that at last went down the river in his company. Meantime the rumor was prevalent "in every man's mouth," that the settlement of the Washita lands,* for which the men were nominally enlisted, was a mere pretence, and that an attack on Mexico, if not something worse, was in contemplation.† That something was looked for beyond a conquest of the Spanish provinces, seemed probable from the views expressed in a series of essays called the "Querist;" these were published in September in the Ohio Gazette, (Marietta,) were written by Blennerhassett, immediately after Burr's visit to his island, and strongly intimated that wisdom called on the western people to leave the Union. At this time Colonel Joseph Daviess was attorney for the United States in Kentucky, and he, together with others,‡ felt that the General Government ought to be informed of what was doing, and of what was rumored; Mr. Jefferson accordingly, in the latter part of September, received intimations of what was going forward, but as nothing definite could be charged there was no point of attack, and the Executive and his friends could do nothing farther than watch and wait. At length, late in October, notice of the building of boats and collection of provisions having reached him, the President sent a confidential agent into the west,§ and also gave orders to the Governors and commanders to be upon their guard. Daviess, meantime, had gathered a mass of testimony implicating Burr, which led him to take the step of bringing the subject, in November, before the United States District Court, making oath, "that he was informed, and did verily believe, that Aaron Burr for several months past had been, and now is engaged, in preparing and setting on foot, and in providing and preparing the means for a military expedition and enterprise within this district, for the purpose of descending the Ohio and Mississippi therewith; and making war upon the subjects of the King of Spain." After having read this affidavit, the attorney added, "I have information, on which I can rely, that all the western territories are the next object of the scheme—and

* See Colonel Lyon, in Wilkinson, ii. Appendix lxviii;—Davis, ii. 392;—Butler's Kentucky, 312, 313.—American State Papers, xx. 499, 524, 535, 599.

† Burnet's letters, 103. Numerous witnesses at Burr's trial, Richmond.

‡ See the Statements and papers in Marshall, ii. 385 to 413—424 to 433.

§ Mr. John Graham, secretary of the Orleans Territory. His evidence is in American State Papers, xx. 528, &c.

finally, all the region of the Ohio, is calculated, as falling into the vortex of the newly proposed revolution."

Upon this affidavit Daviess asked for Burr's arrest, but the motion was overruled. The accused, however, who saw at once the most politic course, came into court and demanded an investigation, which could not be had, however, in consequence of the impossibility of obtaining Davis Floyd as a witness. Thus far the public generally sympathized with Burr, whose manners secured all suffrages, and who, on the 1st of December was able to write to Henry Clay, his attorney, in these terms: "I have no design, nor have I taken any measure to promote a dissolution of the Union, or a separation of any one or more States from the residue. I have neither published a line on this subject, nor has any one through my agency or with my knowledge. I have no design to intermeddle with the government, or to disturb the tranquility of the United States, nor of its territories, or of any part of them. I have neither issued nor signed, nor promised a commission to any person, for any purpose. I do not own a musket nor bayonet, nor any single article of military stores, nor does any person for me, by my authority, or my knowledge. My views have been explained to, and approved by, several of the principal officers of government, and, I believe, are well understood by the administration, and seen by it with complacency; they are such as every *man of honor and every good citizen* must approve. Considering the high station you now fill in our national councils, I have thought these explanations proper, as well to counteract the chimerical tales, which malevolent persons have industriously circulated, as to satisfy you that you have not espoused the cause of a man in any way unfriendly to the laws, the government or the interests of the country."*

The agent from government, who was all along actively engaged in procuring evidence relative to Burr's plans, finding abundant proof of his Mexican project, and learning also that he thought the West ought to separate from the East,† determined in December, to take measures to arrest his boats and provisions. This he effected by an application to the

* Butler's Kentucky, 313, 316. See Jefferson's Message, American State Papers, xx. 469.

† American State Papers, xx. 531, 529.

Legislature of Ohio, through Governor Tiffin. The Legislature authorized the Governor to take the necessary steps, and before the 14th of December, ten boats with stores were arrested on the Muskingum, and soon after, four more were seized by the troops at Marietta.* Blennerhassett, Tyler, and thirty or forty men, on the night of December 10th, left the Island, and proceeded down the river,—barely escaping an arrest by General Tupper, on behalf of the State of Ohio. On the 16th, this party united with that of Floyd at the Falls, and on the 26th, the whole, together, met Burr at the mouth of the Cumberland. On the 29th, the company passed Fort Massac.

But while Daviess and Graham were laboring to put a stop to Burr's progress, the General Government had received information which enabled the President to act with decision; this was the message of Wilkinson, bearing an account of Burr's letter already quoted. This message was sent from Natchitoches upon the 22d of October, and reached the seat of government, November 25th; on the 27th, a proclamation was issued and word sent westward to arrest all concerned. About the same time, (November 24th or 25th,) Wilkinson, who had done, unauthorized, upon the 1st of November, the very thing he had been ordered on the 8th to do,—namely, to make an accommodation with the Spanish commander on the Sabine, and fall back to the Mississippi, reached New Orleans, and prepared to resist any attack thereon: at this city he arrested Swartwout, Peter V. Ogden, who was discharged, however, on *Habeas Corpus*, and Dr. Erick Bollman, who had also borne messages from Burr and Dayton.†

What Burr may have felt or intended after he met his fugitive followers at the mouth of Cumberland river, late in December, 1806, it is impossible to say, but it is certain that he went on openly and boldly, protesting against the acts of Ohio, and avowing his innocence. If he had relied on Wilkinson, he was as yet undeceived with regard to him. On the 4th of January, 1807, he was at Fort Pickering, Chickasaw Bluffs, and soon after at Bayou Pierre. From this point

* See Governor Tiffin's Letters. Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, i. 259, 260. His message of December 15th. Journal of Senate, 36.

† American State Papers, xx. from 466 to 600. Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 318, and various appendices to the volume.

he wrote to the authorities below, referring to the rumors respecting him, alledging his innocence, and begging them to avoid the horrors of civil war. Word had just been received from Jefferson, however, of the supposed conspiracy; the militia were under arms; and the acting Governor of the Mississippi Territory, Cowles Mead, on the 16th of January, sent two aids to meet Colonel Burr; one of these was Geo. Poindexter. At this meeting, an interview between the acting Governor was arranged, which took place on the 17th; at which time Burr yielded himself to the civil authority. He was then taken to Washington, the capital of the territory, and legal proceedings commenced. Mr. Poindexter was himself Attorney-General, and as such advised that Burr had been guilty of no crime within Mississippi, and wished to have him sent to the seat of government of the United States: the presiding Judge, however, summoned a Grand Jury, which, upon the evidence before them, presented—not Burr for treason—but the acting Governor for calling out the militia! That evening, Colonel Burr, fearing an arrest by officers sent by Wilkinson, forfeited his bonds and disappeared. A proclamation being issued by the Governor for his apprehension, he was seized on the Tombigbee river on his way to Florida, and was sent at once to Richmond, where he arrived March 26th.* On the 22d of May, Burr's examination began in the Circuit Court of the United States at Richmond, before Judge Marshall; two bills were found against him, one for treason against the United States, the other for a misdemeanor in organizing an enterprise against Mexico, while at peace with the United States: but on both these charges the jury found him "not guilty," "upon the principle that the offence if committed anywhere, was committed out of the jurisdiction of the Court." The Chief Justice, however, upon the latter charge, subsequently ordered his commitment for trial within the proper jurisdiction. This commitment, however, being impliedly upon the supposition that the United States wished, under the circumstances, to prosecute the accused, and the attorney for the government declining to do so, no further steps were taken to bring the supposed culprit to justice, and the details of his doings and plans have never yet been made known.

* American State Papers. xx. 477, 478, 530, 531, 545, 568 to 570, 602.—Davis ii. 389.—Butler 318.

Although a mystery still hangs about Burr's plans, in consequence of the discontinuance of the suit by the United States, we think it has been clearly proved by the trial at Richmond and other evidence—1st, that Burr went into the West in 1805 with the feeling that his day at the East was over; in New York he feared even a prosecution if he remained there.*

2nd, That his plans, until late in that year, were undefined; speculations of various kinds, a residence in Tennessee, an appointment in the South-west, were under consideration, but nothing was determined:

3d, That he at length settled upon three objects, to one or the other of which, as circumstances might dictate, he meant to devote his energies: these were —

A separation of the West from the East under himself and Wilkinson:

Should this be, upon further examination, deemed impossible, then an invasion of Mexico by himself and Wilkinson, with or without the sanction of the federal government:

In case of disappointment in reference to Mexico, then the foundation of a new state upon the Washita, over which he might preside as founder and patriarch.†

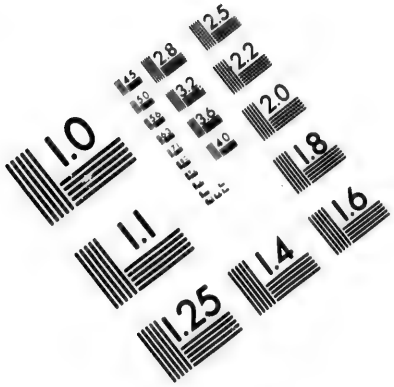
That the Washita scheme was not a mere pretence, we think evident from the fact that Burr actually paid toward the purchase four or five thousand dollars: that it was not the only object, and that the conquest of Mexico, if it could be effected, was among his settled determinations, his friends all acknowledged, but said this conquest was to take place upon the supposition of a war with Spain, and in no other case: that Burr may have thought the government would wink at his proceedings, is very p , and that Wilkinson either meant to aid him, or pretended he would, in order to learn his plans, is certain; but the secrecy of his movements, the language of his letter to Wilkinson in July, 1806, and his whole character, convinces us that he would, if he could, have invaded Mexico, whether the United States were at war or peace with Spain.

But we cannot doubt that, going beyond a violation of the

* Davis' Memoirs, ii. 385, 412.—American State Papers, xx. 641 to 645.

† See American State Papers, xx. 530, where Burr speaks to Graham of the Washita lands and "a separate government."





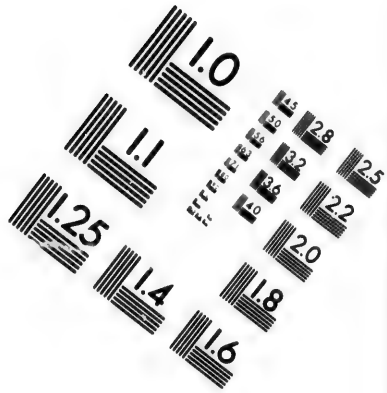
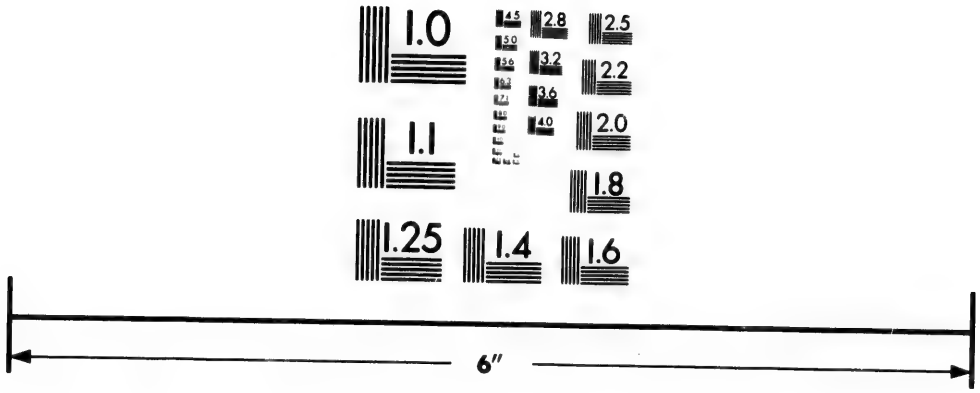
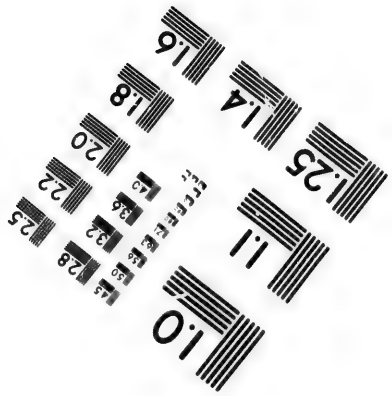
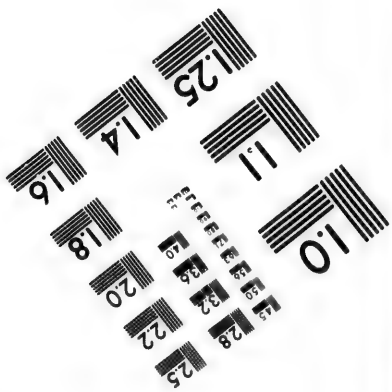


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laws of the Union, he was disposed to seek a separation of that Union itself. During his visit of 1805, he was undoubtedly made fully acquainted with the old schemes for independence entertained in Kentucky, and was led to question the real attachment of the western people to the federal government. So long as he thought there was a probability of disunion, it would naturally be his first object to place himself at the head of the republic beyond the mountains, and should he find himself deceived as to the extent of disaffection in the Great Valley, all his means could be brought to bear upon Mexico. His conversations with the Morgans at Pittsburgh, the views of the "Querist" prepared by Blennerhassett under Burr's eye, and the declarations of Blennerhassett to Henderson and Graham, seem to leave no room for doubting the fact that a dissolution of the United States had been contemplated by the ex-Vice-President, although we think there is as little reason to doubt that it had been abandoned as hopeless, long before his arrest.* [Judge Marshall said, (American State Papers, xx. 644,) "that the object of these writings," (the "Querist,") "was to prepare the western states for a dismemberment, is apparent on the face of them."

It appears to the editor that every unprejudiced mind, who analyzes the character of Aaron Burr, from the voluminous works to which our references direct, and traces out his history, must regard him as devoid of all virtuous principles. His history, with that of Benedict Arnold, should be held forth as a beacon light to young men, of the dangerous rocks and quicksands of unbridled ambition.]

With regard to Wilkinson, it is not easy to form a decided opinion; the strongest fact in his favor is that he informed the government of Burr's projects, in the fall of 1805; the strongest fact against him is, that if innocent, he was able to outwit and entrap so subtle a man as the conspirator. It has been charged against Wilkinson that he altered the letter sent him by Burr, and then swore that the copy was a true copy: this, however, is fully explained by the deposition of Mr. Duncan, Wilkinson's legal adviser at New Orleans, by whom indeed the omission was suffered designedly to remain, in opposition to the General's repeated and strong expression of his wish

*See Lynch's Testimony in American State Papers, xx. 599,;—same vol. pages 501, 503, 526 to 531.

that it should be supplied. Another charge has been brought against Wilkinson since his death, that he claimed of Mexico two hundred thousand dollars for stopping Burr.* This charge seems improbable, and it seems equally improbable that during the persecution of the General in 1810, no knowledge of so strange an act, and one of so public a nature, should have been reached by his enemies. As it was not brought forward till 1836, eleven years after his death, no opportunity has occurred for explaining or disproving it, but it ought not to weigh against his memory until further evidence is offered in its support.†

On the 27th of January, 1807, Governor Hull, of Michigan Territory, had been authorized by the federal government, to enter into a treaty with the north-western Indians, for the lands upon the eastern side of the Peninsula, and for those west of the Connecticut Reserve, as far as the Auglaise. The directions then given having been repeated in September, a council was held at Detroit, and a treaty made November 17th, with the Ottawas, Chippeways, Wyandots and Pottawatomies, by which the country from the Maumee to Saginaw Bay, on the eastern side of Michigan, was transferred, with certain reservations, to the United States.‡

Congress confirmed the old French claims to land in the west, during this year.

A stockade was built round the new town of Detroit.§

*See his deposition, American State Papers, xx. 560.—Wilkinson's Memoirs, ii. 332.
†Davis, ii. 400.
‡American State Papers, v. 745, 747, 748.
§Lauman, 132, 133.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE INDIAN WAR OF 1811.

Expeditions of Lieutenant Z. M. Pike.—Movements of Tecumthe and the Prophet.—Organization of Indiana Territory.—British Intrigue and Influence with the Indians.—Conference at Vincennes.—Fort Harrison built.—Battle of Tippecanoe.—Earthquakes at New Madrid.—First Western Steam-boat.

[It is here necessary to take a brief retrospect of some of the years passed over in the preceding chapter. The district of country comprised in the Territories of Indiana and Upper Louisiana, for a number of years after their organization, was too remote, too much exposed to Indian depredations, and too destitute of the comforts of civilized life, to attract many emigrants.

Mr. Monette says:—

Lands equally good, and much more secure from danger were more convenient. Hence the settlements on the Wabash, on the Illinois, on the Upper Mississippi, and near the Detroit river, increased in numbers slowly. The Indians still lingered around their houses and familiar hunting grounds, as if reluctant to abandon the scenes of their youth and the graves of their ancestors, although they had received the stipulated payment, and had consented to retire from them.*

Mr. Lanman says of Detroit and Michigan, 1807:—

Enterprise had not then pushed its energies so far into the wilderness as in modern times, and capital floated along the shores of the eastern States. In fact a great portion of that uncultivated tract of country, which constitutes the splendid scenery of western New York, adorned, as it now is, with large cities and villages, and intersected by rail-roads and canals, was a dense forest. The principal business of the settlements in Michigan was the fur trade; and the wilderness around, instead of revealing its treasures to the substantial labor of agriculture, was preserved a waste, for the propagation of wild game, and the fur-bearing animals.

No permanent settlements of any considerable importance had been made throughout this section of the country, besides those at Detroit, Michillimackinac, a small establishment at St. Mary's river, Fox river of Green Bay, Prairie du Chein, and certain trading posts of eastern companies, some of which

* Valley of the Mississippi, ii. 523.

are now in ruins. "Grim-visaged war had smoothed her wrinkled front;" and the country which had been for so long a period drenched in blood, now shone out in the mild but glorious light of peace.*

Amongst the occurrences of 1805, 1806 and 1807, are the expeditions of Lieutenant Z. M. Pike; the first to the sources of the Mississippi, and the second to the sources of the Arkansas, Kanzas, Platte, and Pierre Jaune rivers, and into the provinces of New Spain. These expeditions were conducted under the order of Government, through General James Wilkinson. The journals kept by Lieutenant Pike, (as his official title then was) were by him prepared for the press, and issued in octavo volume, with an atlas of maps and charts, in Philadelphia, 1810. From this volume we give the following brief abstract:

The party, consisting of Major Pike, "with one servant, two corporals and seventeen privates, in a keel boat, seventy feet long, provisioned for four months," left the encampment, near St. Louis, on the 9th of August, 1805. On the 1st of September they reached Dubuque, where the Spanish trader M. Dubuque then resided. The party reached Prairie du Chein on the 4th. From the Appendix to part first, (p. 46,) we make the following extract:—

The present village of Prairie du Chein, was first settled in the year 1783, and the first settlers were M. Girard, M. Antaya, and M. Dubuque. The old village is about a mile below the present one, and had existed during the time the French were possessed of the country. It derives its name from a family of Reynards [Fox Indians] who formerly lived there, distinguished by the appellation of Dogs. The present village was settled under the English Government, and the ground was purchased from the Reynard Indians.

There are eight houses scattered round the country, at the distance of one, two, three, and five miles.

On the west side of the Mississippi are three houses, situated on a small stream called the Giard's river, making, in the village and vicinity, thirty-seven houses, which it will not be too much to calculate ten persons each; making the population three hundred and seventy souls. But this estimate will not answer for the spring and autumn, as there are then, at least five or six hundred white persons. This is owing to the concourse of traders and their engagees from Michillimackinac and other parts, who make this their last stage, previous to their launching into the savage wilderness. They again

*History of Michigan, 183.

meet here in the spring, on their return from their wintering grounds, accompanied by three or four hundred Indians, when they hold a *fair;* the one [party] disposes of remnants of goods, and the other reserved peltries.

It is astonishing there are not more murders and affrays at this place, as there meet such a heterogeneous mass to trade; the use of spirituous liquors being in no manner restricted — But since the American Government has become known, such accidents are much less frequent than formerly.

* * * * * * * *

There are a few gentlemen residing at the Prairie du Cheins, and many others claiming that appellation; but the rivalship of the Indian trade, occasions them to be guilty of acts at their wintering grounds, which they would blush to be guilty of in the civilized world. They possess the spirit of generosity and hospitality in an eminent degree; but this is the leading feature in the character of frontier inhabitants. Their mode of living had obliged them to have transient connection with the Indian women; and what was at first *policy* is now so confirmed by habit and inclination, that it has become (with a few exceptions) the ruling practice of all the traders; and, in fact, almost half of the inhabitants under twenty years, have the blood of the aborigines in their veins.

The party reached the St. Peters on the 22d of September. Here a council was held with the Sioux Indians, and a tract of land purchased, of about one hundred thousand acres, for a military post. This eventually provided for the military post of St. Peters. Peace was also negotiated between the Sioux and Chippeways, who had been at war for many years. At the foot of the Falls of St. Anthony the boats were unloaded, and with great difficulty and labor raised above the falls and again launched and reloaded.

On the 16th of October, they met a snow storm, and soon after, found they could not get their boats up the rapids before them. They were now two hundred and thirty-three miles above the falls of St. Anthony. Several of the men were sick, and one broke a blood-vessel, and was in a dangerous state. The snow continuing to fall, they constructed log houses, excavated canoes, and provided a supply of provisions by hunting. Here the sick and a few other men of the party were left, while Major Pike, and the rest of the party, attempted to proceed up the river in canoes. The attempt having failed, and the river being frozen, sleds were constructed on which the baggage was transported, partly on the ice, and partly on the land. After sustaining various privations

and experiencing no small degree of difficulty in this inhospitable wintry region, Major Pike and his little party, with one or two British traders, reached Red Lake, then supposed to be the head of the Mississippi, about the middle of February, 1806. At Lake Winipec, fifteen miles below, was a British trading post, and the flag of that nation flying from the fort. The North-western company then had their posts in all this wild region.

On the 28th of February, the party set out on their homeward march, but were detained on the route by ice, and holding "talks" with bands of Indians, so that they did not reach the Falls of St. Anthony until the 10th of April. At the mouth of the St. Peters, another council was held with the Sioux and Sauteurs; a branch of the Chippeways.

After holding conferences with several bands of Indians at Prairie du Chein, and other places, Major Pike and his party reached St. Louis, on the 30th of April, after an absence of eight months and twenty-two days. This was the first exploration ever made of the Upper Mississippi, by authority of the United States. The objects of the expedition were accomplished, in the selection of positions for military posts, in making peace among hostile Indian nations, and in tracing the Mississippi to its source.

The second expedition had for its primary object, the protection and "safe delivery" of a deputation of Osages and some captives, to the town of the Grand Osage nation. The next was, to promote peace and a good understanding between the Kanzas* and Osage nations, and the Yanctons, Tetons and Camanches. The exploration of the country on the head waters of the Arkansas and Red Rivers, would follow the effort to negotiate with the Camanches.

The party consisted of two lieutenants, one surgeon, one sergeant, two corporals, sixteen privates and one interpreter. Under their charge were several chiefs of the Osages and Pawnees, who, with a number of women and children, had been to Washington city. These Indians had been redeemed from captivity from among the Pottawatomies. The whole number of Indians amounted to fifty-one.

The party left Belle Fontaine, near the mouth of the Missouri, on the 15th of July, 1806. In the company was Dr.

*This is pronounced *Kauzau*, and by abbreviation, *Kaw* nation.

John H. Robinson, a volunteer, and a gentleman of scientific attainments; a Mr. Henry, from New Jersey, also a volunteer, who spoke French, and a little Spanish, and lieutenant James Wilkinson, son of General Wilkinson. The Indians generally walked on the land. On the 28th of July they arrived at the mouth of the Osage river, and proceeded up that stream, to the village of the Grand Osages, which they reached on the 19th of August. Having provided horses, the party set off by land on the 1st of September for the heads of the Arkansas, holding councils with the various tribes of Indians through which they passed. They learned that troops from Mexico had visited the Pawnee villages.

At that period there was an old trace, known as the "Spanish trace," made in 1720, by a party who left Santa Fe, to exterminate the Missouries.

Lieutenant Pike and his party, after much search, could not find this trace, but reached the Arkansas on the 18th of October. They found the water only twenty feet wide and six inches deep, though from bank to bank was two hundred and fifty yards. Here lieutenant Wilkinson constructed canoes with pieces of wood and buffaloe hides, and with three soldiers and an Osage, descended the river to the Mississippi, and from thence to New Orleans.

Lieutenant Pike and his party proceeded onward up the Arkansas until they got entangled in the range of mountains and in the depth of a severe winter. Here they wandered, half frozen and half starved, until the first week in February, when, getting into a grove of timber in a sheltered spot, they proceeded to erect a stockade as a protection from the Indians.

Dr. Robinson having received claims against a certain person in Mexico, parted from the expedition and attempted to find his way alone to Santa Fe. This claim of the Doctor was merely a *ruse* to gain information of the country and the intentions of the Mexican Spaniards. The claim was this. In the year 1804, William Morrison, Esq., an enterprising merchant of Kaskaskia, sent Baptiste La Lande, a Creole, up the Missouri and Platte rivers, and directed him, if possible, to push into Santa Fe. He sent in some Indians, and the Spaniards came out with horses and carried him and his

goods into the province. Finding he could sell his goods at a high price, and having land and a wife offered him, he concluded to expatriate himself and convert the property of Mr. Morrison to his own benefit. Mr. M., supposing Lieutenant Pike might meet with some Spanish factor on his route, entrusted him with his claim, with orders to collect it. Pike made this claim a pretext for the visit of Dr. Robinson to Santa Fe, while the real object was to gain knowledge of the country and people.*

On the 16th of February, Lieutenant Pike, while out on a hunting excursion with one man, was discovered by a Spanish dragoon and a Mexican Indian, who were sent out as spies. After a friendly interview they left, and by the 26th instant returned with one hundred officers and soldiers, who took the party prisoners. Unfortunately, being ignorant of the geography of the country, and having no guide, Lieutenant Pike was on the Rio del Norte instead of the Red river, as he supposed. He was in Mexico instead of the United States.

After undergoing an examination before the Governor of Santa Fe, whose name was Allencaster, Lieut. Pike with his comrades were allowed to retain their arms, but were marched through Albuquerque, St. Fernandez, El Paso, to Chihauhua, where he underwent another examination before Governor Salcedo. After various embarrassments, accompanied by Dr. Robinson, he had leave to depart, by Monclova to San Antonio in Texas.

The party commenced the march on the last of April and reached San Antonio, in Texas, where they arrived on the 7th of June. Here they tarried one week, and proceeding through Texas reached Nachitoches on the first day of July, 1807.

This expedition, unfortunate as it was to Lieutenant Pike, brought to the knowledge of the United States, the plains of the Arkansas, and the Mexican region, a large part of which now belongs to the United States.

During the year 1808, Tecumthe and the Prophet continued quietly to extend their influence, professing no other end than a reformation of the Indians. Before the month of June they had removed from Greenville to the banks of the Tippecanoe,

* Pike's Expedition, p. 195. Note.

a tributary of the Upper Wabash, where a tract of land had been granted them by the Pottawatomies and Kickapoos. In July the Prophet sent to General Harrison a messenger begging him not to believe the tales told by his enemies, and promising a visit: in August, accordingly, he spent two weeks at Vincennes, and by his words and promises led the Governor to change very much his previous opinion, and to think his influence might be beneficial rather than mischievous.*

[To explain more fully the designs of this Chieftain, we quote from Brown's History of Illinois.]

Tecumthe entered upon the great work he had long contemplated, in the year 1805 or 1806. He was then about thirty-eight years of age. To unite the several Indian tribes, many of which were hostile to, and had often been at war with each other, in this great and important undertaking, prejudices were to be overcome, their original manners and customs to be re-established, the use of ardent spirits to be abandoned, and all intercourse with the whites to be suspended. The task was herculean in its character, and beset with difficulties on every side. Here was a field for the display of the highest moral and intellectual powers. He had already gained the reputation of a brave and sagacious warrior, and a cool-headed, upright, wise, and efficient counsellor. He was neither a war nor a peace chief, and yet he wielded the power and influence of both. The time having now arrived for action, and knowing full well, that to win savage attention, some bold and striking movement was necessary, he imparted his plan to his brother, the Prophet, who adroitly and without a moment's delay, prepared himself for the part he was appointed to play in this great drama of savage life. Tecumthe well knew that excessive superstition was everywhere a prominent trait in the Indian character; and therefore, with the skill of another Cromwell, brought superstition to his aid.

Suddenly, his brother began to dream dreams, and see visions; he became afterward an inspired prophet, favored with a divine commission from the Great Spirit—the power of life and death was placed in his hands—he was appointed agent for preserving the property and lands of the Indians, and for restoring them to their original happy condition. He thereupon commenced his sacred work. The public mind was aroused, unbelief gradually gave way; credulity and wild fanaticism began to spread its circles, widening and deepening, until the fame of the prophet and the divine char-

* Dawson, 106.

acter of his mission had reached the frozen shores of the lakes, and overran the broad planes which stretched far beyond "the great Father of Waters." Pilgrims from remote tribes, sought with fear and trembling the head-quarters of the prophet and the sage. Proselytes were multiplied, and his followers increased beyond all former example. Even Tecumthe became a believer, and seizing upon the golden opportunity, he mingled with the pilgrims, won them by his address, and on their return sent a knowledge of his plan of concert and union to the most distant tribes.

The bodily and mental labors of Tecumthe next commenced. His life became one of ceaseless activity. He travelled, he argued, he commanded. His persuasive voice was one day listened to by the Wyandots, on the plains of Sandusky; on the next, his commands were issued on the banks of the Wabash. He was anon seen paddling his canoe across the Mississippi, then boldly confronting the Governor of Indiana, in the council-house at Vincennes. Now carrying his banner of union among the Creeks and Cherokees of the South, and from thence to the cold and inhospitable regions of the north, neither intoxicated by success, nor discouraged by failure.

The year 1808, made a change in the Presidency of the United States, though not in political measures. Mr. Jefferson, who had administered the affairs of the country with pre-eminent success through two terms, and who was generally popular throughout the west, retired to private life, and Mr. Madison became his successor in March, 1809.

In order that the general reader may have a full understanding of the series of events that led to the war with Great Britain, (the subject of our next chapter) we give the following preliminary facts.

England and France, and indeed most of the European governments, had been in a state of hostility for some years. Napoleon had introduced and carried into effect what has been called the "*Continental System.*" This was designed to exclude England from all intercourse with the continent of Europe. All importation of English manufactures and produce was prohibited. This system involved the rights of neutral powers, and both England and France commenced depredations on the commerce of the United States.

In November, 1806, Napoleon issued the famous decree of Berlin, by which the British Islands were declared to be in a state of blockade. Immediately England directed reprisals

against the Berlin decree, and issued her "Orders in Council" in 1807. Every neutral vessel with its cargo was confiscated which violated these orders. England also claimed the right to search all neutral vessels, in order to execute the orders in Council. With this odious practice was connected the "right of search" on neutral vessels, for British seamen, and all were claimed as such, who could not show official papers of their birth, and regular shipment under a neutral government. Hundreds of naturalized citizens and even native born Americans were thus taken under our flag and impressed on board of British ships of war. These "orders" were followed on the part of France by the decree of Milan, December, 1807, and a more aggravated one of the Tuilleries, in January, 1808.

These decrees denationalized and confiscated every neutral vessel, which had been searched by an English ship. These difficulties with England were greatly increased by the wanton attack on the frigate Chesapeake in the waters of the United States. This produced a call upon the militia of the United States.

The Imperial decrees of France, and the aggressions of Great Britain, induced Congress, by recommendation of the President, to lay an embargo prohibiting the exportation of all articles from the United States, in December, 1807. This measure met with so much opposition that it was repealed in 1809, and at the same time all trade and intercourse with France and England was prohibited by an act of Congress.*

During the same period, British officers and traders were encouraging the Indians to contend for their rights, by instilling into their minds the notion that they had sovereignty over all the country not ceded by the treaty of Greenville. These lessons were relished by Tecumthe and his brother, the Prophet. In reference to the hostilities of 1811, but which had existed in feelings and plans at an early period, Mr. Lanman† says:—

"The basis of these hostilities was the fact that Elshwatawa the Prophet, who pretended to certain supernatural powers, had formed a league with Tecumthe, to stir up the jeal-

* See Encyclopœdia Americana, articles, "Continental System," vol. iii. 499; and "United States' History," vol. xii. 419. Butler's Kentucky, 327.

† History of Michigan, 184.

ousy of the Indians against the United States. It seems that this was an act of pre-concert on the part of these brothers, in order to produce a general confederacy of Indians against the United States. Mutual complaints were urged on both sides. It was maintained by Governor Harrison that the Indians had endeavored to excite insurrection against the Americans, had depredated upon their property, and murdered their citizens; and that they were, moreover, in league with the British. He ordered them, therefore, to return to their respective tribes, and to yield up the property which they had stolen, and also the murderers. Tecumthe, in answer, denied the league. He alleged that his only design, and that of his brother, was to strengthen the amity between the different tribes of Indians, and to improve their moral condition. In answer to Governor Harrison's demand for the murderers of the whites who had taken refuge among their tribes, he denied that they were there; and secondly, that if they were there, it was not right to punish them, and that they ought to be forgiven, as he had forgiven those who had murdered his people in Illinois. The Indians, comprised of seceders from the various tribes, were incited by the conviction that their domain was encroached upon by the Americans: that they were themselves superior to the white men; and that the Great Spirit had directed them to make one mighty struggle in throwing off the dominion of the United States. British influence, which had before exerted its agency in the previous Indian war, was active on the American side of the Detroit River; and it must be admitted that it had strong ground of action. An ardent correspondence had for some time existed regarding the conduct of the savages, and powerful efforts were made to dissuade them from advancing in their projects. In a speech which was sent to Tecumthe and his brother, complaining of injuries which had been committed by the Indians, and demanding redress, Gov. Harrison, who then resided at Vincennes, remarks, "Brothers, I am myself of the Long Knife fire; as soon as they hear my voice, you will see them pouring forth their swarms of "hunting-shirt men," as numerous as the musquitoes on the shores of the Wabash. Brothers, take care of their stings."

On the 25th of November, Governor Hull met at Brownstown the Chippeways, Ottowas, Pottawatomies, Wyandots, and Shawanese, and obtained from them a grant of a strip of land connecting the Maumee with the Western Reserve, and another strip connecting Lower Sandusky with the country south of the line agreed upon in 1795. These strips were to be used for roads.*

[The white settlements in Upper Louisiana, in the begin-

* American State Papers, v. 727.

ning of 1808, had not extended much beyond the boundaries claimed by the Spanish authorities in virtue of former treaties with native tribes.

On the 10th of November of that year, a grand council of the nation of Osages was held at Fort Clark, on the right bank of the Missouri river, where a treaty was made in which the Osages relinquish their claims to all their lands between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, as far west as a line drawn from Fort Clark due South to the Arkansas. This treaty threw open the territory to settlements to this boundary.

From 1804 to 1809, there was considerable emigration to the territory, especially into the counties of Cape Girardeau, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, and St. Charles. Even as early as 1794, a German Colony was commenced in the interior of this county. Their descendants are among some of the first class of farmers in Missouri.]

Throughout the year 1809, we find Tecumthe and his brother strengthening themselves both openly and secretly. Governor Harrison, however, had been once more led to suspect their ultimate designs, and was preparing to meet an emergency whenever it might arise. The probability of its being at hand was very greatly increased by the news received from the Upper Mississippi of hostile movements there among the savages. In reference to these movements and the position of the Shawanese brothers, Governor Harrison wrote to the Secretary of War on the 5th of July as follows:

The Shawanese prophet and about 40 followers arrived here about a week ago. He denies most strenuously any participation in the late combination to attack our settlements, which he says was entirely confined to the tribes of the Mississippi and Illinois rivers; and he claims the merit of having prevailed upon them to relinquish their intentions.

I must confess that my suspicions of his guilt have been rather strengthened than diminished at every interview I have had with him since his arrival. He acknowledged that he received an invitation to war against us, from the British, last fall, and that he was apprised of the intention of the Sacs, Foxes, &c., early in the spring, and warmly solicited to join in their league. But he could give no satisfactory explanation of his neglecting to communicate to me circumstances so extremely interesting to us, and towards which, I had a few months before directed his attention, and received a solemn

assurance of his cheerful compliance with the injunctions I had impressed upon him.

The result of all my inquiries on the subject, is, that the late combination was produced by British intrigue and influence, in anticipation of war between them and the United States. It was, however, premature and ill-judged, and the event sufficiently manifests a great decline in their influence, or in the talents and address, with which they have been accustomed to manage their Indian relations.

The warlike and well armed tribes of the Pottawatomies, Ottawas, Chippewas, Delawares and Miamis, I believe neither had, nor would have joined in the combination; and although the Kickapoos, whose warriors are better than those of any other tribe, the remnant of the Wyandot excepted, are much under the influence of the prophet, I am persuaded that they were never made acquainted with their intentions, if these were really hostile to the United States.*

In this same letter the Governor, at the request of the Secretary, Dr. Eustis, gives his views of the defence of the frontiers, in which portion of his epistle many valuable hints are given in relation to the course proper to be pursued in case of a war with England.

In September, October and December, the Governor of Indiana succeeded in extinguishing the claims of the Delawares, Pottawatomies, Miamies, Eel river Indians, Weas, and Kickapoos, to certain lands upon the Wabash which had not yet been purchased, and which were believed to contain copper ore†

The treaties with the Delawares, Pottawatomies, Miamies, and Eel river Indians, were made at Fort Wayne; the others at Vincennes; they were protested against by Tecumthe in the following year.

On the 17th of February the Legislature of Ohio passed the charter of the Miami University. With regard to this institution, a question at once arose, whether it should be within Symmes' Purchase, as it had been originally intended it should be, and as the charter required; or placed upon the lands with which it was endowed,—which lands it had been found necessary to select out of the Purchase, as has been already related. The Legislature decided that the University

*Dawson, 130.

†American State Papers, v. 760, to 763. Dawson, 135 to 137.

should be upon the lands which had been appropriated to its support in the township of Oxford, and there accordingly it was placed.‡

[One of the events of 1809, which claims special notice, was the organization of the Territory of Illinois.

The people of Illinois, as has happened to others more recently, at several periods were left without a regularly constituted government. Originally it was a portion of ancient Louisiana, under the French monarchy. By the treaty of France with Great Britain in 1763, all Canada, including the Illinois country, was ceded to the latter power.

But British authority and laws did not reach Illinois until 1765, when Captain Sterling, in the name, and by the authority of the British crown, established the provisional government at Fort Chartres.

In 1766, the "Quebec Bill," as it was called, passed the British Parliament, which placed Illinois and the North-western territory under the local administration of Canada.

The conquest of the country by General Clark in 1778, brought it under the jurisdiction of Virginia, and in the month of October the Legislature of that State organized the county of Illinois.

The cession of the country to the Continental Congress was made in 1784, and the ordinance to organize the North-western Territory, which provided for a Territorial Government, was not passed until 1787, and the Governor and Judges who exercised, in one body, Legislative and Judicial authority, did not go into operation until July, 1788. Still the Illinois country remained without any organized government till March, 1790, when Governor St. Clair organized the county that bears his name. Hence, for more than six years at one period, and for a shorter time at other periods, there was no Executive, Legislative, and Judicial authority in the country. The people were a "law unto themselves," and good feelings, harmony and fidelity to engagements predominated.

From 1800 they had been a part of the territory of Indiana. In all the territories at that period, there were two grades of Territorial Government. The first was that of Governor and Judges. These constituted the law-making power. Such

‡ Burnett's Letters, 155, 156.—American Pioneer, i. 269.

was the organization of Illinois in 1809. The next grade wa a Territorial Legislature; the people electing the House of Representatives, and the President and Senate appointing the Council.

By an act of Congress of February 3d, 1809, all that part of Indiana Territory which lies west of the Wabash river, and a direct line drawn from that river and Post Vincennes, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, was constituted into a separate Territory, by the name of Illinois; and the first grade of Territorial Government was established.

Hon. Ninian Edwards, then Chief Justice of Kentucky, was appointed Governor, and Nathaniel Pope, Esq., then a resident of Kaskaskia, Secretary of the Territory.

Early in March, as the acting Governor, Judge Pope organized the Territory. Governor Edwards arrived from Kentucky and entered the Executive department in the month of June. As we have much to bring up in the Annals of Illinois, we shall defer details for the Appendix.

The hostile intentions of Tecumthe and his followers towards the United States, were placed beyond a doubt in 1810. The exciting causes were—the purchase at Fort Wayne in 1809, which the Shawanese denounced as illegal and unjust; and British influence. And here, as in 1790 to 1795, it is almost impossible to learn what really was the amount of British influence, and whence it proceeded; whether from the agents merely, or from higher authority. On the one hand we have many assertions like the following:—

Fort Wayne, August 7, 1818.

Since writing you on the 25th ultimo, about one hundred men of the Saukies have returned from the British agent, who supplied them liberally with every thing they stood in want of. The party received 47 rifles, and a number of fusils, with plenty of powder and lead. This is sending firebrands into the Mississippi country, inasmuch as it will draw numbers of our Indians to the British side, in the hope of being treated with the same liberality.

JOHN JOHNSTON, Indian Agent.

Vincennes, September, 17, 1811.

——— states that almost every Indian from the country above this had been, or were then gone to Malden, on a visit

to the British agent. We shall probably gain our destined point at the moment of their return. If, then, the British agents are really endeavoring to instigate the Indians to make war upon us, we shall be in their neighborhood at the very moment when the impressions which have been made against us are most active in the minds of the savages.

——— succeeded in getting the chiefs together at Fort Wayne, though he found them all preparing to go to Malden. The result of the council discovered that the whole tribes (including the Weas and Eel rivers, for they are all Miamies,) were about equally divided in favor of the Prophet and the United States. Lapousier, the Wea chief, whom I before mentioned to you as being seduced by the Prophet, was repeatedly asked by ——— what land it was that he was determined to defend with his blood; whether it was that which was ceded by the late treaty or not, but he would give no answer.

——— reports that all the Indians of the Wabash have been, or now are, on a visit to the British agents at Malden. He had never known one-fourth as many goods given to the Indians, as they are now distributing. He examined the share of one man (not a chief,) and found that he had received an elegant rifle, 25 pounds of powder, 50 pounds of lead, 3 blankets, 3 strouds of cloth, 10 shirts and several other articles. He says every Indian is furnished with a gun (either rifle or fusil) and an abundance of ammunition. A trader of this country was lately in the King's stores at Malden, and was told that the quantity of goods for the Indian department, which had been sent out this year, exceeded that of common years by 20,000 pounds sterling. It is impossible to ascribe this profusion to any other motive than that of instigating the Indians to take up the tomahawk. It cannot be to secure their trade; for all the peltry collected on the waters of the Wabash in one year, if sold in the London market, would not pay the freight of the goods which have been given to the Indians.*

On the other hand we know that Sir James Craig, the Governor of Canada, wrote on the 25th of November, 1810, to Mr. Morier, the British Minister at Washington, authorizing him to inform the United States Government that the northern savages were meditating hostilities;† we know also that in the following March, Sir James wrote to Lord Liverpool in relation to the Indians, and spoke of the information he had given the Americans, and that his conduct was approv-

* American State Papers, v. 799, 801 to 804.

† American State Papers, iii. 453.—Gaston in Congress; quoted by Dawson, 175.

ed;* we have farther the repeated denial by the English Minister at Washington, of any influence having been exerted over the frontier tribes adverse to the States, by the authority, or with the knowledge of the English Ministry or the Governor of Canada.† These things, we think, must lead us to acquit the *rulers* of Great Britain, but they do not show who, nor how high in authority the functionaries were who tried, as Tecumthe told Harrison, to set the red men, as dogs, upon the whites

But, however we may think the evil influence originated, certain it is that the determination was taken by "the successor of Pontiac," to unite all the western tribes in hostility to the United States, in case that power would not give up the lands bought at Fort Wayne, and undertake to recognize the principle, that no purchases should be thereafter made unless from a Council representing all the tribes united as one nation. By various acts the feelings of Tecumthe became more and more evident, but in August, he having visited Vincennes to see the Governor, a Council was held at which, and at a subsequent interview, the real position of affairs was clearly ascertained—of that Council we give the account contained in Mr. Drake's life of the Great Chieftain.

Governor Harrison had made arrangements for holding the Council on the portico of his own house, which had been fitted up with seats for the occasion. Here, on the morning of the fifteenth, he awaited the arrival of the chief, being attended by the judges of the Supreme Court, some officers of the army, a sergeant and twelve men, from Fort Knox, and a large number of citizens. At the appointed hour Tecumthe, supported by forty of his principal warriors, made his appearance, the remainder of his followers being encamped in the village and its environs. When the chief had approached within thirty or forty yards of the house, he suddenly stopped, as if awaiting some advances from the Governor. An interpreter was sent requesting him and his followers to take seats on the portico. To this Tecumthe objected—he did not think the place a suitable one for holding the conference, but preferred that it should take place in a grove of trees—to which he pointed—standing a short distance from the house. The Governor said he had no objection to the grove, except that there were no seats in it for their accommodation. Tecumthe replied, that constituted no objection to the grove, the earth being the most suitable place for the Indians, who lov-

* American State Papers, ii.. 462.
† American State Papers, 453, iii. 453, 462.

ed to repose upon the bosom of their mother. The governor yielded the point, and the benches and chairs having been removed to the spot, the conference was begun, the Indians being seated on the grass.

Tecumthe opened the meeting by stating, at length, his objections to the treaty of Fort Wayne, made by Governor Harrison in the previous year; and in the course of his speech, boldly avowed the principle of his party to be, that of resistance to every cession of land, unless made by all the tribes, who, he contended, formed but one nation. He admitted that he had threatened to kill the chiefs who signed the treaty of Fort Wayne; and that it was his fixed determination not to permit the village chiefs, in future, to manage their affairs, but to place the power with which they had been heretofore invested, in the hands of the war chiefs. The Americans, he said, had driven the Indians from the sea coast, and would soon push them into the lakes; and, while he disclaimed all intention of making war upon the United States, he declared it to be his unalterable resolution to take a stand, and resolutely oppose the further intrusion of the whites upon the Indian lands. He concluded, by making a brief but impassioned recital of the various wrongs and aggressions inflicted by the white men upon the Indians, from the commencement of the revolutionary war down to the period of that Council; all of which was calculated to arouse and inflame the minds of such of his followers as were present.

To him the Governor replied, and having taken his seat, the interpreter commenced explaining the speech to Tecumthe, who, after listening to a portion of it, sprung to his feet and began to speak with great vehemence of manner.

The Governor was surprised at his violent gestures, but as he did not understand him, thought he was making some explanation, and suffered his attention to be drawn towards Winnemac, a friendly Indian lying on the grass before him, who was renewing the priming of his pistol, which he had kept concealed from the other Indians, but in full view of the Governor. His attention, however, was again directed towards Tecumthe, by hearing General Gibson, who was intimately acquainted with the Shawanee language, say to Lieutenant Jennings, "those fellows intend mischief; you had better bring up the guard." At that moment, the followers of Tecumthe seized their tomahawks and war clubs, and sprung upon their feet, their eyes turned upon the Governor. As soon as he could disengage himself from the arm chair in which he sat, he rose, drew a small sword which he had by his side, and stood on the defensive. Captain G. R. Floyd, of the army, who stood near him, drew a dirk, and the chief Winnemac cocked his pistol. The citizens present were more numerous than the Indians, but were unarmed; some of them

procured clubs and brick-bats, and also stood on the defensive. The Rev. Mr. Winans, of the Methodist church, ran to the Governor's house, got a gun, and posted himself at the door to defend the family. During this singular scene, no one spoke, until the guard came running up, and appearing to be in the act of firing, the Governor ordered them not to do so. He then demanded of the interpreter, an explanation of what had happened, who replied that Tecumthe had interrupted him, declaring that all the Governor had said was false; and that he and the Seventeen Fires had cheated and imposed on the Indians.

The Governor then told Tecumthe that he was a bad man, and that he would hold no further communication with him; that as he had come to Vincennes under the protection of a Council-fire, he might return in safety, but that he must immediately leave the village. Here the Council terminated.

The now undoubted purposes of the Brothers being of a character necessarily leading to war, Governor Harrison proceeded to strengthen himself for the contest by preparing the militia, and posting the regular troops that were with him, under Captains Posey and Cross, at Vincennes*.

Messengers were sent out as proposed, and deputations from the natives followed, promising peace and compliance, but the Governor, having received his reinforcements, commenced his proposed progress. On the 5th of Oct. he was on the Wabash, sixty or sixty-five miles above Vincennes, at which point he built "Fort Harrison." Here one of his sentinels was fired upon, and news were received from the friendly Delawares which made the hostile purposes of the Prophet plain. The Governor then determined to move directly upon Tippecanoe, still offering peace, however. Upon the 31st of October he was near the mouth of the Vermillion river, where he built a block-house for the protection of his boats, and a place of deposite for his heavy baggage; from that point he advanced without interruption into the immediate vicinity of the Prophet's town, where he was met by ambassadors; he told them he had no hostile intentions in case the Indians were true to existing treaties, and made preparations to encamp.†

In a few moments the man who had been with me before made his appearance. I informed him that my object for the

* Dawson's Historical Narrative, 139, 160, 170, 173.—Drake's Life of Tecumthe, 125.
† Dawson, 192, 199, and 203. American State Papers, v. 776.

present was to procure a good piece of ground to encamp on, where we could get wood and water; he informed me that there was a creek to the northwest which he thought would suit our purpose. I immediately despatched two officers to examine it, and they reported that the situation was excellent. I then took leave of the chief, and a mutual promise was again made for a suspension of hostilities until we could have an interview on the following day. I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it—it was indeed admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops, that were opposed to regulars, but it afforded great facility to the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry oak land, rising about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front (towards the Indian town) and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which and near to this bank, ran a small stream clothed with willows and brushwood. Towards the left flank this bench of high land widened considerably, but became gradually narrow in the opposite direction, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank, terminated in an abrupt point. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear of this ground, at the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from each other on the left, and something more than half that distance on the right flank—these flanks were filled up, the first by two companies of mounted riflemen amounting to about one hundred and twenty men, under the command of Major-General Wells, of the Kentucky militia, who served as a Major; the other by Spencer's company of mounted riflemen, which amounted to eighty men. The front line was emposed of one battalion of United States' infantry under the command of Major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia, and on the left by one company. The rear line was composed of a battallion of United States' troops under the command of Capt. Bean, acting as major, and four companies of militia infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Decker. The regular troops of this line joined the mounted riflemen under General Wells on the left flank, and Col. Decker's battalion formed an angle with Spencer's company on the left.

Two troops of dragoons, amounting to, in the aggregate, about sixty men, were encamped in the rear of the left flank, and Capt. Parke's troop, which was larger than the other two, in the rear of the front line. Our order of encampment varied little from that above described, excepting when some peculiarity of the ground made it necessary. For a night attack the order of encampment was the order of battle, and each man slept immediately opposite to his post in the line. In the formation of my troops, I used a single rank, or what is called Indian file—because in Indian warfare where there is no

shock to resist, one rank is nearly as good as two, and in that kind of warfare the extension of line is of the first importance. Raw troops also manœuvre with much more facility in single than in double ranks. It was my constant custom to assemble all the field officers at my tent every evening by single, to give them the watchword and their instructions for the night—those given for the night of the 6th were, that each troop which formed a part of the exterior line of the encampment, should hold its own ground until relieved. The dragoons were ordered to parade in case of a night attack, with their pistols in their belts, and to act as a corps de reserve. The camp was defended by two captains' guards, consisting each of four non-commissioned officers and forty-two privates; and two subalterns' guards of twenty non-commissioned officers and privates. The whole under the command of a field officer of the day. The troops were regularly called up an hour before day, and made to continue under arms until it was quite light. On the morning of the 7th, I had risen at a quarter after four o'clock, and the signal for calling out the men would have been given in two minutes, when the attack commenced. It began on our left flank—but a signal gun was fired by the sentinels or by the guard in that direction, which made not the least resistance, but abandoned their officer and fled into camp, and the first notice which the troops of that flank had of the danger, was from the yells of the savages within a short distance of the line—but even under those circumstances the men were not wanting to themselves or the occasion. Such of them as were awake, or were easily awakened, seized their arms and took their stations; others which were more tardy, had to contend with the enemy in the doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon Capt. Barton's company of the 4th U. S. regiment, and Capt. Geiger's company of mounted riflemen, which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was exceedingly severe, and they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them. Some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle, and one or two penetrated to some distance before they were killed. I believe all the other companies were under arms and tolerably formed before they were fired on. The morning was dark and cloudy; our fires afforded a partial light, which, if it gave us some opportunity of taking our positions, was still more advantageous to the enemy, affording them the means of taking a surer aim; they were therefore extinguished. Under all these discouraging circumstances, the troops (19-20ths of whom never had been in action before) behaved in a manner that can never be too much applauded. They took their places without noise and less confusion than could have been expected from veterans placed in the same situation. As soon as I could mount my horse, I

rode to the angle that was attacked—I found that Barton's company had suffered severely and the left of Geiger's entirely broken. I immediately ordered Cook's company and the late Capt. Wentworth's, under Lieut. Peters, to be brought up from the centre of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and formed across the angle in support of Barton's and Geiger's. My attention was then engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line, where were stationed the small company of United States' riflemen (then, however, armed with muskets) and the companies of Bean, Snelling, and Prescott of the 4th regiment. I found Major Daviess forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies, and understanding that the heaviest part of the enemy's fire proceeded from some trees about fifteen or twenty paces in front of those companies, I directed the major to dislodge them with a part of the dragoons. Unfortunately the Major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front and attack his flanks. The major was mortally wounded, and his party driven back. The Indians were, however, immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position, by Capt. Snelling, at the head of his company. In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack, the fire extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank, and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warwick's company, which was posted on the right of the rear line, it was excessively severe: Capt. Spencer and his first and second lieutenants, were killed, and Captain Warwick was mortally wounded—those companies, however, still bravely maintained their posts, but Spencer had suffered so severely, and having originally too much ground to occupy, I reinforced them with Robb's company of riflemen, which had been driven, or by mistake ordered from their position on the left flank, towards the centre of the camp, and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb with Prescott's company of the 4th United States' regiment. My great object was to keep the lines entire, to prevent the enemy from breaking into the camp until daylight, which should enable me to make a general and effectual charge. With this view, I had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much; and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself, I withdrew from the front line, Snelling's, Posey's (under Lieut. Albright,) aad Scott's, and from the rear line, Wilson's companies, and drew them up upon the left flank, and at the same time, I ordered Cook's and Bean's companies, the former from the rear, and the latter from the front line, to reinforce the right flank; forseeing that at these points the enemy would make their last efforts. Maj. Wells, who commanded on the left flank, not knowing

my intentions precisely, had taken command of these companies, had charged the enemy before I had formed the body of dragoons with which I meant to support the infantry; a small detachment of these were, however, ready, and proved amply sufficient for the purpose. The Indians were driven by the infantry, at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh, where they could not be followed. Capt. Cook and Lieut. Larabee had, agreeable to my order, marched their companies to the right flank, had formed them under the fire of the enemy, and being then joined by the riflemen of that flank, had charged the Indians, killed a number, and put the rest to precipitate flight. A favorable opportunity was here offered to pursue the enemy with dragoons, but being engaged at that time on the other flank, I did not observe it till it was too late.

I have thus, sir, given you the particulars of an action, which was certainly maintained with the greatest obstinacy and perseverance, by both parties. The Indians manifested a ferocity uncommon even with them—to their savage fury our troops opposed that cool, and deliberate valor, which is characteristic of the Christian solder.*

The Americans in this battle had not more than 700 efficient men,—non-commissioned officers and privates; the Indians are believed to have had 700 or 1000 warriors. The loss of the American army was 37 killed on the field, 25 mortally wounded, and 126 wounded; that of the Indians about forty killed on the spot, the number of wounded being unknown.

Governor Harrison, although very generally popular, had enemies, and after the battle of Tippecanoe they denounced him, 1st, for suffering the Indians to point out his camping ground; 2d, for allowing himself to be surprised by his enemy; and 3d, because he sacrificed either Daviess or Owen, (accounts differed) by placing one or the other on a favorite white horse of his own, which caused the savages to make the rider an especial mark. To these charges elaborate replies have been made: we cannot do more than say, to the 1st, that although as Harrison relates, the Indians pointed out the creek upon which was the site of his encampment, his own officers found, examined, and approved that particular site, and other military men have since approved their selection; to the 2d, the only reply needed is, that the facts were

*American State Papers, v. 777, 778.

just as stated in the dispatch we have quoted; and to the 3d, that Daviess was killed on foot, and Owen on a horse not General Harrison's: the last story probably arose from the fact that Taylor, a fellow aid of Owen, was mounted on a horse of the Governor's; but Taylor was not killed, though the horse he rode was.

The battle of Tippecanoe was fought upon the 7th of November, and upon the 4th of the following month Harrison writes that the frontiers never enjoyed more perfect repose; though it seems to be clear that the disposition to do mischief was by no means extinguished among the savages.*

During this year two events took place, beside the battle of Tippecanoe, which make it especially noticeable in the history of the West; the one was, the building of the steamer New Orleans, the first boat built beyond the Alleghanies; the other was the series of Earthquakes which destroyed New Madrid, and affected the whole valley. Of the latter event, we give the following description from the pen of Dr. Hildreth.†

The centre of its violence was thought to be near the Little Prairie, twenty-five or thirty miles below New Madrid; the vibrations from which were felt all over the valley of the Ohio, as high up as Pittsburgh. The first shock was felt in the night of the 16th of December, 1811, and was repeated at intervals, with decreasing violence, into February following. New Madrid, having suffered more than any other town on the Mississippi from its effects, was considered as situated near the focus from whence the undulations proceeded.

From an eye-witness, who was then about forty miles below that town, in a flat boat, on his way to New Orleans with a load of produce, and who narrated the scene to me, the agitation which convulsed the earth and the waters of the mighty Mississippi filled every living creature with horror. The first shock took place in the night, while the boat was lying at the shore in company with several others. At this period there was danger apprehended from the southern Indians, it being soon after the battle of Tippecanoe, and for safety several boats kept in company, for mutual defence in case of an attack. In the middle of the night there was a a terrible shock and jarring of the boats, so that the crews

* Dawson 204 to 208.—McAffee's History of the War., 18 to 38.—Todd and Drake's account, 34 to 37.—Cist's Miscellany, ii. 298.—American State Papers, v. 779.

† In Carey's Museum for April 1789, p. 363, is an account of the Great Earthquake of 1727.—On those of 1811, see also Senator Linn's letter in Wetmore's Missouri Gazetteer, (St. Louis, 1837,) 134 to 142.—Drake's Picture of Cincinnati.—Flint's Recollections.

were all awakened and hurried on deck with their weapons of defence in their hands, thinking the Indians were rushing on board. The ducks, geese, swans, and various other aquatic birds, whose numberless flocks were quietly resting in the eddies of the river, were thrown into the greatest tumult, and with loud screams expressed their alarm in accents of terror. The noise and commotion soon became hushed, and nothing could be discovered to excite apprehension, so that the boatmen concluded that the shock was occasioned by the falling in of a large mass of the bank of the river near them. As soon as it was light enough to distinguish objects, the crews were all up making ready to depart. Directly a loud roaring and hissing was heard, like the escape of steam from a boiler, accompanied by the most violent agitation of the shores and tremendous boiling up of the waters of the Mississippi in huge swells, rolling the waters below back on the descending stream, and tossing the boats about so violently that the men with difficulty could keep on their feet. The sandbars and points of the islands gave way, swallowed up in the tumultuous bosom of the river; carrying down with them the cottonwood trees, cracking and crashing, tossing their arms to and fro, as if sensible of their danger, while they disappeared beneath the flood. The water of the river, which the day before was tolerably clear, being rather low, changed to a reddish hue, and became thick with mud thrown up from its bottom; while the surface, lashed violently by the agitation of the earth beneath, was covered with foam, which, gathering into masses the size of a barrel, floated along on the trembling surface. The earth on the shores opened in wide fissures, and closing again, threw the water, sand and mud, in huge jets, higher than the tops of the trees. The atmosphere was filled with a thick vapor or gas, to which the light imparted a purple tinge, altogether different in appearance from the autumnal haze of Indian summer, or that of smoke. From the temporary check to the current, by the heaving up of the bottom, the sinking of the banks and sandbars into the bed of the stream, the river rose in a few minutes five or six feet; and, impatient of the restraint, again rushed forward with redoubled impetuosity, hurrying along the boats, now set loose by the horror-struck boatmen, as in less danger on the water than at the shore, where the banks threatened every moment to destroy them by the falling earth, or carry them down in the vortices of the sinking masses. Many boats were overwhelmed in this manner, and their crews perished with them. It required the utmost exertions of the men to keep the boat, of which my informant was the owner, in the middle of the river, as far from the shores, sandbars and islands as they could. Numerous boats were wrecked on the snags and old trees thrown up from the bot-

tom of the Mississippi, where they had quietly rested for ages, while others were sunk or stranded on the sandbars and Islands. At New Madrid several boats were carried by the reflux of the current into a small stream that puts into the river just above the town, and left on the ground by the returning water a considerable distance from the Mississippi. A man who belonged to one of the company boats was left for several hours on the upright trunk of an old snag in the middle of the river, against which his boat was wrecked and sunk. It stood with the roots a few feet above the water, and to these he contrived to attach himself, while every fresh shock threw the agitated waves against him, and kept gradually settling the tree deeper into the mud at the bottom, bringing him nearer and nearer to the deep muddy waters, which, to his terrified imagination, seemed desirous of swallowing him up. While hanging here, calling with piteous shouts for aid, several boats passed by without being able to relieve him, until finally a skiff was well manned, rowed a short distance above him, and dropped down stream close to the snag, from which he tumbled into the boat as she floated by. The scenes which occurred for several days, during the repeated shocks, were horrible. The most destructive took place in the beginning, although they were repeated for many weeks, becoming lighter and lighter until they died away in slight vibrations, like the jarring of steam in an immense boiler. The sulphurated gases that were discharged during the shocks, tainted the air with their noxious effluvia, and so strongly impregnated the water of the river, to the distance of one hundred and fifty miles below, that it could hardly be used for any purpose for a number of days. New Madrid, which stood on a bluff bank, fifteen or twenty feet above the summer floods, sunk so low that the next rise covered it to the depth of five feet. The bottoms of several fine lakes in the vicinity were elevated so as to become dry land, and have since been planted with corn!*

[To this interesting sketch by Dr. Hildreth, we append a few particulars.

In the town of Cape Girardeau, were several edifices of stone and brick. The walls of these buildings were cracked, in some instances from the ground to the top, and wide fissures were left.

The "great shake," as the people called it, was so severe in the county of St. Louis, that the fowls fell from the trees as if dead; crockery fell from the shelves and was broken,

* American Pioneer, i. 129.

and many families left their cabins, from fear of being crushed beneath their ruins.

Mr. Bradbury, an English scientific explorer, was on a keel boat passing down the river at the time. On the night of the 14th they called at New Madrid for some necessary supplies. The writer says:—

"I was much disappointed in this place, as I found only a few straggling houses, situated round a plain of from two to three hundred acres in extent. There are only two stores, and those very indifferently furnished."

On the night of the 15th, the keel boat was moored to a small Island, not far from Little Prairie, where the crew, all Frenchmen, were frightened, almost to helplessness, by the terrible convulsions.

Mr. B. says:—

"Immediately after the shock, we noticed the time, and found it near two o'clock. In half an hour another shock came on, terrible indeed, but not equal to the first." [This shock made a chasm in the Island, four feet wide and eighty yards in length. After noticing successive shocks, the writer states:]—"I had already noticed that the sound which was heard at the time of every shock, always preceded it at least a second, and that it always proceeded from the same point, and went off in an opposite direction. I now found that the shock came from a little northward of east, and proceeded to the westward. At daylight we had counted twenty-seven shocks, during our stay on the Island.*

Mr. B. records a series of shocks that continued daily, as he passed down the river, until the 21st of December.

The late Hon. L. F. Linn, in a letter to the Hon. Mr. Davis, Chairman of the Committee on Commerce, dated February 1st, 1836, "relative to the obstructions to the navigation of the White, Big Black, and St. Francis rivers," has given a lucid geographical and descriptive sketch of this part of Missouri, from which we have room for a brief extract.

"The memorable earthquake of December, 1811, after shaking the valley of the Mississippi to its centre, vibrated along the courses of the rivers and valleys, and passing the primitive mountain barriers, died away along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. In the region now under consideration, during the continuance of so appalling a phenomenon, which com-

* Travels in the Interior of America, by John Bradbury, pp. 199 to 207.

menced by distant rumbling sounds, succeeded by discharges as if a thousand pieces of artillery were suddenly exploded, the earth rocked *to and fro*, vast chasms opened, from whence issued columns of water, sand, and coal, accompanied by hissing sounds, caused, perhaps, by the escape of pent-up steam, while ever and anon flashes of electricity gleamed through the troubled clouds of night, rendering the darkness doubly horrible. The current of the Mississippi, pending this elemental strife, was driven back upon its source with the greatest velocity for several hours, in consequence of an elevation of its bed. But this noble river was not thus to be stayed in its course. Its accumulated waters came booming on, and, o'ertopping the barrier thus suddenly raised, carried everything before them with resistless power. Boats, then floating on its surface, shot down the declivity like an arrow from a bow, amid roaring billows and the wildest commotion. A few days' action of its powerful current sufficed to wear away every vestige of the barrier thus strangely interposed, and its waters moved on in their wonted channel to the ocean. The day that succeeded this night of terror brought no solace in its dawn. Shock followed shock; a dense black cloud of vapor overshadowed the land, through which no struggling sunbeam found its way to cheer the desponding heart of man, who, in silent communion with himself, was compelled to acknowledge his weakness and dependence on the everlasting God. The appearances that presented themselves after the subsidence of the principal commotion were such as strongly support an opinion heretofore advanced. Hills had disappeared, and lakes were found in their stead; and numerous lakes became elevated ground, over the surface of which vast heaps of sand were scattered in every direction, while in many places the earth for miles was sunk below the general level of the surrounding country, without being covered with water, leaving an *impression in miniature of a catastrophe much more important in its effects, which had, perhaps, preceded it ages before.* One of the lakes formed on this occasion is sixty or seventy miles in length, and from three to twenty in breadth. It is in some places very shallow; in others from fifty to one hundred feet deep, which is much more than the depth of the Mississippi river in that quarter. In sailing over its surface in the light canoe, the voyager is struck with astonishment at beholding the giant trees of the forest standing partially exposed amid a waste of waters, branchless and leafless. But the wonder is still further increased on casting the eye on the dark-blue profound, to observe cane-brakes covering its bottom, over which a mammoth species of testudo is seen dragging his slow length along, while countless myriads of fish are sporting through the aquatic thickets.]*

* Wetmore's Gazetteer, p. 139, 140.

In the midst of this terrible convulsion, the first of western steamers was pursuing her way toward the south. But before we give a sketch of her progress, let us re-call to the minds of our readers the previous steps taken in regard to steam navigation.

In 1781, the invention of Watts' double-acting engine was made public; and in 1784 it was perfected.* Previous to this time many attempts had been made to apply steam to navigation, but, from want of a proper engine, all had been failures; and the first efforts to apply the new machine to boats were made in America by John Fitch and James Rumsey. The conception by Fitch, if we may trust the statement made by Robert Wickliffe, was formed as early as June, 1780, anterior to the announcement of Watts' discovery of the double-acting engine, though eleven years after his single engine had been patented.

This conception Fitch said he communicated to Rumsey. The latter gentleman, however, proposed a plan so entirely different from that of his fellow countrymen, (a plan which he is said to have originated in 1782, or '83,) that we cannot think him a plagiarist. The idea of steam navigation was not new; it was the question,—How shall we use the steam? which was to be so answered as to immortalize the successful respondent:—and to this question Fitch replied, By using Watts' engine so as to propel a system of paddles at the sides of the boat; while Rumsey said, By applying the old atmospheric engine to pump up water at the bow and force it out at the stern of your vessel, and so drive her by water acting upon water. Referring our readers, therefore, to the authorities quoted below, relative to Fitch and others, we must be content with saying that all failed until Fulton, in 1807, launched his vessel upon the Hudson.—Fitch's failure, however, was not from any fault in his principle, and had his knowledge of mechanics equalled Fulton's, or had his means been more ample, or had he tried his boat on the Hudson where coaches could not compete with him, as they did on the level banks of the Delaware, we cannot doubt he would have entirely succeeded twenty years before his plans were realized by another.†

* Renwick on steam engine, 260.

† American Pioneer, i. 33 to 36. Sparks' Amer. Biography, New Series, vol. vi. 790, 104, 111, 115. Renwick on the Steam Engine, 209. 260. Sparks' Washington, ix. 68, 104, Cincinnati Directory, for 1819, p. 64. Howe's Virginia, 336 to 340. Collin's Kentucky, 479.

[In the Columbian Magazine, published in Philadelphia, in (we think) 1786, is a plate showing the steamboat made by Fitch with its paddles, and a description of its action on the Delaware. If John Fitch had received the patronage necessary, it is probable his boat would have been successful.]

When Fulton had at length attained, by slow degrees, success upon the Hudson, he began to look elsewhere for other fields of action, and the west, which had attracted the attention of both of his American predecessors, could not fail to catch his eye. Mr. Latrobe, who spoke as will be seen by authority, says :—

The complete success attending the experiments in steam navigation made on the Hudson and the adjoining waters previous to the year 1809, turned the attention of the principal projectors to the idea of its application on the western rivers ; and in the month of April of that year, Mr. Roosevelt of New York, pursuant to an agreement with Chancellor Livingston and Mr. Fulton, visited those rivers, with the purpose of forming an opinion whether they admitted of steam navigation or not. At this time two boats, the North River and the Clermont, were running on the Hudson. Mr. R. surveyed the rivers from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, and as his report was favorable, it was decided to build a boat at the former town. This was done under his direction, and in the course of 1811 the first boat was launched on the waters of the Ohio. It was called the " New Orleans," and intended to ply between Natchez, in the State of Mississippi, and the city whose name it bore. In October it left Pittsburgh for its experimental voyage. On this occasion no freight or passengers were taken, the object being merely to bring the boat to her station. Mr. R., his young wife and family, Mr. Baker, the engineer, Andrew Jack, the pilot, and six hands, with a few domestics, formed her whole burden. There were no wood-yards at that time, and constant delays were unavoidable. When, as related, Mr. R. had gone down the river to reconnoitre, he had discovered two beds of coal, about one hundred and twenty miles below the Rapids at Louisville, and now took tools to work them, intending to load the vessel with the coal, and to employ it as fuel, instead of constantly detaining the boat while wood was procured from the banks.

Late at night on the fourth day after quitting Pittsburgh, they arrived in safety at Louisville, having been but seventy hours descending upwards of seven hundred miles. The novel appearance of the vessel, and the fearful rapidity with which it made its passage over the broad reaches of the river, excited a mixture of terror and surprise among many of the settlers on the banks, whom the rumor of such an invention had never reached; and it is related that on the unexpected arrival of the boat before Louisville, in the course of a fine still moonlight night, the extraordinary sound which filled the air as the pent-up steam was suffered to escape from the valves, on rounding to, produced a general alarm, and multitudes in the town rose from their beds to ascertain the cause. I have heard that the general impression among the good Kentuckians was, that the comet had fallen into the Ohio; but this does not rest upon the same foundation as the other facts which I lay before you, and which I may at once say, I had directly from the lips of the parties themselves. The small depth of water in the Rapids prevented the boat from pursuing her voyage immediately; and during the consequent detention of three weeks in the upper part of the Ohio, several trips were successfully made between Louisville and Cincinnati. In fine the waters rose, and in the course of the last week in November, the voyage was resumed, the depth of water barely admitting their passage.*

This steamer, after being nearly overwhelmed by the earthquakes, reached Natchez at the close of the first week of January, 1812.

[Mr. Bradbury, from whom we have quoted, and his traveling companion, Mr. Bridges, took their passage on the boat from Natchez to New Orleans on its first downward trip.

He states:—

"In the morning of the 6th inst., (January, 1812,) I went on board the steamboat from Pittsburgh; she had passed us at the mouth of the Arkansas, three hundred and forty-one miles above Natchez; she was a very handsome vessel, of 410 tons burden, and was impelled by a powerful engine, also made at Pittsburgh, from whence she had come in less than twenty days, although 1,900 miles distance."]†

* Rambler in North America, vol. i. 87.

† Travels in the Interior of America, p. 208.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BRITISH AND INDIAN WAR.

Movements of Tecumthe.—Events in the North-west preceding the War.—Declaration of War with Great Britain.—Surrender of Michigan by Governor Hull.—Operations of Governor Edwards in Illinois.—Massacre at Chicago.—Attack on Fort Harrison.—Governor Harrison appointed Commander-in-Chief of the North-western Army.—Expedition against the Illinois Indians.—Defeat at French-town.—Siege of Fort Meigs.—Gallant Defence of Fort Stevenson.—Victory of Commodore Perry on Lake Erie.—Battle of the Thames.—Expeditions of Captain Holmes and General McArthur.—Conclusion of the War.

[At the time of the battle of Tippecanoe, Tecumthe, the master spirit in Indian diplomacy, was amongst the southern Indians, to bring them into the grand confederacy he had projected. On his return, where he supposed he had made a strong and permanent impression, a few days after the disastrous battle, when he saw the dispersion of his followers, the disgrace of his brother, and the destruction of his long cherished hopes, he was exceedingly angry. The rash presumptuousness of the Prophet, in attacking the American army at Tippecanoe, destroyed his own power and crushed the grand confederacy before it was completed.

When Tecumthe first met the prophet, he reproached him in the bitterest terms, and when the latter attempted to palliate his conduct, he seized him by the hair, shook him violently, and threatened to take his life.*

Tecumthe immediately sent word to Governor Harrison, that he had returned from the south, and that he was ready to visit the President as had been previously proposed. The Governor gave him permission to proceed to Washington, but not as the leader of a party of Indians, as he desired. The proud chief, who had appeared at Vincennes in 1810, with a large party of braves, had no desire to appear before his "Great Father," the President, without his retinue. The proposed visit was declined, and the intercourse between Tecumthe and the Governor terminated.

In June, he sought an interview with the Indian agent at Fort Wayne; disavowed any intention of making war on the United States, and reproached General Harrison for having marched against his people during his absence. The agent replied to this; Tecumthe listened with frigid indifference,

* Brown's Illinois, p. 282.—Billy Caldwell's verbal statement to the editor.

and after making a few general remarks, with a haughty air, left the Council-house, and departed for Fort Malden, in Upper Canada, where he joined the British standard.†

[We have reserved a series of events pertaining to Missouri, the settlement of the Boone's Lick country, the Indian War, the Territorial Government, and sketches of St. Louis, for the Appendix of this volume. Much also pertaining to Illinois will also appear in the same arrangement. But there are some facts more directly connected with the war with the British and Indians in 1812, that must have a place in this chapter.]

We have already referred to those causes of complaint on the part of the United States against England, which at length led to the war of 1812: they were, the interference with American trade enforced by the blockade system; the impressment of American seamen; the encouragement of the Indians in their barbarities; and the attempt to dismember the Union by the mission of Henry. Through the winter of 1811–12, these causes of provocation were discussed in Congress and the public prints, and a war with Great Britain openly threatened: even in December, 1811, the proposal to invade Canada in the following spring before the ice broke up, was debated in the House of Representatives, and in particular was urged the necessity of such operations at the outset of the anticipated contest, as should wrest from the enemy the command of the upper lakes, and secure the neutrality or favor of the Indian tribes by the conquest of Upper Canada.

While, therefore, measures were taken to seize the Lower province, other steps were arranged for the defence of the north-west frontier against Indian hostility, and which, in the event of a rupture with Great Britain, would enable the United States to obtain the command of Lake Erie. These steps, however, were by no means suitable to the attainment of the object last named; in place of a naval force upon Lake Erie, the necessity of which had been pressed upon the Executive by Governor Hull of Michigan Territory, in three memorials, one of them as early as the year 1809, a second dated March 6th, and a third on or about April 11th, 1812; and although the same policy was pointedly urged upon the Secretary of War by General Armstrong, in a private letter of January

*Brown's History of Illinois, 283.

2nd, yet the government proposed to use no other than military means, and hoped by the presence of two thousand soldiers, to effect the capture or destruction of the British fleet. Nay, so blind was the War Department, that it refused to increase the number of troops to three thousand, although informed by General Hull, that that was the least number from which success could be hoped.

When, therefore, Governor, now General Hull (to whom, in consideration of his revolutionary services, and his supposed knowledge of the country and the natives, the command of the army destined for the conquest of the Canadas had been confided) commenced his march from Dayton on the 1st of June, it was with means which he himself regarded as utterly inadequate to the object aimed at, a fact which sufficiently explains his vascillating, nerveless conduct. Through that whole month, he and his troops toiled on toward the Maumee, busy with their roads, bridges and block-houses.

On the 24th, advices from the Secretary of War, dated on the 18th, came to hand, but not a word contained in them made it probable that the long expected war would be immediately declared, although Col. McArthur at the same time received word from Chillicothe warning him, on the authority of Thomas Worthington, then Senator from Ohio, that before the letter reached him, the declaration would have been made public. This information McArthur laid before General Hull; and when, upon reaching the Maumee, that Commander proposed to place his baggage, stores, and sick on board a vessel, and send them by water to Detroit, the backwoodsman warned him of the danger, and refused to trust his own property on board.

Hull, however, treated the report of war as the old story which had been current through all the spring, and refused to believe it possible that the government would not give him information at the earliest moment that the measure was resolved on. He, accordingly, on the 1st of July, embarked his disabled men and most of his goods on board the Cuyahoga Packet, suffering his aid-de-camp in his carelessness to send by her even his instructions and army-roll, and then proceeded upon his way. The next day, July 2nd, a letter of the same date with that received upon the 24th of June, reached

him, and apprized him that the declaration of war was indeed that day made, and before his astonishment was over, word was brought of the capture of his packet off Malden, with all his official papers. The conduct of the Executive at this time was certainly most remarkable; having sent an insufficient force to effect a most important object, it next did all in its power to ensure the destruction of that force.

On the 1st of June, Mr. Madison recommended war to the Senate; on the 3d of June, Mr. Calhoun reported in favor of it, and in an able manifesto set forth the reasons; and, on the 19th, proclamation of the contest was made. Upon the day preceding, Congress having passed the needful act, the Secretary of War wrote to General Hull one letter saying nothing of the matter, and sent it by a special messenger,—and a second containing the vital news, which he confided to a half organized post as far as Cleveland, and thence literally to accident. Nor is this all: while the General of the Northwestern army was thus, not uninformed merely, but actually misled, letters franked by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, bore the notice of what had been done to the British post of St. Joseph, near the north-western shore of Lake Huron; and also to Malden, which place it reached upon the 28th of June. And as if to complete the circle of folly, the misled General, through neglect, suffered his official papers, which he owned ought never to have been out of his possession, to pass into that of the foe, and thus informed them of his purposes and his strength.*

That strength, however, was such, compared with their own, that no effort was made to prevent the march of the Americans to Detroit, nor to interfere with their passage across the river to Sandwich, where they established themselves on the 12th of July, preparatory to attacking Malden itself, and commencing the conquest and conversion of Upper Canada. And here, at once, the incapacity of Hull showed itself; by his own confession he took every step under the influence of two sets of fears; he dared not, on the one hand, act boldly, for fear that his incompetent force would be all destroyed; while,

* For the foregoing facts see Manifesto of the Senate, June 3d, 1812, American State Papers, iii. 567.—Niles' Register, i. 72, 311, 459, vol. ii. 5, 86, 239 and 273.—Madison's Message, November 4, 1812, in American State Papers, i. 80.—Gov. Hull's Defence, 24 to 33 and 50.—Armstrong's Notices, i. 48 and Appendix. p. 234. Hull's Defence, pp. 7, 10, 11, 16.—Cist's Miscellany, ii. 298.—McAffee's History of the War, from 50 to 60.

on the other hand, he dared not refuse to act, for fear his militia, already uneasy, would utterly desert him.

Thus embarrassed, he proclaimed freedom and the need of submission to the Canadians, held out inducements to the British militia to desert, and to the Indians to keep quiet, and sat still at Sandwich, striving to pacify his blood thirsty backwoodsmen, who itched to be at Malden. To amuse his own army, and keep them from trying dangerous experiments, he found cannon needful to the assault of the British posts, and spent three weeks making carriages for five guns. While these were under way, Colonel Cass and Colonel Miller, by an attack upon the advanced parties of the enemy, demonstrated the willingness and power of their men to push their conquests, if the chance were given, but Hull refused the opportunity; and when at length the cannon were prepared, the ammunition placed in wagons, and the moment for assault agreed on, the General, upon hearing that a proposed attack on the Niagara frontier had not been made, and that troops from that quarter were moving westward, suddenly abandoned the enterprise, and with most of his army, on the night of the 7th of August, returned to Detroit, having effected nothing except the destruction of all confidence in himself, on the part of the whole force under his control, officers and privates.

Meanwhile, upon the 29th of July, Colonel Proctor had reached Malden, and perceiving instantly the power which the position of that post gave him over the supplies of the army of the United States, he commenced a series of operations, the object of which was to cut off the communications of Hull with Ohio, and thus not merely neutralize all active operations on his part, but starve him into surrender or force him to detail his whole army, in order to keep open his way to the only point from which supplies could reach him. A proper force on lake Erie, or the capture of Malden, would have prevented this annoying and fatal mode of warfare, but the imbecility of the government and that of the General, combined to favor the plans of Proctor.*

Having by his measures stopped the stores on their way to Detroit, at the river Raisin, he next defeated the insufficient

* See Hull's Defence, 42 to 71. Hull's Proclamation in Brown's History of Illinois, p. 302, Note. McAffee, 61; also ibid, pp. 76, 77. Col. Cass' Letter in Niles' Register, ii. 383. Armstrong's Notices, i. 24, 25.

band of two hundred men under Van Horn, sent by Hull to escort them; and so far withstood that of five hundred under Miller, as to cause Hull to recall the remnant of that victorious and gallant band, though it had completely routed the British and Indians. By these means, Proctor amused the Americans until General Brock reached Malden, which he did upon the 13th of August, and prepared to attempt the conquest of Detroit itself.

And here again occurred a most singular want of skill on the part of the Americans. In order to prevent the forces in Upper Canada from being combined against Hull, General Dearborn had been ordered to make a diversion in his favor at Niagara and Kingston, but in place of doing this, he made an armistice with the British commanders, which enabled them to turn their attention entirely to the more distant west, and left Hull to shift for himself. On the 14th of Aug., therefore, while a third party, under McArthur, was despatched by Hull to open his communications with the river Raisin, though by a new and impracticable road, Gen. Brock appeared at Sandwich, and began to erect batteries to protect his farther operations. These batteries Hull would not suffer any to molest, saying, that if the enemy did not fire on him he would not on them, and though, when summoned to surrender upon the 15th, he absolutely refused, yet upon the 16th, without a blow struck, the Governor and General crowned his course of indecision and unmanly fear, by surrendering the town of Detroit and territory of Michigan, together with fourteen hundred brave men longing for battle, to three hundred English soldiers, four hundred Canadian militia disguised in red coats, and a band of Indian allies.*

For this conduct he was accused of treason and cowardice, and found guilty of the latter. Nor can we doubt the justice of the sentence. However brave he may have been personally, he was, as a commander, a coward; and moreover, he was influenced, confessedly, by his fears as a father, lest his daughter and her children should fall into the hands of the Indians. In truth, his faculties seem to have been paralyzed by fear; fear that he should fail; fear that his troops would be unfair to him, fear that the savages would spare

* McAffee, from 92 to 85. Armstrong's Notices, i. 26 to 33; ibid. i. Appendix, No. 10, p. 206. Hull's Trial. Do. Debeuse. Terms of Capitulation, McAffee, 90.

no one if opposed with vigor; fear of some undefined and horrid evil impending. McAffee accuses him of intemperance, but no effort was made on his trial to prove this, and we have no reason to think it a true charge; but his conduct was like that of a drunken man, without sense or spirit.

But the fall of Detroit, though the leading misfortune of this unfortunate summer, was not the only one. Word, as we have stated, had been sent through the kindness of some friend, under a frank from the American Secretary of the Treasury, informing the British commander at St. Joseph, of the declaration of war; while Lieut. Hanks, commanding the American fortress at Mackinac, received no notice from any source. The consequence was an attack upon the key of the northern lakes on the 17th of July, by a force of British, Canadians and savages, numbering, in all, 1021: the garrison amounting to but fifty-seven effective men, felt unable to withstand so formidable a body, and to avoid the constantly threatened Indian massacre, surrendered as prisoners of war and were dismissed on parole.*

["The whole population of Michigan," says Gov. Hull, "of which Detroit was the Capital, was between four and five thousand souls; their settlements were on the Miami [Maumee] of Lake Erie, the river Raisin, Eros Rouge, the Detroit river, Lake St. Clair, and the Isle of Mackinac. The greater part were Canadians. They were miserable farmers, paid little attention to agriculture, and depended principally on hunting, fishing, and trading with the Indians, for support. The produce of the territory, in the substantial articles of living, was by no means sufficient for the subsistence of the inhabitants. Many were supplied with beef, pork, flour, and corn, principally from the State of Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania."†]

[The Indians in northern Illinois, and the country bordering on Lake Michigan, had manifested hostile feelings toward the Americans before the battle of Tippecanoe. Governor Edwards, who was indefatigable in his efforts to protect the settlements, employed trusty Frenchmen, who had traded with these Indians, and who could still pass under that guise, as spies in the Indian country. Their communications, in a

* For the British account of Hull's surrender, see Niles' Register, iii. 14, 33, 265 to 268. For Col. Cass' Report, Niles, iii. 37 to 39. For Gov. Hull's Report, ibid, 52 to 57. For Articles of Capitulation, ibid, 13; various anecdotes, ibid, 44.

†Copied from Brown's Illinois, p. 301. Note.

plain unlettered style, have been examined on the files of the State Department of Illinois. They are often particular and minute in giving the position of Indian villages, number of the braves, sources from whence they received their supplies, the names of head men, and other details.

These facts, at short intervals, were communicated to the War Department, as proofs that the Indians were hostile, and were urged in his repeated applications to the War Department for protection to the inhabitants of that frontier territory.

We now come to a mournful and disastrous event;—*the massacre at Chicago.* And in this sketch, beside the State papers and Niles' Register, (iii. 155 and iv. 160) we have availed ourselves of an address delivered at Chicago by Wm. H. Brown, Esq.;—A Narrative of the Massacre at Chicago, by John H. Kinzie, Esq., who was born in a trading house on that spot;—and the History of Illinois, by Henry Brown, Esq. A large portion of the sketch by the last writer is made up from the simple and truthful narrative of Mr. Kinzie.

A small trading post had been established at Chicago in the period of the French explorations, but no village formed. It was one of the thoroughfares in the excursions of both traders and Indians. By the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, negotiated with the Pottawatomies and Miamies, &c., they agreed to relinquish their right to "one piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of Chicago river, emptying into the south-west end of Lake Michigan, *where a fort formerly stood.*"*

In 1804, a small fort was erected here by the United States' government. It stood on the spot where the fort stood in 1833, but it was differently constructed, having two "block-houses on the southern side, and on the northern side, a sally-port, or subterranean passage from the parade-ground to the river."† It was called Fort Dearborn.

The officers in 1812, were Captain ——— Heald, the commanding officer, Lieutenant Helm, and Ensign Ronan, (the two last very young men) and the Surgeon, Dr. Voorhees, with seventy-five men, very few of whom were effective.

Friendly intercourse had existed between these troops and

* Indian Treaties, Washington, 1826, p. 51.

†Kinzie, p. 5.

individuals and bands of neighboring Indians. The principal chiefs and braves of the Pottawatomie nation visited Fort Malden on the Canada side annually, received presents to a large amount, and were in alliance with Great Britain.—Many Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, Ottawas, and Shawanese were in the battle of Tippecanoe, yet the principal chiefs in the immediate vicinity were on amicable terms with the Americans, and gave proof of it, by their rescue of those who were saved.

Besides those persons attached to the garrison, there was the family of Mr. Kinzie, who had been engaged in the fur trade at that spot from 1804, and a few Canadians, or *engages*, with their wives and children, who were attached to the same establishment.

On the 7th of April, a marauding party of Winnebagoes, attacked Mr. Lee's settlement, at a place called Hardscrabble, about four miles from Chicago, and massacred a Mr. White, and a Frenchman in his employ. Two other men escaped. This was near the junction of the canal with the south branch of the Chicago. For some days after this there were signs of hostile Indians, and repeated alarms at the garrison, but the whole passed off in quietness until all apprehension was dismissed.

On the afternoon of the 7th of August, *Winnemeg*, or Catfish, a trust-worthy Pottawatomie chief arrived at the post, bringing dispatches from Governor Hull, the commander-in-chief in the north-west. These dispatches announced the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain; that General Hull, at the head of the army in the north-west, was on his way from Fort Wayne to Detroit:—and that the British troops had taken Mackinac.

His orders to Captain Heald, were, "to evacuate the post, if practicable, and, in that event, to distribute the property belonging to the United States, in the fort, and in the factory or agency, to the Indians in the neighborhood.

"After having delivered his dispatches, Winnemeg requested a private interview with Mr. Kinzie, who had taken up his residence in the fort. He stated to Mr. Kinzie that he was acquainted with the purport of the communications he had brought, and begged him to ascertain if it were the intention of Captain Heald to evacuate the post. He advised strongly that such a step should not be taken, since the garrison was

well supplied with ammunition, and with provision, for six months; it would, therefore, he thought, be far better to remain until a reinforcement could be sent to their assistance. If, however, Captain Heald should decide on leaving the post, it should, by all means, be done immediately. The Pottawatomies, through whose country they must pass, being ignorant of Winnemeg's mission, a forced march might be made before the hostile Indians were prepared to interrupt them.

Of this advice, so earnestly given, Captain Heald was immediately informed. He replied that it was his intention to evacuate the post, but that inasmuch as he had received orders to distribute the United States property, he should not feel justified in leaving until he had collected the Indians in the neighborhood, and made an equitable division among them.

Winnemeg then suggested the expediency of marching out and leaving all things standing — possibly, while the savages were engaged in a partition of the spoils, the troops might effect their retreat unmolested. This advice was strongly seconded by Mr. Kinzie, but did not meet the approbation of the commanding officer.

The order for evacuating the post was read next morning upon parade. It is difficult to understand why Capt. Heald in such an emergency, omitted the usual form of calling a council of war, with his officers. Perhaps it arose from a want of harmonious feeling between himself and one of his subalterns—Ensign Ronan — a high-spirited, and somewhat overbearing, but brave and generous young man. In the course of the day, finding no council was called, the officers waited upon Capt. Heald, to be informed what course he intended to pursue. When they learned his intention to leave the post, they remonstrated with him upon the following grounds:

First. It was highly improbable that the command would be permitted to pass through the country in safety, to Fort Wayne. For, although it had been said that some of the chiefs had opposed an attack upon the fort, planned the preceding autumn, yet, it was well known, that they had been actuated in that matter by motives of private regard to one family, and not to any general friendly feeling towards the Americans; and that, at any rate, it was hardly to be expected that these few individuals would be able to control the whole tribe, who were thirsting for blood. In the next place, their march must necessarily be slow, as their movements must be accommodated to the helplessness of the women and children, of whom there were a number with the detachment. That of their small force, some of the soldiers were superannuated and others invalid; therefore, since the course to be pursued was left discretional, their advice was to remain where they were, and fortify themselves as strongly as possi-

ble. Succors from the other side of the peninsula might arrive before they could be attacked by the British from Mackinac, and even should there not, it were far better to fall into the hands of the latter, than to become the victims of the savages.

Capt. Heald argued in reply, "that a special order had been issued by the War Department, that no post should be surrendered without battle having been given; and that his force was totally inadequate to an engagement with the Indians. That he should, unquestionably, be censured for remaining, when there appeared a prospect of a safe march through, and that upon the whole, he deemed it expedient to assemble the Indians, distribute the property among them, and then ask of them an escort to Fort Wayne, with the promise of a considerable reward upon their safe arrival—adding, that he had full confidence in the friendly professions of the Indians, from whom, as well as from the soldiers, the capture of Mackinac had been kept a profound secret."

From this time the officers held themselves aloof, and spoke but little upon the subject, though they considered the project of Capt. Heald little short of madness. The dissatisfaction among the soldiers hourly increased, until it reached a high degree of insubordination. Upon one occasion, as Captain Heald was conversing with Mr. Kinzie, upon the parade, he said, "I could not remain, even if I thought it best, for I have but a small store of provisions." "Why, Captain," said a soldier, who stood near, forgetting all etiquette, in the excitement of the moment, "you have cattle enough to last the troops six months." "But," replied Captain Heald, "I have no salt to preserve the beef with." "Then jerk* it," said the man, "as the Indians do their venison."

The Indians now became daily more unruly. Entering the fort in defiance of the sentinels, they made their way without ceremony into the quarters of the officers. On one occasion, an Indian took up a rifle and fired it in the parlor of the commanding officer, as an expression of defiance. Some were of opinion, that this was intended, among the young men, as a signal for an attack. The old Chiefs passed backward and forward, among the assembled groups, with the appearance of the most lively agitation, while the squaws rushed to and fro in great excitement, and evidently prepared for some fearful scene. Any further manifestation of ill-feeling was, however, suppressed for the present, and Capt. Heald, strange as it may seem, continued to entertain a conviction of his having created so amicable a disposition among the Indians, as would ensure the safety of the command, on their march to Fort Wayne.

*This is done by cutting the meat in thin slices, placing it upon a scaffold and making a slow fire under it, which dries and smokes it at the same time.

During this excitement amongst the Indians, a runner arrived with a message from Tecumthe, with the news of the capture of Mackinac, the defeat of Van Horne, and the retreat of Gen. Hull from Canada. He desired them to arm immediately; and intimated, that he had no doubt but Hull would soon be compelled to surrender.*

In this precarious condition, matters remained until the 12th of August, when a council was held with the Indians who collected from the vicinity. None of the military officers attended but Capt. Heald, though requested by him. They had been informed that it was the intention of the young chiefs to massacre them in council, and soon as the commander left the fort, they took command of the block-houses, opened the port-holes and pointed the loaded cannon so as to command the whole council. This, probably, caused a postponement of their horrid designs.

The Captain informed the council of his intentions to distribute the next day, among them, all the goods in the storehouse, with the ammunition and provisions. He requested the Pottawatomies to furnish him an escort to Fort Wayne, promising them a liberal reward upon their arrival there, in addition to the liberal presents they were now to receive. The Indians were profuse in their professions of good-will and friendship, assented to all he proposed, and promised all he desired. The result shows the true character of the Indians. No act of kindness, nor offer of reward, could assuage their thirst for blood.

Mr. Kinzie, who understood well the Indian character, and their designs, waited on the commander, in the hope of opening his eyes to the appaling danger. He told him the Indians had been secretly hostile to the Americans for a long time; that since the battle of Tippecanoe he had dispatched orders to all his traders to furnish no ammunition to them, and pointed out the wretched policy to Captain Heald, of furnishing the enemy with arms and ammunition to destroy the Americans. This argument opened the eyes of the commander, who was struck with the impolicy, and resolved to destroy the ammunition and liquor.

* Kinzie, pp. 12 to 15.

† Brown's History of Illinois, p. 307. Note.

The next day, (13th) the goods, consisting of blankets, cloths, paints, &c., were distributed, but at night the ammunition was thrown into an old well, and the casks of alcohol, including a large quantity belonging to Mr. Kinzie, was taken through the sally-port, their heads knocked in, and the contents poured into the river. The Indians, ever watchful and suspicious, stealthily crept around, and soon found out the loss of their loved "fire-water."

On the 14th, Capt. Wells departed with fifteen friendly Miamies. He was a brave man, had resided among the Indians from boyhood, and knew well their character and habits. He had heard at Fort Wayne, of the order of General Hull to evacuate Fort Dearborn, and knowing the hostile intentions of the Pottawatomies, he had made a rapid march through the wilderness, to prevent, if possible, the exposure of his sister, Mrs. Heald, the officers and garrison, to certain destruction. But he came too late! The ammunition had been destroyed, and on the provisions the enemy was rioting. His only alternative was to hasten their departure, and every preparation was made for the march of the troops next morning.

A second Council was held with the Indians in the afternoon. They expressed great indignation at the destruction of the ammunition and liquor. Murmurs and threats were heard from every quarter.

Among the chiefs and braves were several, who, although they partook of the feelings of hostility of their tribe to the Americans, retained a personal regard for the troops, and the white families in the place. They exerted their utmost influence to allay the angry feelings of the savage warriors; but their efforts were in vain.

Among these was *Black Partridge*, a chief of some distinction. The evening after the second council, he entered the quarters of the commanding officer. "Father," said the venerable chief, "I come to deliver up to you the medal I wear. It was given me by the Americans, and I have long worn it, in token of our mutual friendship. But our young men are resolved to imbrue their hands in the blood of the whites. I cannot restrain them, and I will not wear a token of peace while I am compelled to act as an enemy."

The reserved ammunition, twenty-five rounds to a man, was now distributed. The baggage wagons for the sick, the

women and children were ready, and, amidst the surrounding gloom, and the expectation of a fatiguing march through the wilderness, or a disastrous issue on the morrow, the whole party, except the watchful sentinels, retired for a little rest.

The fatal morning of the 15th of August, arrived. The sun shone out in brightness as it arose from the glassy surface of the lake. The atmosphere was balmy, and could the feelings of the party have been relieved from the most distressing apprehensions, they could have departed with exhilerating feelings.

Early in the morning a message was received by Mr. Kinzie, from *To-pe-nee-be*, a friendly chief of the St. Joseph's band, informing him that the Pottawatomies, who had promised to be an escort to the detachment, designed mischief. Mr. Kinzie had placed his family under the protection of some friendly Indians. This party, in a boat, consisted of Mrs. Kinzie, four young children, a clerk of Mr. Kinzie's, two servants, and the boat-men, or *voyageurs*, with two Indians as protectors. The boat was intended to pass along the southern end of the lake to St. Joseph's. Mr. Kinzie and his eldest son, a youth, had agreed to accompany Captain Heald and the troops, as he thought his influence over the Indians would enable him to restrain the fury of the savages, as they were much attached to him and his family.

To-pe-nee-be urged him and his son to accompany his family in the boat, assuring him the hostile Indians would allow his boat to pass in safety to St. Joseph's.

The boat had scarcely reached the lake, when another messenger from this friendly chief, arrived to detain them where they were. We leave the reader to imagine the feelings of the matter. "She was a woman of uncommon energy, and strength of character, yet her heart died within her as she folded her arms around her helpless infants." And when she heard the discharge of the guns, and the shrill, terrific war-whoop of the infuriated savages, and knew the party, and most probably her beloved husband and first born son were doomed to destruction, language has not power to describe her agony!

At nine o'clock the troops, with the baggage wagons, left the fort with martial music and in military array. Captain Wells, at the head of his band of Miamies, led the

with his face blackened after the manner of Indians; the troops, with the wagons, containing the women and children, the sick and lame, followed, while at a little distance behind, were the Pottawatomies, about five hundred in number, who had pledged their honor to escort them in safety to Fort Wayne. The party took the road along the lake shore.

On reaching the point where a range of sand hills commenced, (within the present limits of Chicago,) the Pottawatomies defiled to the right into the prairie, to bring the sand hills between them and the Americans. They had marched about a mile and a half from the fort, when Captain Wells, who, with his Miamies, was in advance, rode furiously back, and exclaimed,

"They are about to attack us: form instantly and charge upon them."

The words were scarcely uttered when a volley of balls, from Indian muskets, behind the sand hills, poured upon them. The troops were hastily formed into lines and charged up the bank. One man, a veteran soldier of seventy, fell as they mounted the bank. The battle became general. The Miamies fled at the outset, though Captain Wells did his utmost to induce them to stand their ground. Their chief rode up to the Pottawatomies, charged them with treachery, and, brandishing his tomahawk, declared, "he would be the first to head a party of Americans and punish them." He then turned his horse and galloped after his companions over the prairie.

The American troops behaved most gallantly, and sold their lives dearly. Mrs. Helm, the wife of Lieutenant Helm, was in the action, behaved with astonishing presence of mind (as did all the other females) and furnished Mr. Kinzie with many thrilling facts, from which we make the following extracts. Mrs. Helm was the step-daughter of Mr. Kinzie. She states:

"Our horses pranced and bounded and could hardly be restrained, as the balls whistled around them. I drew off a little and gazed upon my husband and father, who were yet unharmed. I felt that my hour was come, and endeavored to forget those I loved, and prepare myself for my approaching fate.

"While I was thus engaged, the surgeon, Dr. V., came up, he was badly wounded. His horse had been shot under him, and he had received a ball in his leg. Every muscle of his countenance was quivering with the agony of terror. He

said to me, 'Do you think they will take our lives? I am badly wounded, but I think not mortally. Perhaps we might purchase our lives by promising them a large reward. Do you think there is any chance?'

"Dr. V. said I, "do not let us waste the few moments that yet remain to us, in such vain hopes. Our fate is inevitable. In a few moments we must appear before the bar of God. Let us endeavor to make what preparation is yet in our power.' 'Oh! I cannot die!' exclaimed he, 'I am not fit to die—if I had but a short time to prepare—death is awful! I pointed to Ensign Ronan, who, though mortally wounded, and nearly down, was still fighting with desperation, upon one knee.

"'Look at that man,' said I, 'at least he dies like a soldier!'

"'Yes,' replied the unfortunate man, with a convulsive gasp, 'but he has no terrors of the future—he is an unbeliever!'

"At this moment, a young Indian raised his tomahawk at me. By springing aside, I avoided the blow which was aimed at my skull, but which alighted on my shoulder. I seized him around the neck, and while exerting my utmost efforts to get possession of his scalping-knife, which hung in a scabbard over his breast, I was dragged from his grasp by another and an older Indian.

"The latter bore me, struggling and resisting, towards the lake. Notwithstanding the rapidity with which I was hurried along, I recognized, as I passed them, the lifeless remains of the unfortunate surgeon. Some murderous tomahawk had stretched him upon the very spot where I had last seen him.

"I was immediately plunged into the water, and held there with a forcible hand, notwithstanding my resistance. I soon perceived, however, that the object of my captor was not to drown me, as he held me firmly in such a position as to place my head above the water. This reassured me, and regarding him attentively, I soon recognized, in spite of the paint, with which he was disguised, *The Black Partridge.*

"When the firing had somewhat subsided, my preserver bore me from the water, and conducted me up the sand-banks. It was a burning August morning, and walking through the sand in my drenched condition, was inexpressibly painful and fatiguing. I stopped and took off my shoes, to free them from the sand, with which they were nearly filled, when a squaw seized and carried them off, and I was obliged to proceed without them. When we had gained the prairie, I was met by my father who told me that my husband was safe, and but slightly wounded. They led me gently back toward the Chicago river, along the southern bank of which was the Pottawatomie encampment. At one time I was placed upon a horse without a saddle, but soon finding the motion insupportable, I sprang off. Supported partly by my kind conductor, and partly by

another Indian, *Pee-so-tum*, who held dangling in his hand, the scalp of Capt. Wells, I dragged my fainting steps to one of the wigwams.

"The wife of *Wau-bee-nee-mah*, a chief from the Illinois river, was standing near, and seeing my exhausted condition, she seized a kettle, dipped up some water from a little stream that flowed near, threw into it some maple sugar, and stirring it up with her hand, gave it to me to drink. This act of kindness, in the midst of so many atrocities, touched me most sensibly, but my attention was soon diverted to another object. The fort had become a scene of plunder, to such as remained after the troops had marched out. The cattle had been shot down as they run at large, and lay dead or dying around.

"As the noise of the firing grew gradually less, and the stragglers from the victorious party dropped in, I received confirmation of what my father had hurriedly communicated in our rencontre on the lake shore; namely, that the whites had surrendered, after the loss of about two-thirds of their number. They had stipulated for the preservation of their lives, and those of the remaining women and children, and for their delivery at some of the British posts, unless ransomed by traders in the Indian country. It appears that the wounded prisoners were not considered as included in the stipulation, and a horrible scene occurred upon their being brought into camp.

"An old squaw, infuriated by the loss of friends, or excited by the sanguinary scenes around her, seemed possessed by a demoniac ferocity. She seized a stable fork, and assaulted one miserable victim, who lay groaning and writhing in the agony of his wounds, aggravated by the scorching beams of the sun. With a delicacy of feeling scarcely to have been expected, under such circumstances, *Wau-bee-nee-mah* stretched a mat across two poles, between me and this dreadful scene. I was thus spared, in some degree, a view of its horrors, although I could not entirely close my ears to the cries of the sufferer. The following night, five more of the wounded prisoners were tomahawked."

But why dwell upon this painful subject? Why describe the butchery of the children, twelve of whom, placed together in one baggage-wagon, fell beneath the merciless tomahawk of one young savage? This atrocious act was committed after the whites, twenty-seven in number, had surrendered. When Capt. Wells beheld it, he exclaimed, "Is that their game? Then I will kill too!" So saying, he turned his horse's head, and started for the Indian camp near the fort, where had been left their squaws and children.

Several Indians pursued him, firing at him as he galloped along. He laid himself flat, on the neck of his horse, loading

and firing in that position. At length, the balls of his pursuers took effect, killing his horse, and severely wounding himself. At this moment he was met by *Winnemeg* and *Wau-ban-see*, who endeavored to save him from the savages who had now overtaken him; but as they supported him along, after having disengaged him from his horse, he received his death-blow from one of the party, (*Pee-so-tum*,) who stabbed him in the back.

The heroic resolution of one of the soldier's wives deserves to be recorded. She had, from the first, expressed a determination never to fall into the hands of the savages, believing that their prisoners were always subjected to tortures worse than death. When, therefore, a party came up to her, to make her prisoner, she fought with desperation, refusing to surrender, although assured of safe treatment; and literally suffered herself to be cut to pieces, rather than become their captive.

The heart of Capt. Wells was taken out, and cut into pieces, and distributed among the tribes. His mutilated remains remained unburied until next day, when Billy Caldwell gathered up his head in one place and mangled body in another, and buried them in the sand.*

The family of Mr. Kinzie, had been taken from the boat to their home, by friendly Indians, and there strictly guarded. Very soon a very hostile party of the Pottawatomie nation arrived from the Wabash, and it required all the skill and bravery of *Black Partridge*, *Waubansee*, *Billy Caldwell*, (who arrived at a critical moment,) and other friendly Indians, to protect them. Runners had been sent by the hostile chiefs to all the Indian villages, to apprise them of the intended evacuation of the fort, and of their plan of attacking the troops.—In eager thirst to participate in such a scene of blood, but arrived too late to participate in the massacre. They were infuriated at their disappointment, and sought to glut their vengeance on the wounded and prisoners.†

On the third day after the massacre, the family of Mr. Kinzie, with the *attaches* of the establishment, under the care of Francois, a half breed interpreter, were taken to St. Joseph's in a boat, where they remained until the following November, under the protection of *To-pe-ne-be*, and his band. They were then carried to Detroit, under the escort of *Chandonnai*, and a

* Brown's Illinois, 316. Note.

† Kinzie, 26 to 28.

friendly chief by the name of *Kee-po-tah*, and, with their servants, delivered up, as prisoners of war, to the British commanding officer.

"Of the other prisoners, Captain Heald and Mrs. Heald were sent across the lake to St. Joseph's, the day after the battle. Captain Heald had received two wounds, and Mrs. Heald seven, the ball of one of which was cut from her arm by Mr. Kinzie, with a pen-knife, after the engagement.

Mrs. H. was ransomed on the battle field, by *Chandonnai*, a half breed from St. Joseph's, for a mule he had just taken, and the promise of ten bottles of whisky.

Captain Heald was taken prisoner by an Indian from the Kankakee, who, seeing the wounded and enfeebled state of Mrs. Heald, generously released his prisoner, that he might accompany his wife.

But when this Indian returned to his village on the Kankakee, he found that his generosity had excited so much dissatisfaction in his band that he resolved to visit St. Joseph's and reclaim his prisoner. News of his intention having reached *To-pe-ne-be*, *Kee-po-tah*, *Chandonnai*, and other friendly braves, they sent them in a bark canoe, under the charge of *Robinson*, a half-breed, along the eastern side of Lake Michigan, three hundred miles, to Mackinac, where they were delivered over to the commanding officer.

Lieutenant Helm was wounded in the action and taken prisoner; and afterwards taken by some friendly Indians to the Au sable, and from thence to St. Louis, and liberated from captivity through the agency of the late Thomas Forsyth, Esq.

Mrs. Helm received a slight wound in the ancle; had her horse shot from under her; and after passing through the agonizing scenes described, went with the family of Mr. Kinzie to Detroit.

The soldiers, with their wives and children, were dispersed among the different villages of the Pottawatomies, upon the Illinois, Wabash, Rock River and Milwaukee. The largest proportion were taken to Detroit and ransomed the following spring. Some, however, remained in captivity another year, and experienced more kindness than was expected from an enemy so merciless.

We have given this account more in detail, than is our usage, partly because the locality was Chicago, where some

individuals are still living who passed through these terrible scenes; and partly to correct a very erroneous notion, prevailing amongst many humane and philanthropic persons, that Indian hostilities usually commence by aggressions of the "pale faces," and that if they were treated kindly and liberally, they will be kind in turn. Individual instances have been referred to as proof of their general character.

The aborigines of this country were always rude savages; subsisting chiefly by fishing and hunting, and from the earliest traditionary notice, were engaged in petty exterminating wars with each other.

Delight in war and thirst for human blood is their "ruling passion." The liberal distribution of goods and provisions, and the promise of more ample rewards at Fort Wayne, by Captain Heald, could not allay this passion. They gave their solemn pledges for the protection of the party on their route to Fort Wayne, and sent out runners to rally their friends to the massacre the same day.

Since the foregoing sketch was in type, we have found the official report of Capt. Heald, dated Pittsburgh, October 23d, 1812. It is contained in Niles' Weekly Register, of November 7th, volume iii., p. 155. It varies in some particulars, though in nothing material, from the documents used for the sketch. Probably, he wrote in part from memory.

"On the 9th of August, I received orders from General Hull to evacuate the post, and proceed with my command to Detroit, leaving it at my discretion to dispose of the public property as I thought proper. The neighboring Indians got the information as early as I did, and came from all quarters to receive the goods in the factory store, which they understood were to be given to them. On the 13th, Captain Wells of Fort Wayne, arrived with about thirty Miamies, for the purpose of escorting us in by the request of General Hull.—On the 14th, I delivered the Indians all the goods in the factory store, and a considerable quantity of provisions, which we could not take away with us.

The surplus arms and ammunition, I thought proper to destroy, fearing they would make bad use of it, if put in their possession.

I also destroyed all the liquor on hand, soon after they began to collect. The collection was unusually large for that place, but they conducted with the strictest propriety, till after I left the fort.

On the 15th, at 9 o'clock, A. M., we commenced our march

—a part of the Miamies were detached in front, the remainder in our rear as guards, under the direction of Captain Wells. The situation of the country rendered it necessary for us to take the beach, with the lake on our left, and a high bank on our right, at about one hundred yards distance. We proceeded about a mile and a half, when it was discovered the Indians were prepared to attack us from behind the bank.

I immediately marched up the company to the top of the bank, when the action commenced; after firing one round, recharged, and the Indians gave way in front and joined those on our flanks. In about fifteen minutes, they got possession of all our horses, provision and baggage of every description, and, finding the Miamies did not assist us, I drew off the few men I had left, and took possession of a small elevation in the open prairie out of shot of the bank or any other cover. The Indians did not follow me, but assembled in a body on the top of the bank, and, after some consultation among themselves, made signs to me to approach them. I advanced towards them alone, and was met by one of the Pottawatomie chiefs called the *Blackbird*, with an interpreter.

After shaking hands, he requested me to surrender, promising to spare the lives of all the prisoners. On a few moments consideration, I concluded it would be the most prudent to comply with his request, although I did not put entire confidence in his promise. After delivering up our arms, we were taken back to their encampment near the fort, and distributed among the different tribes.

The next morning they set fire to the fort, and left the place, taking the prisoners with them. Their number of warriors was between four and five hundred, mostly of the Pottawatomie nation, and their loss, from the best information I could get, was about fifteen. Our strength was fifty-four regulars and twelve militia, out of which twenty-six regulars, and all the militia, were killed in the action, with two women and twelve children.

Ensign George Ronan and Doctor Isaac V. Van Voorhees, of my company, with Captain Wells, of Fort Wayne, are, to my great sorrow, numbered among the dead. Lieutenant Lina T. Healm, with twenty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, and eleven women and children, were prisoners, when we separated.

Mrs. Heald and myself were taken to the mouth of the river St. Joseph, and being both badly wounded, were permitted to reside with Mr. Burnet, an Indian trader. In a few days after our arrival there, the Indians all went off to take Fort Wayne, and in their absence I engaged a Frenchman to take us to Michillimackinac, by water, where I gave myself up as a prisoner of war, with one of my sergeants. The commanding officer Captain Roberts, offered

me every assistance in his power to render our situation comfortable while we remained there, and to enable us to proceed on our journey. To him, I gave my parole of honor, and reported myself to Colonel Proctor, who gave us a passage to Buffalo; from that place I came by the way of Presqu' Isle and arrived here yesterday."

Captain (subsequently Major) Heald, his wife and family, settled in the county of St. Charles, Mo., after the war, about 1817, where he died about fifteen years since. He was respected and beloved by his acquaintance. His health was impaired from the wounds he received.

Mrs. Heald, who still survives him, was a daughter of the late Colonel Samuel Wells, of the same county, one of the prominent men in Kentucky, previous to, and during the war.

Captain William Wayne Wells, who was killed in the battle, we suppose to have been a brother of Colonel Samuel Wells, and was for some years a prisoner and adopted amongst the Miami Indians. Consequently he was uncle to Mrs. Heald, though in Indian fashion he called her sister.

Mrs. Heald fought like a perfect heroine in the action, and received several wounds. After she was in the boat, a hostile Indian assailed her with his tomahawk, and her life was saved by the interposition of a friendly chief.

After the defeat of General Hull, and the victories of the British and Indians in the North-west, the people in the western States, and especially in Kentucky and Ohio, became excited, and but one sentiment prevailed. By the middle of August, the whole North-west, with the exception of Fort Wayne and Fort Harrison, was in possession of the British and their red allies.

Every citizen in the States referred to, and of the Territories of Indiana and Illinois, seemed animated with one desire—to wipe off the disgrace with which our arms had been stained, and to roll back the desolation that threatened the frontiers of Ohio and the territories beyond.

Gov. Harrison had been appointed Brigadier-General in the Army of the United States in August, and, upon the urgent recommendation of Gen. Shelby, Henry Clay, (then Speaker of the House of Representatives in Congress,) the Hon. Thos. Todd, and others, was appointed by Gen. Scott, Major-General by brevet, in the Kentucky militia, and commanded the

expedition to the North-west. In the course of a few weeks Kentucky had about seven thousand men in the field.*

Col. R. M. Johnson, and his brother James Johnson, were engaged in raising mounted men in Kentucky. Several regiments were directed to the aid of Indiana and Illinois. Vincennes was made the principal rendezvous, and General Samuel Hopkins, a venerable Revolutionary officer, was appointed to the command of the Kentucky troops destined to march in that direction.

In the meantime, Governor Edwards, of Illinois, was active in raising men and making preparations for an expedition against the hostile Indians on the Illinois river.

Col. Wm. Russell, of the 17th United States' regiment, was engaged in raising companies of troops, denominated "Rangers," to co-operate with Governor Edwards. Their place of rendezvous was near the present town of Edwardsville, West of Caho[illegible]a, and named "Camp Russell." The scattered settlements of Illinois then extended no farther north than Wood river, near Alton.

A line drawn from that point past Greenville and Mount Vernon to Shawneetown, would have enclosed all the white population, except a few families on the Wabash, adjacent to Vincennes.

The concerted arrangement was, for General Hopkins, with about four thousand mounted riflemen, to move up the Wabash to Fort Harrison, cross over to the Illinois country, destroy all the Indian villages near the Wabash, march across the prairies to the head waters of the Sangamon and Vermillion rivers, form a junction with the Illinois rangers under Governor Edwards and Colonel Russell, and sweep over all the villages along the Illinois river.

After entering the prairies of Illinois, the troops under Gen. Hopkins became disorderly; were wanting in discipline and subordination, and the expedition was defeated in its objects. Success depended on the celerity and secrecy of their march. If the Indians obtained knowledge of the approach of such a force, they would desert their villages and flee to the north, as they did. Game was abundant, especially deer, and no authority of the veteran General, or his aids, could prevent the troops, and even the subaltern officers from continually

* Niles' Register, iii. 25. McAffee, 106 to 109.

firing at game. Add to this, the season was rainy, they had no competent guides, and the fourth day from Fort Harrison, they lost the course in the prairies, and returned to the Wabash.

On the 29th of September, General Hopkins wrote to Gov. Shelby, of Kentucky, saying:

"My present intention is to attack every settlement on the Wabash, and destroy their property, then fall upon the Illinois; and I trust, in all the next month, to perform much of it. Serious opposition I hardly apprehend, although I intend to be prepared for it."*

How mortifying to the veteran soldier must it have been to write the official communication he did from Fort Harrison, October 6th.†

One great effect resulted from this expedition. It so alarmed the Indians on the waters of the Sangamon, Mackinac and Illinois rivers, that they retreated with their families, towards the north.

For a sketch of the expedition of Col. Russell and Governor Edwards, to the Kickapoo and Peoria towns, we are indebted to a communication from the Hon. John Reynolds, of Belleville, Illinois, who was an officer in the expedition. Our limits compel us to give it in an abridged form; still preserving the language of the writer.

"Towards the last of September, 1812, all the forces of United States' rangers, and mounted volunteers, to the number of three hundred and fifty, were assembled at Camp Russell, and duly organized, preparatory to marching against the Indians, and join the army under Gen. Hopkins. Camp Russell was one mile and a half north of Edwardsville, and then on the frontier.

Col. Russell commanded the United States' rangers; Cols. Stephenson and Rector were in command of the volunteers; Maj. John Moredock, and several others, (names not recollected,) were field officers. Captains William B. Whiteside, James B. Moore, Jacob Short, Samuel Whiteside, Willis Hargrave, (perhaps others,) commanded companies.

Colonel Jacob Judy was the Captain of a small corps of spies, comprising twenty-one men. [Gov. Reynolds was in this company.]

The staff of Gov. Edwards were, N. Rector, Robert K. Mc-

*Niles' Register, iii. 170.
† Ibid, p. 204.

Laughlin, and Nathaniel Pope. There may have been more, but the writer does not recollect them.

This little army being organized, and with their provisions for twenty or thirty days packed on the horses they rode, (except in a few instances where pack horses were fitted out,) took up the line of march in a northwardly direction.

Captain Craig, with a small company, was ordered to take charge of a boat, fortified for the occasion, with provision and supplies, and proceed up the Illinois river to Peoria.

This little army at that time was all the efficient force to protect Illinois. We commenced the march from Camp Russell, on the last day of September. At that period the Indians on the Sangamon, Mackinac and Illinois rivers were both numerous and hostile.

The route lay on the west side of Cahokia creek, to the lake fork of the Macoupin, and across Sangamon river below the forks, a few miles east of Springfield. We left the Elkheart grove to the left, and passed the old Kickapoo village on Kickapoo creek, and directed our course towards the head of Peoria lake. The old Kickapoo village which the indians had abandoned was destroyed. As the army approached near Peoria, Governor Edwards despatched Lieutenant Peyton, James Reynolds, and some others, to visit the village of the Peorias, but they made no discoveries.

There was a village of the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies on the eastern bluff of the Illinois river, nearly opposite the head of Peoria lake.

The troops moved with rapidity and caution towards the village and encamped for the night within a few miles of it. Thomas Carlin, [late Governor of Illinois,] Robert Whiteside, Stephen Whiteside, and Davis Whiteside, were sent by the Governor to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, and report to the commanding officer. This duty was performed at considerable peril, but with much adroitness. Their position was found to be about five miles from our troop, on a bluff, and surrounded by swamps impassable by mounted men, and scarcely by footmen. The swamps were not only miry, but at that time covered with high grass and brushwood, so that an Indian could not be discovered until within a few feet of him.

In the morning early, and concealed by a dense fog, the army marched, and it was not long before Capt. Judy, with his spies, came on an Indian and squaw. The Captain shot him, but while staggering and singing his death song, Capt. Wright of Wood river settlement, incautiously approached him, when, with the instinctive emotions peculiar to a dying Indian, he shot and mortally wounded Capt. Wright, who died after he was brought home. The squaw was taken prisoner and afterwards restored to her nation.

The army marched under the bluff, that they might reach the village undiscovered, but as they approached, the Indians with their squaws were on the retreat to their swamps. Instant pursuit was given, and in a short distance from the village, horses, riders, arms and baggage, were overwhelmed in the morass. It was a democratic overthrow, for the Governor and his horse shared the same fate as the subaltern, or the private soldier. We were all literally "*swamped*."

A pursuit on foot was ordered, and executed with readiness but extreme difficulty. In this chase many of the enemy were killed, and at every step, kettles, mats, and other Indian property were distributed in the morass.

Captain Samuel Whiteside, with a party, pursued the scattered enemy to the river, and several were shot in attempting to cross to the opposite shore. So excited were the men, that Charles Kitchen, Pierre Saint Jean, and John Howard, crossed the river on logs to follow the retreating foe. The Indians fled into the interior wilderness. Some of our men were wounded, but none killed in the charge.

On our return to the village, some children were found hid in the ashes and were taken to the settlement. After destroying their corn and other property, and securing all their horses, we commenced the homeward march. After traveling till dark to find a good camping ground, the rain set in, and the night was dark. Not knowing but that there were other Indian towns above, and learning that the expedition of Gen. Hopkins had failed to meet us, we apprehended danger from a night attack. Many of the soldiers had lost their blankets and other clothing, in the swamp, and there was much suffering in camp that night.

Captain Craig arrived at Peoria with his boat, where he remained several days, was repeatedly attacked by Indians, but, being fortified, and on his own ground, sustained no damage. He returned with the stores in safety. The troops marched back to Camp Russell, where they were discharged.

There are many incidents in the Annals of Illinois in 1812, and subsequent years, which we reserve for the Appendix.

The Pottawatomies, Ottowas, and other hostile Indians, made an attack on Fort Wayne, on the 28th of August, which was continued by cutting off all intercourse, until the 16th of September, when the garrison was relieved by the force under Gen. Harrison.

Early in September a fierce attack was made on Fort Harrison, which was situated a short distance above Terre Haute. Its defender was Captain Taylor, now General Taylor, the commander of the army in Mexico, and at present the

most eminent of American military men; and that his present position is derived from the possession of true merit was proved by his conduct at Fort Harrison, no less than by his behavior at Palo Alto, Resaca de Palma, and Monterey, as the following account will show.

Letter from Captain Zachary Taylor, commanding Fort Harrison, Indiana Territory, to General Harrison.

Fort Harrison, Sept 10th.

Dear Sir:—On Thursday evening, the third instant, after retreat beating, four guns were heard to fire in the direction where two young men (citizens who resided here) were making hay, about four hundred yards distant from the fort. I was immediately impressed with the idea that they had been killed by the Indians, as the Prophet's party would soon be here for the purpose of commencing hostilities, and that they had been directed to leave this place, as we were about to do. I did not think it prudent to send out at that late hour of the night to see what had become of them; and their not coming in convinced me that I was right in my conjecture. I waited till eight o'clock next morning, when I sent out a corporal with a small party to find them, if it could be done without running too much risk of being drawn into an ambuscade. He soon sent back to inform me that he had found them both killed, and wished to know my further orders; I sent the cart and oxen, and had them brought in and buried; they had been shot with two balls, scalped, and cut in the most shocking manner. Late in the evening of the fourth instant, old Jos. Lenar, and about thirty or forty Indians, arrived from the Prophet's town, with a white flag; among whom were about ten women, and the men were composed of chiefs of the different tribes that compose the Prophet's party. A Shawanee man, that could speak good English, informed me that old Lenar intended to speak to me next morning, and try to get something to eat.

At retreat beating I examined the men's arms, and found them all in good order, and completed their cartridges to fifteen rounds per man. As I had not been able to mount a guard of more than six privates and two non-commissioned officers for some time past, and sometimes part of them every other day, from the unhealthiness of the company, I had not conceived my force adequate to the defence of this post, should it be vigorously attacked, for some time past.

As I had just recovered from a very severe attack of the fever, I was not able to be up much through the night. After tatoo, I cautioned the guard to be vigilant, and ordered one of the non-commissioned officers, as the sentinels could not see every part of the garrison, to walk round on the inside during the whole night, to prevent the Indians taking any advantage of

us, provided they had any intention of attacking us. About 11 o'clock I was awakened by the firing of one of the sentinels; I sprang up, ran out, and ordered the men to their posts; when my orderly sergeant, who had charge of the upper block-house, called out that the Indians had fired the lower block-house, (which contained the property of the contractor, which was deposited in the lower part, the upper having been assigned to a corporal and ten privates as an alarm post.) The guns had begun to fire pretty smartly from both sides. I directed the buckets to be got ready and water brought from the well, and the fire extinguished immediately, as it was perceivable at that time; but from debility or some other cause, the men were very slow in executing my orders—the word fire appeared to throw the whole of them into confusion; and by the time they had got the water and broken open the door, the fire had unfortunately communicated to a quantity of whisky, (the stock having licked several holes through the lower part of the building, after the salt that was stored there, through which they had introduced the fire without being discovered, as the night was very dark,) and in spite of every exertion we could make use of, in less than a moment it ascended to the roof and baffled every effort we could make to extinguish it. As the block-house adjoined the barracks that make part of the fortifications, most of the men immediately gave themselves up for lost, and I had the greatest difficulty in getting my orders executed—and, Sir, what from the raging of the fire—the yelling and howling of several hundred Indians—the cries of nine women and children (a part soldiers' and a part citizens' wives, who had taken shelter in the fort) and the desponding of so many of the men, which was worse than all—I can assure you that my feelings were unpleasant—and indeed there were not more than ten or fifteen men able to do a great deal, the others being sick or convalescent—and to add to our other misfortunes, two of the strongest men in the fort, and that I had every confidence in, jumped the picket and left us. But my presence of mind did not forsake me for a moment. I saw, by throwing off a part of the roof that joined the block-house that was on fire, and keeping the end perfectly wet, the whole row of buildings might be saved, and leave only an opening of eighteen or twenty feet for the entrance of the Indians after the house was consumed; and that a temporary breast-work might be executed to prevent their even entering there—I convinced the men that this might be accomplished and it appeared to inspire them with new life, and never did men act with more firmness and desperation. Those that were able (while the others kept up a constant fire from the other block-house and the two bastions) mounted the roofs of the houses, with Dr. Clark at their head, who acted with the greatest firmness

and presence of mind the whole time the attack lasted, which was seven hours, under a shower of bullets, and in less than a moment threw off as much of the roof as was necessary. This was done only with a loss of one man and two wounded, and I am in hopes neither of them dangerously; the man that was killed was a little deranged, and did not get off the house as soon as directed, or he would not have been hurt—and although the barracks were several times in a blaze, and an immense quantity of fire against them, the men used such exertions that they kept it under, and before day raised a temporary breast-work as high as a man's head, although the Indians continued to pour in a heavy fire of ball and innumerable quantity of arrows during the whole time the attack lasted, in every part of the parade. I had but one other man killed, nor any other wounded inside the fort, and he lost his life by being too anxious—he got into one of the *gallies* in the bastion, and fired over the pickets, and called out to his comrades that he hadkilled an Indian, and neglecting to stoop down, in an instant he was shot dead. One of the men that jumped the pickets, returned an hour before day, and running up towards the gate, begged for God's sake for it to be opened. I suspected it to be a stratagem of the Indians to get in, as I did not recollect the voice. I directed the men in the bastion, where I happened to be, to shoot him let him be who he would, and one of them fired at him, but fortunately he ran up to the other bastion, where they knew his voice, and Dr. Clark directed him to lie down close to the pickets behind an empty barrel that happened to be there, and at day-light I had him let in. His arm was broken in a most shocking manner; which he says was done by the Indians—which, I suppose, was the cause of his returning—I think it probable that he will not recover. The other they caught about 130 yards from the garrison, and cut him all to pieces. After keeping up a constant fire until about six o'clock the next morning, which we began to return with some effect after day-light, they removed out of the reach of our guns. A party of them drove up the horses that belonged to the citizens here, and as they could not catch them very readily, shot the whole of them in our sight, as well as a number of their hogs. They drove off the whole of the cattle, which amounted to 65 head, as well as the public oxen. I had the vacancy filled up before night, (which was made by the burning of the block-house,) with a strong row of pickets, which I got by pulling down the guard-house. We lost the whole of our provisions, but must make out to live upon green corn until we can get a supply, which I am in hopes will not be long. I believe that the whole of the Miamies or Weas, were among the Prophet's party, as one chief gave his orders in that language, which resembled Stone Eater's voice, and I believe Negro Legs was there likewise. A

Frenchman here understands their different languages, and several of the Miamies or Weas, that have been frequently here, were recognized by the Frenchman and soldiers, next morning. The Indians suffered smartly, but were so numerous as to take off all that were shot. They continued with us until the next morning, but made no further attempt upon the fort, nor have we seen any thing more of them since. I have delayed informing you of my situation, as I did not like to weaken the garrison, and I looked for some person from Vincennes, and none of my men were acquainted with the woods, and therefore I would either have to take the road or the river, which I was fearful was guarded by small parties of Indians that would not dare to attack a company of Rangers that was on a scout; but being disappointed, I have at length determined to send a couple of my men by water, and am in hopes they will arrive safe. I think it would be best to send the provisions under a pretty strong escort, as the Indians may attempt to prevent their coming. If you carry on an expedition against the Prophet this fall, you ought to be well provided with every thing, as you may calculate on having every inch of ground disputed between this and there, that they can with advantage. Z. TAYLOR.

His Excellency Gov. HARRISON.

Fort Harrison, September 13, 1812.

Dear Sir—I wrote you on the 10th instant, giving you an account of the attack on this place, as well as my situation, which account I attempted to send by water, but the two men whom I despatched in a canoe after night, found the river so well guarded, that they were obliged to return. The Indians had built a fire on the bank of the river, a short distance below the garrison, which gave them an opportunity of seeing any craft that might attempt to pass, and were waiting with a canoe ready to intercept it. I expect the fort, as well as the road to Vincennes, is as well or better watched than the river.

But my situation compels me to make one other attempt by land, and my orderly sergeant, with one other man, sets out to-night with strict orders to avoid the road in the day time, and depend entirely on the woods, although neither of them have ever been in Vincennes by land, nor do they know any thing of the country, but I am in hopes they will reach you in safety. I send them with great reluctance from their ignorance of the woods. I think it very probable there is a large party of Indians waylaying the road between this and Vincennes, likely about the Narrows, for the purpose of intercepting any party that may be coming to this place, as the cattle they got here will supply them plentifully with provisions for some time to come. Z. TAYLOR.*

His Excellency Gov. HARRISON.

* Niles' Register, iii. 90.—McAfee, 153.

But before the surrender of Hull took place, extensive preparations had been made in Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, to bring into service a large and efficient army.* Three points needed defence, Fort Wayne and the Maumee, the Wabash, and the Illinois river: the troops destined for the first point were to be under the command of General Winchester, a revolutionary officer resident in Tennessee, and but little known to the frontier men;† those for the Wabash were to be under Harrison, whose name since the battle of Tippecanoe was familiar everywhere; while Governor Edwards, of the Illinois Territory, was to command the expedition upon the river of the same name. Such were the intentions of the Government, but the wishes of the people frustrated them, and led, first, to the appointment of Harrison to the command of the Kentucky volunteers, destined to assist Hull's army,‖ and next to his elevation to the post of commander-in-chief over all the forces of the west and north-west: this last appointment was made September 17th, and was notified to the General upon the 24th of that month.§ Meantime Fort Wayne had been relieved, and the line of the Maumee secured;¶ so that when Harrison found himself placed at the head of military affairs in the West, his main objects were, first, to drive the Indians from the western side of the Detroit river; second, to take Malden; and third, having thus secured his communications, to recapture the Michigan Territory and its dependencies.** To do all this before winter, and thus be prepared to conquer Upper Canada, Harrison proposed to take possession of the rapids of the Maumee and there to concentrate his forces and his stores; in moving upon this point he divided his troops into three columns, the right to march from Wooster through Upper Sandusky, the centre from Urbana by Fort McArthur on the heads of the Scioto, and the left from St. Mary's by the Au-Glaize and Maumee,—

*McAfee, 102 to 110.

†Armstrong's Notices, i. 52 to 66. Appendix, No. 8, p. 203. McAfee, 131.

‖The propriety of this step was much questioned, See McAfee, 107, &c. Armstrong's Notices, i. 58.

§McAfee, 140.—Also, Letter of Secretary of War, McAfee 118.

¶See the details in McAfee, 120 to 139.

**Armstrong's Notices, i. 59.—McAfee, 142.

all meeting, of course, at the rapids.* This plan, however, failed: the troops of the left column under Winchester, worn out and starved, were found on the verge of mutiny, and the mounted men of the centre under General Tupper were unable to do any thing, partly from their own want of subordination, but still more from the shiftlessness of their commander;† this condition of the troops, and the prevalence of disease among them, together with the increasing difficulty of transportation after the autumnal rains set in, forced upon the commander the conviction that he must wait until the winter had bridged the streams and morasses with ice,‡ and even when that had taken place, he was doubtful as to the wisdom of an attempt to conquer without vessels on Lake Erie.‖

Thus, at the close of the year 1812, nothing effectual had been done towards the re-conquest of Michigan: Winchester, with the left wing of the army was on his way to the Rapids, his men enfeebled by sickness, want of clothes, and want of food; the right wing approaching Sandusky; and the centre resting at Fort McArthur.§

In December, General Harrison despatched a party of 600 men against the Miami villages upon the Mississinneway, a branch of the Wabash. This body, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, destroyed several villages, and fought a severe battle with the Indians, who were defeated: but the severity of the weather, the number of his wounded (forty-eight,) the scarcity of provisions, and the fear of being attacked by Tecumthe, at the head of 600 fresh savages, led Colonel Campbell to retreat immediately after the battle, without destroying the principal town of the enemy. The expedition, however, was not without results, as it induced some of the tribes to come openly and wholly under the protection and within the borders of the Republic.¶

On the 10th of January, 1813, Winchester with his troops reached the Rapids, General Harrison with the right wing of

*McAfee, 142, &c., 192, &c. at the latter reference Harrison's letter is given.

†McAfee, 146 to 151.—General Tupper's account is in Niles' Register, iii. 167.

‡McAfee, 164, 165.

‖McAfee, 187, 196 to 199.—Dawson, 332, 341.

§McAfee, 201, 199, 168.

¶McAfee, 176 to 182.—Campbell's and Harrison's accounts are in Niles' Register, iii. 316, 331.

the army being still at Upper Sandusky, and Tupper with the centre at Fort McArthur.* From the 13th to the 16th, messengers arrived at Winchester's camp from the inhabitants of Frenchtown on the river Raisin, representing the danger to which that place was exposed from the hostility of the British and Indians, and begging for protection.† These representations and petitions excited the feelings of the Americans, and led them, forgetful of the main objects of the campaign, and of military caution, to determine upon the step of sending a strong party to the aid of the sufferers.‡ On the 17th, accordingly, Colonel Lewis was despatched with 550 men to the river Raisin, and soon after Colonel Allen followed with 110 more. Marching along the frozen borders of the Bay and Lake, on the afternoon of the 18th, the Americans reached and attacked the enemy who were posted in the village, and after a severe contest defeated them. Having gained possession of the town, Colonel Lewis wrote for reinforcements and prepared himself to defend the position he had gained.‖ And it was evident that all his means of defence would be needed, as the place was but eighteen miles from Malden, where the whole British force was collected under Procter. Winchester, on the 19th, having heard of the action of the previous day, marched with 250 men, which was the most he dared detach from the Rapids, to the aid of the captor of Frenchtown, which place he reached on the next evening. But instead of placing his men in a secure position, and taking measures to prevent the secret approach of the enemy, Winchester suffered the troops he had brought with him to remain in the open ground, and took no efficient measures to protect himself from surprise, although informed than attack might be expected at any moment.¶ The consequence was that during the night of the 21st, the whole British force approached undiscovered, and erected a battery within 300 yards of the American camp. From this, before the troops were fairly under arms in the morning, a discharge

* McAfee, 202, 203.

† McAfee, 204.

‡ See Colonel Allen's Speech in Armstrong's Notices, i, 67.

‖ Lewis' account may be found in Niles' Register, iv. 49.

¶ McAfee, 211.—Winchester in his own account owns that he entirely disregarded the warning given him.

of bombs, balls, and grape-shot, informed the devoted soldiers of Winchester, of the folly of their commander, and in a moment more the dreaded Indian yell sounded on every side. The troops under Lewis were protected by the garden pickets, behind which their commander, who alone seems to have been upon his guard, had stationed them; those last arrived were, as we have said, in the open field, and against them the main effort of the enemy was directed. Nor was it long so directed without terrible results; the troops yielded, broke and fled, but fled under a fire which mowed them down like grass: Winchester and Lewis, (who had left his pickets to aid his superior officer,) were taken prisoners. Upon the party who fought from behind their slight defences, however, no impression could be made, and it was not till Winchester was induced to send them what was deemed an order to surrender* that they dreamed of doing so. This Procter persuaded him to do by the old story of an Indian massacre in case of continued resistance, to which he added a promise of help and protection for the wounded, and of a removal at the earliest moment; without which last promise the troops of Lewis refused to yield even when required by their General.† But the promise, even if given in good faith, was not redeemed, and the horrors of the succeeding night and day will long be remembered by the inhabitants of the frontier. Of a portion of those horrors we give a description in the words of an eye witness.

Nicholasville, Kentucky, April 24th, 1813.

Sir:—Yours of the 5th instant, requesting me to give you a statement respecting the late disaster at Frenchtown, was duly received. Rest assured, sir, that it is with sensations the most unpleasant, that I undertake to account the infamous and barbarous conduct of the British and Indians, after the battle of the 22d January. The blood runs cold in my veins when I think of it.

On the morning of the 23d, shortly after light, six or eight Indians came to the house of Jean Baptiste Jereaume, where I was, in company with Major Graves, Captains Hart and Hickman, Doctor Todd, and fifteen or twenty volunteers, belonging to different corps. They did not molest any person or thing on their first approach, but kept sauntering about until there was a large number collected, (say one or two

* He says he did not mean it for an order, but merely for advice.

† McAfee, 215.

hundred) at which time they commenced plundering the houses of the inhabitants, and the massacre of the wounded prisoners. I was one amongst the first that was taken prisoner, and was taken to a horse about twenty paces from the house, after being divested of a part of my clothing, and commanded by signs there to remain for further orders.—Shortly after being there, I saw them knock down Captain Hickman at the door, together with several others with whom I was not acquainted. Supposing a general massacre had commenced, I made an effort to get to a house about one hundred yards distant, which contained a number of wounded, but on my reaching the house, to my great mortification, found it surrounded by Indians, which precluded the possibility of my giving notice to the unfortunate victims of savage barbarity. An Indian chief of the Tawa tribe, of the name of McCarty, gave me possession of his horse and blanket, telling me by signs, to lead the horse to the house which I had just before left. The Indian that first took me, by this time came up and manifested a hostile disposition towards me, by raising his tomahawk as if to give me the fatal blow, which was prevented by my very good friend M'Carty. On my reaching the house which I had first started from, I saw the Indians take off several prisoners, which I afterwards saw in the road, in a most mangled condition, and entirely stripped of their clothing.

Messrs. Bradford, Searls, Turner and Blythe, were collected round a carryall, which contained articles taken by the Indians from the citizens. We had all been placed there, by our respective captors, except Blythe, who came where we were entreating an Indian to convey him to Malden, promising to give him forty or fifty dollars, and whilst in the act of pleading for mercy, an Indian more savage than the other, stepped up behind, tomahawked, stripped and scalped him.—The next that attracted my attention, was the houses on fire that contained several wounded, whom I knew were not able to get out. After the houses were nearly consumed, we received marching orders, and after arriving at Sandy Creek, the Indians called a halt and commenced cooking; after preparing and eating a little sweetened gruel, Messrs. Bradford, Searls, Turner and myself, received some, and were eating, when an Indian came up and proposed exchanging his moccasins for Mr. Searls' shoes, which he readily complied with. They then exchanged hats, after which the Indian inquired how many men Harrison had with him, and at the same time, calling Searls a Washington or Madison, then raised his tomahawk and struck him on the shoulder, which cut into the cavity of the body. Searls then caught hold of the tomahawk and appeared to resist, and upon my telling him his fate was inevitable, he closed his eyes and received the savage blow

which terminated his existence. I was near enough to him to receive the brains and blood, after the fatal blow, on my blanket. A short time after the death of Searls, I saw three others share a similar fate. We then set out for Brownstown, which place we reached about 12 or 1 o'clock at night. After being exposed to several hours incessant rain in reaching that place, we were put into the council house, the floor of which was partly covered with water, at which place we remained until next morning, when we again received marching orders for their village on the river Rouge, which place we made that day, where I was kept six days, then taken to Detroit and sold. For a more detailed account of the proceedings, I take the liberty of referring you to a publication which appeared in the public prints, signed by Ensign J. L. Baker, and to the publication of Judge Woodward, both of which I have particularly examined, and find them to be literally correct, so far as came under my notice.

I am, sir, with due regard, your fellow-citizen,

GUSTAVUS M. BOWER,

Surgeon's mate, 5th Regiment Kentucky Volunteers.

JESSE BLEDSOE, Esq., Lexington.*

Of the American army, which was about 800 strong, one-third were killed in the battle and the massacre which followed, and but 33 escaped.†

General Harrison, as we have stated, was at Upper Sandusky when Winchester reached the Rapids; on the night of the 16th word came to him of the arrival of the left wing at that point, and of some meditated movement. He at once proceeded with all speed to Lower Sandusky, and on the morning of the 18th sent forward a battalion of troops to the support of Winchester. On the 19th he learned what the movement was that had been meditated and made, and with additional troops he started instantly for the falls, where he arrived early on the morning of the 20th; here he waited the arrival of the regiment with which he had started, but which he had outstripped; this came on the evening of the 21st, and on the following morning, was despatched to Frenchtown, while all the troops belonging to the army of Winchester yet at the falls, 300 in number, were also hurried on to the aid of

* American State Papers, xii. 372. Do. 367 to 375.

† McAfee, 221.—See the accounts of Winchester and Major Madison in Armstrong's Notices, i. Appendix No. 7. p. 196.—In Niles' Register, iv. 9 to 13, may be found the British account, Winchester's, and one accompanied by a diagram: same vol. p. 29, is a fuller account by Winchester, and on page 83 one by Lewis and the other officers.

their commander.* But it was, of course, in vain; on that morning the battle was fought, and General Harrison with his reinforcements met the few survivors long before they reached the ground. A council being called, it was deemed unwise to advance any farther, and the troops retired to the Rapids again: here, during the night another consultation took place, the result of which was a determination to retreat yet farther in order to prevent the possibility of being cut off from the convoys of stores and artillery upon their way from Sandusky. On the next morning, therefore, the block-house, which had been built, was destroyed, together with the provisions it contained, and the troops retired to Portage river, 18 miles in the rear of Winchester's position, there to await the guns and reinforcements which were daily expected, but which, as it turned out, were detained by rains until the 30th of January.† Finding his army 1700 strong, General Harrison, on the 1st of February, again advanced to the Rapids, where he took up a new and stronger position, at which point he ordered all the troops as rapidly as possible to gather. He did this in the hope of being able before the middle of the month to advance upon Malden, but the long continuance of warm and wet weather kept the roads in such a condition that his troops were unable to join him, and the project of advancing upon the ice was entirely frustrated; so at length the winter campaign had to be abandoned, as the autumnal one had been before.

So far the military operations of the north-west had certainly been sufficiently discouraging; the capture of Mackinac, the surrender of Hull, the massacre of Chicago, and the overwhelming defeat of Frenchtown, are the leading events.—Nothing had been gained, and of what had been lost nothing had been retaken: the slight successes over the Indians by Hopkins, Edwards, and Campbell, had not shaken the power or the confidence of Tecumthe and his allies, while the fruitless efforts of Harrison through five months to gather troops enough at the mouth of the Maumee to attempt the reconquest of Michigan, which had been taken in a week, depressed the spirits of the Americans, and gave new life and hope to their foes.

* McAfee, 209 to 211, 227 to 235.
† McAfee, 236 to 239.

About the time that Harrison's unsuccessful campaign drew to a close, a change took place in the War Department, and General Armstrong succeeded his incapable friend, Dr. Eustis. Armstrong's views were those of an able soldier; in October, 1812, he had again addressed the Government through Mr. Gallatin, on the necessity of obtaining the command of the lakes,* and when raised to power determined to make naval operations the basis of the military movements of the north-west. His views in relation to the coming campaign in the west, were based upon two points, viz: the use of regular troops alone, and the command of the lakes, which he was led to think could be obtained by the 20th of June.†

Although the views of the Secretary, in relation to the non-employment of militia, were not, and could not be, adhered to, the general plan of merely standing upon the defensive until the command of the lake was secured, was persisted in, although it was the 2nd of August instead of the 1st of June, before the vessels on Erie could leave the harbor in which they had been built. Among these defensive operations of the spring and summer of 1813, that at Fort or Camp Meigs, the new post taken by Harrison at the Rapids, and that at Lower Sandusky, deserve to be especially noticed. It had been anticipated that, with the opening of spring, the British would attempt the conquest of the position upon the Maumee, and measures had been taken by the General to forward reinforcements, which were detained, however, as usual, by the spring freshets and the bottomless roads. As had been expected, on the 28th of April, the English forces began the investment of Harrison's camp, and by the 1st of May had completed their batteries; meantime, the Americans behind their tents had thrown up a bank of earth twelve feet high, and upon a basis of twenty feet, behind which the whole garrison withdrew the moment that the gunners of the enemy were prepared to commence operations. Upon this bank, the ammunition of his Majesty was wasted in vain, and down to the 5th, nothing was effected by either party. On that

* Armstrong's Notices, i. 177, note.—Steps to command the lake had been taken before October.—See Niles' Register, iii. 142, 127.

† Armstrong's Notices, i. Appendix, No. 23, p. 245.—The Secretary and General did not entirely agree as to the plans of the campaign.—See the Notices i. 176, &c.—McAfee, 249 &c.—Full accounts of the arrangements of the army in this year, may be seen in Niles' Register, iv. 145, 158, 187.

day, General Clay, with 1200 additional troops, came down the Maumee in flatboats, and, in accordance with orders received from Harrison, detached 800 men under Colonel Dudley to attack the batteries upon the left bank of the river while, with the remainder of his forces, he landed upon the southern shore, and after some loss and delay, fought his way into camp. Dudley, on his part, succeeded perfectly in capturing the batteries, but instead of spiking the cannon, and then instantly returning to his boats, he suffered his men to waste their time, and skirmish with the Indians, until Proctor was able to cut them off from their only chance of retreat; taken by surprise, and in disorder, the greater part of the detachment became an easy prey, only 150 of the 800 escaping captivity or death.* This sad result was partially, though but little, alleviated by the success of a sortie made from the fort by Colonel Miller, in which he captured and made useless the batteries that had been erected south of the Maumee.† The result of the day's doings had been sad enough for the Americans, but still the British General saw in it nothing to encourage him; his cannon had done nothing, and were in fact no longer of value; his Indian allies found it "hard to fight people who lived like groundhogs";‡ news of the American successes below had been received; and additional troops were approaching from Ohio and Kentucky. Proctor, weighing all things, determined to retreat, and upon the 9th of May returned to Malden.‖

The ship-building going forward at Erie had not, meanwhile, been unknown to or disregarded by the English, who proposed all in good time to destroy the vessels upon which so much depended, and to appropriate the stores of the Republicans: "the ordnance and naval stores you require," said Sir George Prevost to General Proctor, "must be taken from the enemy, whose resources on Lake Erie must become yours. I am much mistaken, if you do not find Captain Barclay disposed to play that game."§ Captain Barclay was an expe-

* Harrison's Report.

† McAfee, 264 to 272.

‡ See Tecumthe's Speech, McAfee.

‖ For account of siege of Fort Meigs, by Harrison, &c., see Niles' Register, iv. 191, &c., 210, &c.—For diary of siege, do. iv. 243; for British account, do. iv. 272.—O'Fallon's (aid to General Harrison) is in National Intelligencer, June 16, 1840.

§ Letter of July 11th, given in Armstrong's Notices, i. Appendix, No. 19, p. 228.

rienced, brave, and able seaman, and was waiting anxiously for a sufficient body of troops to be spared him, in order to attack Erie with success;—a sufficient force was promised him on the 18th of July, at which time the British fleet went down the lake to reconnoitre, and if it were wise, to make the proposed attempt upon the Americans at Erie; none, however, was made.* About the same time, the followers of Proctor again approached Fort Meigs, around which they remained for a week, effecting nothing, though very numerous. The purpose of this second investment seems, indeed, rather to have been the diversion of Harrison's attention from Erie, and the employment of the immense bands of Indians which the English had gathered at Malden,† than any serious blow; and finding no progress made, Proctor next moved to Sandusky, into the neighborhood of the commander-in-chief. The principal stores of Harrison were at Sandusky, while he was himself at Seneca, and Major Croghan at Fort Stephenson or Lower Sandusky. This latter post being deemed indefensible against heavy cannon, and it being supposed that Proctor would of course bring heavy cannon, if he attacked it, the General and a council of war called by him, thought it wisest to abandon it; but before this could be done after the final determination of the matter, the appearance of the enemy upon the 31st of July made it impossible. The garrison of the little fort was composed of 150 men, under a commander just past his 21st year,‡ and with a single piece of cannon, while the investing force, including Tecumthe's Indians, was, it is said, 3,300 strong, and with six pieces of artillery, all of them, fortunately, light ones. Proctor demanded a surrender, and told the unvarying story of the danger of provoking a general massacre by the savages, unless the fort was yielded: to all which the representative of young Croghan replied by saying that the Indians would have none left to massacre, if the British conquered, for every man of the garrison would have died at his post.§ Proctor, upon this, opened his fire, which being concentrated upon the north-west angle of the

* Letter of General DeRottenburg, in Armstrong's Notices, i. Appendix No. 19, p. 229.. McAfee, 343.

† McAfee, 297 to 299; 2,500 warriors were about Malden.

‡ General Harrison, quoted in McAfee, 329.

§ McAfee, 325.

fort, led the commander to think that it was meant to make a breach there, and carry the works by assault; he, therefore, proceeded to strengthen that point by bags of sand and flour, while under cover of night he placed his single six pounder in a position to rake the angle threatened, and then, having charged his infant battery with slugs, and hidden it from the enemy, he waited the event. During the night of the 1st of August, and till late in the evening of the 2nd, the firing continued upon the devoted north-west corner; then, under cover of the smoke and gathering darkness, a column of 350 men approached unseen to within 20 paces of the walls. The musketry opened upon them, but with little effect,—the ditch was gained, and in a moment filled with men: at that instant, the masked cannon, only thirty feet distant, and so directed as to sweep the ditch,—was unmasked and fired,—killing at once 27 of the assailants; the effect was decisive, the column recoiled, and the little fort was saved with the loss of one man:—on the next morning the British and their allies, having the fear of Harrison before their eyes, were gone, leaving behind them in their haste, guns, stores, and clothing.*

[The late Governor Joseph Duncan of Illinois, then of Kentucky, was an Ensign, and one of the heroic defenders of Fort Stephenson.]

From this time all were busy in preparing for the long anticipated attack upon Malden. Kentucky especially sent her sons in vast numbers, under their veteran Governor, Shelby, and the yet more widely distinguished Richard M. Johnson. On the 4th of August, Perry got his vessels out of Erie into deep water; but for a month was unable to bring matters to a crisis; on the 10th of September, however, the fleet of Barclay was seen standing out of port, and the Americans hastened to receive him. Of the contest we give Perry's own account:

United States schooner Ariel, Put-in-Bay,
13th September, 1813.

Sir: In my last I informed you that we had captured the enemy's fleet on this lake. I have now the honor to give you the most important particulars of the action. On the morning of the 10th instant, at sunrise, they were discovered from Put-

* McAfee, 324 to 328.—The accounts by Croghan and Harrison are in Niles' Register, v. 388 to 390.—A further account and plan of the fort do. v. 7 to 9.

in-Bay, where I lay at anchor with the squadron under my command. We got under weigh, the wind light at S. W. and stood for them. At 10 A. M. the wind hauled to S. E. and brought us to windward; formed the line and brought up. At 15 minutes before 12, the enemy commenced firing; at 5 minutes before 12, the action commenced on our part. Finding their fire very destructive, owing to their long guns, and its being mostly directed to the Lawrence, I made sail, and directed the other vessels to follow, for the purpose of closing with the enemy. Every brace and bow line being shot away, she became unmanageable, notwithstanding the great exertions of the Sailing Master. In this situation she sustained the action upwards of two hours, within canister shot distance, until every gun was rendered useless, and a greater part of the crew either killed or wounded. Finding she could no longer annoy the enemy, I left her in charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, who, I was convinced, from the bravery already displayed by him, would do what would comport with the honor of the flag. At half past 2, the wind springing up, Captain Elliott was enabled to bring his vessel, the Niagara, gallantly into close action; I immediately went on board of her, when he anticipated my wish by volunteering to bring the schooners, which had been kept astern by the lightness of the wind, into close action. It was with unspeakable pain that I saw, soon after I got on board the Niagara, the flag of the Lawrence come down, although I was perfectly sensible that she had been defended to the last, and that to have continued to make a show of resistance would have been a wanton sacrifice of the remains of her brave crew. But the enemy was not able to take possession of her, and circumstances soon permitted her flag again to be hoisted. At forty-five minutes past two, the signal was made for "close action." The Niagara being very little injured, I determined to pass through the enemy's line, bore up and passed ahead of their two ships and a brig, giving a raking fire to them from the starboard guns, and to a large schooner and sloop, from the larboard side, at half pistol shot distance. The smaller vessels at this time having got within grape and canister distance, under the direction of Captain Elliott, and keeping up a well directed fire, the two ships, a brig, and a schooner, surrendered, a schooner and sloop making a vain attempt to escape.

Those officers and men who were immediately under my observation evinced the greatest gallantry, and I have no doubt that all others conducted themselves as became American officers and seamen.*

Meanwhile the American army had received its reinforce-

* American State Papers, xiv. 295. For Perry's Letters see Niles' Register, v. 60 to 62. See also Cooper's Naval History; Life of Commodore Elliott, (Philadelphia, 1836;) Tristam Burgess' account of the battle, with diagrams, (Boston, 1839.)

ments, and was only waiting the expected victory of the fleet to embark. On the 27th of September, it set sail for the shore of Canada, and in a few hours stood around the ruins of the deserted and wasted Malden, from which Proctor had retreated to Sandwich, intending to make his way to the heart of Canada, by the valley of the Thames.* On the 29th Harrison was at Sandwich, and McArthur took possession of Detroit and the territory of Michigan. At this point Col. Johnson's mounted rifle regiment, which had gone up the west side of the river, rejoined the main army. On the 2d of October, the Americans began their march in pursuit of Proctor, whom they overtook upon the 5th. He had posted his army with its left resting upon the river, while the right flank was defended by a marsh; the ground between the river and the marsh was divided lengthwise by a smaller swamp, so as to make two distinct fields in which the troops were to operate. The British were in two lines, occupying the field between the river and small swamp; the Indians extended from the small to the large morass, the ground being suitable to their mode of warfare, and unfavorable for cavalry. Harrison at first ordered the mounted Kentuckians to the left of the American army, that is, to the field farthest from the river, in order to act against the Indians, while with his infantry formed in three lines and strongly protected on the left flank to secure it against the savages, he proposed to meet the British troops themselves. Before the battle commenced, however, he learned two facts, which induced him to change his plans; one was the bad nature of the ground on his left for the operations of horse; the other was the open order of the English regulars, which made them liable to a fatal attack by cavalry. Learning these things, Harrison, but whether upon his own suggestion or not, we cannot say, ordered Colonel Johnson with his mounted men to charge, and try to break the regular troops, by passing through their ranks and forming in their rear. In arranging to do this, Johnson found the space between the river and small swamp to narrow for all his men to act in with effect; so, dividing them, he gave the right hand body opposite the regulars in charge to his brother James, while crossing the swamp with the remainder, he himself led the way against Tecumthe and his savage followers. The charge of James

* See official accounts in Niles' Register, v. 117.

Johnson was perfectly successful; the Kentuckians received the fire of the British, broke through their ranks, and forming beyond them, produced such a panic by the novelty of the attack, that the whole body of troops yielded at once. On the left the Indians fought more obstinately, and the horsemen were forced to dismount, but in ten minutes Tecumthe was dead,* and his followers, who had learned the fate of their allies, soon gave up the contest:—in half an hour all was over, except the pursuit of Proctor, who had fled at the onset. The whole number in both armies, was about 5000, the whole number killed, less than forty, so entirely was the affair decided by panic. We have thus given an outline of the battle of the Thames, which practically closed the war in the northwest; and to our own we add part of Harrison's official statement.

The troops at my disposal consisted of about 120 regulars of the 27th regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteer militia infantry, under His Excellency Gov. Shelby, averaging less than 500 men, and Col. Johnson's rigiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole an aggregate something above 3,000.† No disposition of an army, opposed to an Indian force, can be safe unless it is secured on the flanks and in the rear. I had, therefore, no difficulty in arranging the infantry conformably to my general order of battle. General Trotter's brigade of 500 men, formed the front line, his right upon the road and his left upon the swamp. General King's brigade as a second line, 150 yards in the rear of Trotter's, and Chiles' brigade as a corps of reserve in the rear of it. These three brigades formed the command of Major General Henry; the whole of Gen. Desha's division, consisting of two brigades, were formed *en potence* upon the left of Trotter.

Whilst I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed Col. Johnson's regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines opposite to the enemy, and upon the advance of the infantry, to take ground to the left and forming upon that flank to endeavor to turn the right of the Indians. A moments reflection, however, convinced me that from the thickness of the woods and swampiness of the ground, they would be unable to do any thing on horseback, and there was no time to dismount them and place their horses in security; I therefore determined to refuse my left to the Indians, and to break the British lines at once, by a charge of the mounted

* As to who killed Tecumthe, see Drake's life of that chief, p. 199 to 219, and Atwater's History of Ohio, 236.

†This estimate was too high, there were not more than 2,500. The British were nearly as numerous. See McAfee, Dawson, &c.

infantry: the measure was not sanctioned by any thing that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horseback from their earliest youth. I was persuaded, too, that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it. Conformably to this idea, I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close column, with its right at the distance of fifty yards from the road, (that it might be in some measure protected by the trees from the artillery) its left upon the swamp, and to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy delivered their fire. The few regular troops of the 27th regiment, under their Colonel (Paull) occupied, in column of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery, and some ten or twelve friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The crotchet formed by the front line, and General Desha's division, was an important point. At that place, the venerable Governor of Kentucky was posted, who at the age of sixty-six preserves all the vigor of youth, the ardent zeal which distinguished him in the revolutionary war, and the undaunted bravery which he manifested at King's Mountain. With my aids-de-camp, the acting assistant Adjutant General, Captain Butler, my gallant friend Commodore Perry, who did me the honor to serve as my volunteer Aid-de-camp, and Brigadier General Cass, who having no command, tendered me his assistance, I placed myself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movements of the cavalry, and give them the necessary support. The army had moved on in this order but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line, and were ordered to charge; the horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column at length getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest in front was over; the British officers seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only of our troops were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe with the Indians. Colonel Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians still further to the right advanced and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and for a moment made an impression upon it. His Excellency, Governor Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support, and the enemy receiving a severe fire

in front, and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation Their loss was very considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat.*

Those who wish to see a fuller account, are referred to the authorities below, many of which are easily accessible.†

We have said that the battle of the Thames practically closed the war in the north-west:—the nominal operations which followed were as follows:

First was undertaken an expedition into Canada in February 1814, by Captain Holmes, a gallant young officer whose career closed soon after. In the previous month the enemy had taken post again upon the Thames, not far above the field of Proctor's defeat; Holmes directed his movement against this point. Before he reached it, however, he learned that a much stronger force than his own was advancing to meet him, and taking up an eligible position upon a hill, he proceeded to fortify his camp, and waited their approach. They surrounded and attacked his entrenchments with great spirit, but being met with an obstinacy and courage equal to their own, and losing very largely from the well-directed fire of the unexposed Americans, the British were forced to retreat again, without any result of consequence to either party.‡

Second; a fruitless attempt was made by the Americans to retake Mackinac. It had been proposed to do this in the autumn of 1813, after the battle of the Thames, but one of the storms, which at that season are so often met with upon the lakes,—by obliging the vessels that were bringing stores from below, to throw over the baggage and provisions,—defeated the undertaking.§ Early in the following April the expedition up lake Huron was once more talked of: the purpose being two-fold, to capture Mackinac, and to destroy certain vessels which it was said the English were building in Glou-

*Niles' Register, v. 130. Dawson, 427.

† Dawson, 425 to 432. Drake's Tecumthe, 193 to 219. Atwater's Ohio, 233 to 238. Butler's Kentucky, 433 to 448. Hall's Life of Harrison. Dodd and Drake's Life of Harrison, See American accounts of the battle of the Thames, in Niles' Register, v. 129 to 234. British accounts do. 285. See also letter from R. M. Johnson in Armstrong's Notices. Appendix, vol. i. The whole number of troops furnished by Kentucky, up to this time, was supposed to be about 17,400: see particulars in Niles' Register, v. 173.

‡McAfee, 441 to 445. Holmes' own account is in Niles' Register, vi. 115.—See also, same vol. p. 80.

§McAfee' 403.

cester bay, at the south-east extremity of the Lake. This plan, however, was also abandoned; in part, from the want of men; in part, from a belief that Great Britain did not, as had been supposed, intend to make an effort to regain the command of the Upper Lakes; and also, in part, from a misunderstanding between General Harrison and Col. Croghan, who commanded at Detroit, on the one hand, and the Secretary of War on the other. Gen. Armstrong had seen fit to pass by both the officers named, and to direct his communications to Maj. Holmes, their junior, a breach of military etiquette that offended them both, and, in connection with other matters of a similar kind, led General Harrison to resign his post.* No sooner, however, had the plan of April been abandoned than it was revived again, in consequence of new information as to the establishment at Gloucester bay, or properly at Mackadash.† In consequence of the orders issued upon the 2d of June, 750 men under Col. Croghan, embarked in the American squadron commanded by Sinclair, and upon the 12th of July entered lake Huron. After spending a week in a vain effort to get into Mackadash in order to destroy the imaginary vessels there building, the fleet sailed to St. Josephs, which was found deserted; thence a small party was sent to St. Mary's Falls, while the remainder of the forces steered for Mackinac. At the former point the trading house was destroyed, and the goods seized; at Mackinac the result was far different: the troops landed upon the west of the island upon the 4th of August, but after a severe action, in which Major Holmes and eleven others were killed, still found themselves so situated, as to lead Croghan to abandon the attempt to prosecute the attack; and Mackinac was left in the possession of the enemy. Having failed in this effort, it was determined by the American leaders to make an attempt to capture the schooner Nancy, which was conveying supplies to the island fortress. In this, or rather in effecting the destruction of the vessel, they succeeded, and having left Lieutenant Turner to prevent any other provisions from Canada reaching Mackinac, the body of the fleet sailed for Detroit, which it reached, shattered and thinned by tempests. Meanwhile the crew of the Nancy, who had escaped, passed over to Mackinac in a boat

* McAfee, 414 to 422.—Harrison's resignation is on 419.
† McAfee, 421 to 425.—Armstrong's letters are given.

which they found, and an expedition was at once arranged by Lieut. Worsley, who had commanded them, for frustrating all the plans of Croghan and Sinclair. Taking with him 70 or 80 men in boats, he first attacked and captured the Tigress, an American vessel lying off St. Josephs; the next, sailing down the lake in the craft thus taken, easily made the three vessels under Turner, his own. In this enterprize, therefore, the Americans failed signally, at every point.*

In the third place an attempt was made to control the tribes of the Upper Mississippi by founding a fort at Prairie du Chien.† Early in May, Gov. Clark of Missouri was sent thither, and there commenced Fort Shelby, without opposition. By the middle of July, however, British and Indian forces sent from Mackinac, surrounded the post, and Lieutenant Perkins, having but 60 men to oppose to 1200, and being also scant of ammunition, after a defence of some days, was forced to capitulate: so that there again the United States was disappointed and defeated.‡

A fourth expedition was led by Gen. McArthur, first against some bands of Indians which he could not find; and then across the Peninsula of Upper Canada to the relief of Gen. Brown at Fort Erie. The object of the last movement was either to join General Brown, or to destroy certain mills on Grand river, from which it was known that the English forces obtained their supplies of flour. On the 26th of October, McArthur, with 720 mounted men, left Detroit, and on the 4th of November was at Oxford: from this point he proceeded to Burford, and learning that the road to Burlington was strongly defended, he gave up the idea of joining Brown, and turning toward the lake by the Long Point road, defeated a body of militia who opposed him, destroyed the mills, five or six in number, and managing to secure a retreat along the lake shore, although pursued by a regiment of regular troops nearly double his own men in number,—on the 17th reached Sandwich again with the loss of but one man. This march, though productive of no very marked results, was of consequence from the vigor and skill displayed both by the com-

* McAfee, 422 to 437. The official accounts are in Niles' Register, vii. 4, &c., 18, 156, 173, and Appendix to same, vol. 129 to 135.

†See letter of Gov. Edwards to Gov. Shelby. (Niles' Register, iv. 148,) dated March 22, 1813, given in the Appendix.

‡ McAfee, 439 to 442.

mander and his troops. Had the summer campaign of 1812 been conducted with equal spirit, Michigan would not have needed to be retaken, and the labors of Perry and Harrison would have been uncalled for in the North-west.*

With McArthur's march through Upper Canada the annals of war in the North-west closed.

Meanwhile, upon the 22d of July, a treaty had been formed at Greenville, under the direction of General Harrison and Governor Cass, by which the United States and the faithful Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, and Senecas, gave peace to the Miamis, Weas, and Eel river Indians, and to certain of the Pottawatomies, Ottawas, and Kickapoos; and all the Indians engaged to aid the Americans should the war with Great Britain continue.† But such, happily, was not to be the case, and on the 24th of December, the treaty of Ghent was signed by the representatives of England and the United States.‡

* McAfee, 444 to 453.—McArthur's own account is in Niles' Register, vii. 239, 282, &c.

† American State Papers, v. 826 to 836.—Clat's Cincinnati Miscellany. ii. 298.

‡ Holmes' Annals, ii. 471.

CHAPTER XIX.

MISCELLANEOUS EVENTS.

The British *Sine qua non*—Indian Treaties at the close of the War—Progress of Settlements—Trade of the Lakes—Contest of Ohio with the United States' Bank—Canals in Ohio—Common Schools in Ohio.

Negotiations at Ghent.

[It is proper here to review some of the events of 1814, connected with the war.]

In the summer, Mr. Madison, with the approval of the Senate, sent out as Commissioners to negotiate peace, Messrs. Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin. On the part of His Britannic Majesty, were Lord Gambier, Sir Henry Goulburne, and Hon. William Adams. The city of Ghent, in Belgium was selected as the seat of the negotiations. On the 12th of August, the American Commissioners communicated to President Madison the purport of several conferences. This document Mr. Madison laid before the Senate and House of Representatives. On the 10th of October following, the act to which we allude to, had previously found a place in the public journals, and great indeed was the indignation of the people. Even many of the Federal party, who, from the first, had opposed the war, gave in their adhesion, and sternly resolved to fight until Great Britain yielded her preposterous and unrighteous demands. There were several very objectionable propositions made by the British plenipotentiaries, in language scarcely courteous, but one proposition was called the "*Sine qua non.*" The meaning, when elaborated, is, without which no negotiations,—no treaty. This related to their "Indian allies," was the second proposition as the basis of discussion, and expressed in these words:

"The Indian allies of Great Britain to be included in the pacification, and a definite boundary to be settled for their territories."

The British Commissioners stated that "an arrangement on this point was a *Sine qua non*;—that they were not authorized to conclude a treaty of peace which did not embrace the Indians as allies of his Britannic Majesty; and that the establishment of a definite boundary of the Indian territory was

necessary to a permanent peace, not only with the Indians, but also between the United States and Great Britain."

At a subsequent conference, explanations were asked and given. The commissioners on the part of the United States report:—

"We took this opportunity to remark, that no nation observed a policy more liberal and humane towards the Indians, than that performed by the United States;—that our object had been, by all practicable means, to introduce civilization amongst them;—that their possessions were secured by well defined boundaries;—that their persons, lands, and other property, were now more effectually protected against violence or frauds from any quarter, than they had been under any former government;—that even our citizens were not allowed to purchase their lands;—that when they gave up their title to any portion of their country to the United States, it was by voluntary treaty with our government, who gave them a satisfactory equivalent;—and that through these means the United States had succeeded in preserving, since the treaty of Greenville of 1795, an uninterrupted peace of sixteen years, with all the tribes, a period of tranquility much longer than they were known to have enjoyed heretofore.

"It was then expressly stated on our part, that the proposition respecting the Indians was not distinctly understood.—We asked whether the pacification and the settlement of a boundary for them were both made a *sine qua non*, which was answered in the affirmative."

On the 8th of August, the Commissioners on the part of His Britannic Majesty, laid before the American Commissioners the following protocol in writing:—

"That the peace be extended to the Indian allies of Great Britain, and that the boundary of their territory be definitely marked out as a permanent barrier between the dominions of the United States and Great Britain. Arrangements on this subject to be regarded a *sine qua non* of a treaty of peace.*"

The boundary line established by the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, was the one claimed as a permanent boundary on the part of Great Britain, for her "Indian allies." This line commenced "at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river, run up the same to the portage, between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum, thence down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Lawrence, [Laurens,] thence westerly to a

* Niles' Register, vii. 70 to 76;—81 to 92;—218.

fork of that branch of the Great Miami river, running into the Ohio, at or near which fork stood Loromie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio, and St. Mary's river, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence westerly to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio opposite the mouth of the Kentucke."

Carrying out the same principle in reference to Illinois, and the Indian boundary would have run from the vicinity of Fort Harrison across the State to a point below the mouth of the Illinois river. Another principle involved in the *sine qua non*, was the entire sovereignty and independence of the Indian confederacy; a principle never admitted by any civilized nation, and least of all by Great Britain to bands of wandering savages.

Other claims, not less preposterous and insulting, were put forth by the British Commissioners,—that the boundary line in Maine should be so altered as to afford Great Britain a direct communication from Quebec to Halifax; that the right to the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and the coast of Labrador, which had been guaranteed as a national right in the treaty of 1783, should be abrogated; and that the exclusive naval authority of Great Britain, should be held over all the northern lakes.

The reason assigned for this last insulting demand, was, that the British possessions of Canada might be in danger from American aggression, and that it would be no inconvenience to the Americans, for Great Britain to have entire control of the lake navigation.

Of course, our Commissioners unanimously resisted all these claims. The able and masterly documents were from the pen of the late John Q. Adams. They have been pronounced by high authorities, as masterly productions in diplomatic correspondence. Every communication from the American Commissioners was sent to London, and the British Commissioners waited for instructions before they replied. The claims of Britain were yielded only inch by inch, but before the 24th of December, they had given up all these questions.*

The cause of the *sine qua non*, on behalf of the Indian al-

* For the correspondence see Niles' Register, vii. 222, 239.—Treaty, Niles, vii. 397, 400.

lies of Great Britain, is to be sought in the pledges of the British authorities, to Tecumthe soon after, (more likely previous to) the declaration of war in 1812. On condition that Tecumthe and his Indian confederation, would form an alliance, offensive and defensive with Great Britain, that government would sustain them as an independent sovereignty in their claims to the country south of the lakes, and make the line established at the treaty of Greenville, the permanent boundary between the Indians and the United States, never to be abrogated without the consent of the contracting parties. Our evidence for this fact is, first, the train of events during the period of the war, to the termination at the treaty of Ghent, when the *sine qua non* was yielded, and their "Indian allies" left to the mercy of the United States. Secondly, we have proof from two sources, on which we place great confidence.

In 1818, we became acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Ruddel, (often spelled and pronounced *Riddle*,) who was taken prisoner in boyhood at Ruddel's station, in Kentucky, raised among the Shawanese, in the same village with Tecumthe, became an Indian in habit, and was liberated at the period of Wayne's treaty. He returned to Kentucky, adopted civilized habits, learned to read, married, professed religion and became a preacher of the christian sect. At the close of the war, he was employed by several families of Kentucky to visit the Indian tribes, especially the Shawanese of the North-west, to obtain the release of captives. Mr. Ruddel felt interested in the fate of his old friend Tecumthe, and from his former associates, learned the following particulars: That the British authorities did pledge Tecumthe to protect their interests and secure for them, as an ally, permanent possession of the territory not included in the relinquishment at Greenville; that Tecumthe became dissatisfied with the delay of Gen. Proctor, and doubted the ability of the allied army of British and Indians to conquer the United States; and that a few days before the battle of the Thames he held a private council with his principal chiefs and suggested, that if the British army did not act with more energy and promptitude, he would go over to the American side with all his forces, and secure by their alliance the rights of the Indians. Knowing the liability of Mr. Ruddel being deceived, in 1833 we held conversation with Billy

Caldwell at Chicago, heretofore mentioned, and he confirmed substantially the statement of Ruddel.

He was anxious to find some trust-worthy American citizen to write the biography of Tecumthe, and gave as a reason, that no British officer should ever perform that service to his distinguished friend, remarking at the same time, "the British officers promised to stand by the Indians until we gained our object; they basely deserted us, got defeated, and after putting in our claims in the negotiations at Ghent, finally left us to make peace with the Americans on the best terms we could. The Americans fairly whipped us, and then treated with us honorably, and no Briton shall touch one of my papers. Mr. Caldwell had a trunk well filled with papers and documents pertaining to Tecumthe. He also confirmed Ruddel's statement that Tecumthe would have deserted the British standard, had not the battle of the Thames occurred at the time it did.

We give these facts and leave our readers to draw their own conclusions.

The most prominent events during 1815, pertaining to the West, are the treaties negotiated with the Indians.

The first in sequence was made at Greenville, Ohio, July 22, 1814, by Wm. Henry Harrison and Lewis Cass, Commissioners on the part of the United States, and the *Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Senecas and Miamies.* In this treaty the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese and Senecas made peace with the Miami, Eel river, and the Wea tribes; those bands of the Pottawatomies, which adhered "to the Grand Sachem Topenebe, and the chief Onoxa; to the Ottowas of Blanchard's creek," and to several other small bands who were friendly to the United States. All these tribes and bands engaged to give their aid to the United States, in prosecuting the war against Great Britain and her allies. On the faithful performance of these conditions, the United States agreed to confirm and establish all the boundaries between their lands and those of the several tribes concerned in the treaty, as they existed before the war with Great Britain. This treaty was signed on the 22d July, 1814.

About the middle of July, 1815, a large number of Indians, as deputies from the nations and tribes of the North-west, assembled at Portage des Sioux, on the right bank of the Mississippi, a few miles above the mouth of the Missouri, to ne-

gotiate treaties of peace with the United States. The Commissioners were William Clark, Governor of Missouri, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs west of the Mississippi, Ninian Edwards, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Illinois, and the Hon. Auguste Chouteau of St. Louis. Robert Wash, Esq., was Secretary to the commission. Henry Dodge, Brigadier-General, with a strong military force was present to prevent any collision, or surprise.

The first in order was with the *Pottawatomies*. Every injury, or act of hostility by either party against the other, was to be mutually forgiven; all prisoners to be delivered up; and "in sincerity of mutual friendship," every treaty, contract, and agreement, heretofore made between the United States and Pottawatomie nation to be recognized, re-established and confirmed. The same day a similar treaty was made with the *Piankeshaws*.

On the 19th of July, a series of treaties were made separately with several tribes of the *Sioux* or *N' Dokatah* nation. Similar terms were granted, as to the Pottawatomies, and these branches of the Sioux nation acknowledged themselves under the protection of the United States.

On the 20th a similar treaty was made with the *Mahas*, from the Upper Missouri.

The next in order was with the *Kickapoos*, on the 2nd of September, and the conditions exactly similar to those of the Pottawatomies.

On the 13th of September, a treaty was made with that portion of the *Sac* nation of Indians, then residing on the Missouri river, by twelve chiefs. They affirmed they had endeavored to fulfill the treaty made at St. Louis, on the third day of November, 1804, in perfect good faith; and for that purpose had been compelled to separate themselves from the rest of their nation, and remove to the Missouri river, where they had continued to give proofs of their friendship and fidelity; they propose to confirm and re-establish the treaty of 1804; that they will continue to live separate and distinct from the Sacs of Rock River, and give them no aid, until peace shall be concluded between them and the United States. The United States on their part promise to allow the Sacs of the Missouri river, all the rights and privileges secured to them by the treaty at St. Louis.

The next day, September 14th, a treaty was made with the Fox tribe of Indians. The conditions place these Indians on the same footing they were before the war, and they also re-establish and confirm the treaty of St. Louis, of 1804. On the 12th September, treaties were made with the *Great and Little Osage* nations, in which every act of hostility by either of the contracting parties against the other, was to be mutually forgiven and forgot. The treaty of 1808, made at "Fort Clark," on the Missouri, was re-confirmed.

We neglected to mention in its proper place, (p. 574,) that the Commissioner on the part of the United States was the late Colonel Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis. Fort Clark, called subsequently Fort Osage, was situated on the right bank of the Missouri, five miles above Prairie de Feu, (Fire Prairie) in Jackson county, a few miles below Independence.

On the 16th of September, a treaty, (and the first we find on record,) was made with the *Ioway* Indians, on the same conditions as with the other hostile tribes.

On the 28th day of October a treaty was made with the *Kauzau* nation, on the same terms.

We will anticipate a treaty made on the 13th of May, 1816, that we may finish up the Indian negotiations for peace in this article. The same Commissioners officiated on the part of St. Louis, and the negotiations were transacted in St. Louis.

As this treaty, in connection with the one already noticed, (ante page 546) and the ones with branches of the united nations of Sacs and Foxes already mentioned, will cast light on the "Black Hawk war," and remove imputations cast on the people of Illinois and the officers of the United States, of unfair treatment of the Indians. These Indians had been hostile for some years, and refused to come to the treaty ground the preceding year.

A small party, led by the noted brave, Black Hawk, even now refused to attend the treaty, proclaimed themselves to be British subjects, and went to Canada to receive presents. We give the treaty in full.*

Whereas, by the ninth article of the treaty of peace, which was concluded on the twenty-fourth of December, eighteen hundred and fourteen, between the United States and Great

* For these treaties, see *Indian Treaties* and Laws, Washington, D. C., 1826, pp. 75, 227, 234, 236, 263, 273, 276, 277, 278, 281, 283, 286, 289.

Britain, at Ghent, and which was ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the seventeenth day of February, eighteen hundred and fifteen, it was stipulated that the said parties should severally put an end to all hostilities with the Indian tribes, with whom they might be at war, at the time of the ratification of said treaty; and to place the said tribes inhabiting their respective territories, on the same footing upon which they stood before the war: Provided, they should agree to desist from all hostilities against the said parties, their citizens or subjects, respectively, upon the ratification of the said treaty being notified to them, and should so desist accordingly.

And whereas, the United States being determined to execute every article of the treaty with perfect good faith, and wishing to be particularly exact in the execution of the article above alluded to, relating to the Indian tribes: The President, in consequence thereof, for that purpose, on the eleventh day of March, eighteen hundred and fifteen, appointed the undersigned, William Clark, Governor of Missouri territory, Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois territory, and Auguste Chouteau, Esq., of the Missouri territory, Commissioners, with full power to conclude a treaty of peace and amity with all those tribes of Indians, conformably to the stipulations contained in the said article, on the part of the U. States, in relation to such tribes.

And whereas, the Commissioners, in conformity with their instructions in the early part of last year, notified the Sacs of Rock river, and the adjacent country, of the time of the ratification of said treaty; of the stipulations it contained in relation to them; of the disposition of the American government to fulfil those stipulations, by entering into a treaty with them, conformably thereto; and invited the said Sacs of Rock river, and the adjacent country, to send forward a deputation of their chiefs to meet the said Commissioners at Portage des Sioux, for the purpose of concluding such a treaty as aforesaid, between the United States and the said Indians, and the said Sacs of Rock river, and the adjacent country, having not only declined that friendly overture, but having continued their hostilities, and committed many depredations thereafter, which would have justified the infliction of the severest chastisement upon them; but having earnestly repented of their conduct, now emploring mercy, and being anxious to return to the habits of peace and friendship with the United States; and the latter being always disposed to pursue the most liberal and humane policy towards the Indian tribes within their territory, preferring their reclamation by peaceful measures, to their punishment, by the application of the military force of the nation—Now, therefore,

The said William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau, Commissioners as aforesaid, and the undersigned

chiefs and warriors, as aforesaid, for the purpose of restoring peace and friendship between the parties, do agree to the following articles:

ART. 1. The Sacs of Rock river, and the adjacent country, do hereby unconditionally assent to recognize, re-establish, and confirm the treaty between the United States of America and the united tribes of Sacs and Fox Indians, which was concluded at St. Louis, on the third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and four; as well as all other contracts and agreements, heretofore made between the Sac tribe or nation, and the United States.

ART. 2. The United States agree to place the aforesaid Sacs of Rock river, on the same footing upon which they stood before the war; provided they shall, on or before the first day of July next, deliver up to the officer commanding at cantonment Davis, on the Mississippi, all the property they, or any part of their tribe, have plundered or stolen from the citizens of the United States, since they were notified, as aforesaid, of the time of the ratification of the late treaty between the United States and Great Britain.

ART. 3. If the said tribe shall fail or neglect to deliver up the property aforesaid, or any part thereof, on or before the first day of July aforesaid, they shall forfeit to the United States all right and title to their proportion of the annuities which, by the treaty of St. Louis, were covenanted to be paid to the Sac tribe; and the United States shall forever afterwards be exonerated from the payment of so much of said annuities as, upon a fair distribution, would fall to the share of that portion of the Sacs who are represented by the undersigned chiefs and warriors.*

There were some other treaties made in 1815–'16, which were of inferior purport.

A careful examination of these and all other Indian treaties, with full and correct knowledge of the historical events, will enable every unprejudiced person to perceive that the course of procedure on the part of the government of the United States with the aborigines of our country, has been highly paternal, beneficent and liberal. The conduct of Great Britain cannot be brought in comparison. In justice and equity, the United States might have made and enforced remuneration in lands as a penalty for the hostilities committed, but the language in each treaty is "that every injury, or act of hostility, shall be forgiven and forgot."

The war being over, and the Indian tribes of the northwest being deprived of their distinguished British ally, and

* Indian Treaties, p. 237.

having consented to be at peace, confidence was restored to the frontier settlements, and emigration again began to push into the forests and prairies.

The campaigns of the rangers and mounted volunteers, who had traversed the groves and prairies of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Michigan, served as explorations of new and fertile countries, and opened the way for thousands of hardy pioneers, and the formation of settlements.

The rich and delightful lands along the waters of the Wabash, the Kaskaskia, the Sangamon, and the Illinois rivers, had filled their hearts with enthusiasm, and the very men, who in hostile array, had traversed the country, began to advance with their families in the peaceful character of husbandmen, and to plant new settlements in all this region.

In the Territory of Michigan, a much larger portion of the soil remained in possession of the aborigines than further south. Previous to the war, but few settlements were made beyond the vicinity of Detroit, and along the river Raisin.—These, to a great extent, had been broken up by the savages and their English allies during the war. It was not until a later period that the immigrants penetrated the interior of that territory. But Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, from 1816 to 1820, received a continuous succession of immigrants. Ohio, but particularly Kentucky and Tennessee, sent out vast numbers to these new regions, where land was abundant, cheap and productive.

In the early part of 1816, Congress having previously granted authority, a Convention was elected and assembled to form a State Government. A constitution was adopted and reported to Congress. It was approved by that body, and the "State of Indiana" received admission into the Union on the 19th day of April, 1816.

The new State Government went into operation by the election of the Hon. Jonathan Jennings, Governor, who had represented the territory as Delegate in Congress from 1809. The General Assembly discharged its duties in the formation of the various departments, agreeable to the provisions of the constitution, and changing the territorial laws in accordance with its position as a State.

We shall now give several items in the progress of the north-west, chiefly in Ohio, from Mr. Perkins, as found in the

first edition of these Annals; leaving all that pertains to Illinois, Missouri, and the still more recently settled regions of the north-west, for our Appendix.

It ought to have been chronicled under the proper date, that on the 26th February, 1814, Hon. John Cleves Symmes, the patriarch of the settlement in the Miami country, died in Cincinnati, in the seventy-second year of his age. He was buried at the North Bend, and his grave is to be found about thirty rods to the north-west of the tomb of President Harrison.*]

On the 18th of March, 1816, Pittsburgh was incorporated as a city; it had been incorporated as a borough on the 22d of April, 1794.

In 1817 it contained five glass houses, four air-furnaces, one hundred and nine stores, eight steam-engines in mills, 1,303 houses, 8,000 people, and manufactured 400 tons of nails by steam.†

Columbus was this year made permanently the Capital of Ohio.

Congress in 1804 had granted to Michigan a township of land, for the support of a College; in this year, (1817,) the University of Michigan was established by the Governor and Judges.

During 1817, an effort was made to extinguish the Indian title within the State of Ohio, and had the Miamies attended the council, held at the Rapids of the Maumee, in September, it probably would have been done. As it was, Cass and McArthur purchased of the other tribes nearly the whole north-west of the Buckeye State, the number of acres, exclusive of reservations, being estimated at 3,694,540, for which were paid 140,893 dollars; being 3 cents and 8 mills an acre.‡

A full history of banking in Ohio, would as much exceed our limits as we fear it would tire the patience of our readers. But as about this time the disposition to an excess in the creation of such institutions was plainly manifested, it may not be improper to mention the leading acts of the Legislature in reference to the subject.

The earliest bank chartered was the Miami Exporting Company of Cincinnati, the bill for which passed in April, 1803.

* See Howe's Ohio, 235.

† American Pioneer, i. 307, 309. This paper contains many facts respecting Pittsburgh.

‡ American State Papers, v. 131 to 140,—149, 150. Lanman's Michigan, 230, note.

Banking was with this company a secondary object, its main purpose being to facilitate trade, then much depressed; nor was it till 1808 that the first bank, strictly speaking, that of Marietta, was chartered. During the same session the proposition of founding a State Bank was considered, and reported upon by Mr. Worthington; it resulted in the establishment of the Bank of Chillicothe. From that time charters were granted to similar institutions up to the year 1816, when the great banking law was passed, incorporating twelve new banks, extending the charters of old ones, and making the State a party in the profits and capital of the institutions thus created and renewed, without any advance of means on her part. This was done in the following manner: each new bank was at the outset to set apart one share in twenty-five for the State, without payment, and each bank, whose charter was renewed, was to create, for the State, stock in the same proportion; each bank, new and old, was yearly to set apart out of its profits a sum which would make, at the time the charter expired, a sum equal to one twenty-fifth of the whole stock, which was to belong to the State; and the dividends coming to the State were to be invested and reinvested until one-sixth of the stock was State property:—the last provision was subject to change by future legislatures.

This interest of the State in her banks continued until 1825, when the law was so amended as to change her stock into a tax of two per cent. upon all dividends made up to that time, and four per cent. upon all made thereafter. But before the law of 1816, in February 1815, Ohio had begun to raise a revenue from her banking institutions, levying upon their dividends a tax of four per cent. This law, however, was made null with regard to such banks as accepted the terms of the law of 1816. After 1825, no change was made until March, 1831, when the tax was increased to five per cent.

Two important acts have been more lately passed by the legislature, to which we can do nothing more than refer. In 1839, a law was enacted, appointing bank commissioners, who were to examine the various institutions and report upon their condition. This inquisition was resisted by some of the banks, and much controversy followed, both in and out of the General Assembly. In 1845 a new system of banking

was adopted, embracing both a State Bank with branches, and independent banks.*

On the 18th of April, 1818, Congress authorized the people of Illinois to form a State Constitution; this was done during the ensuing summer, and adopted August 26th. The northern boundary of the State as fixed by Congress, was latitude 42 deg. 30 min.

All the territory north of the new State of Illinois was attached to Michigan.†

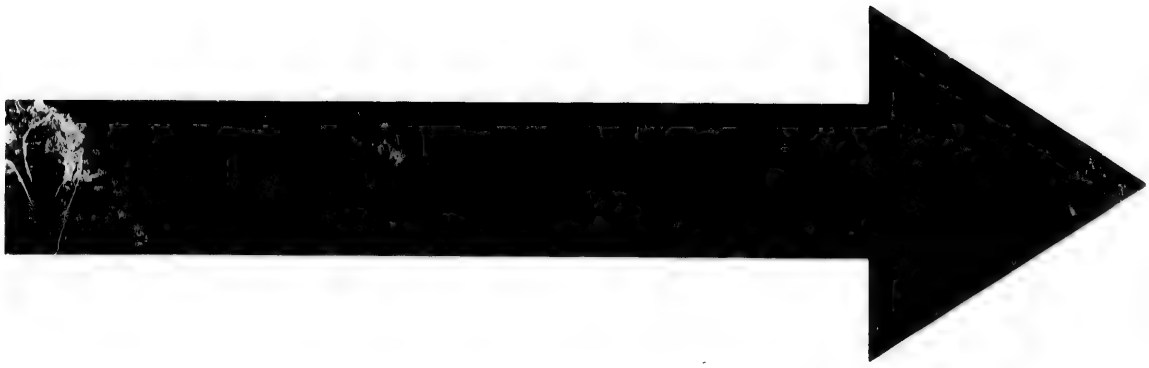
Great emigration took place to Michigan in consequence of the sale of large quantities of public lands.‡

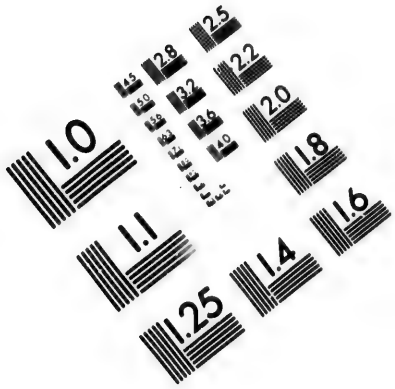
The Walk-in-the-Water, the first steam-boat in the upper lakes, (Erie, Huron, and Michigan,) began her trips, going once as far as Mackinac.§ The following sketch of the lake trade since that time we take from the National Intelligencer:

In 1826 the first steamboat was seen on the waters of lake Michigan, a pleasure trip having been made that year to Green Bay; and, although during the following years similar trips were made to that place, it was not until 1832 that a boat visited Chicago. In 1833, the trade upon the upper lakes was carried on by eleven steamboats, costing about $360,000, and two trips were made to Chicago and one to Green Bay. In 1824, there were eighteen boats, costing $600,000, and three trips were made to Chicago and one to Green Bay. The commerce west of Detroit, at that time, and for many years afterwards, being almost entirely confined to the Indian trade and to supplying the United States' military posts, some small schooners were also employed. The trade rapidly increased with the population, until, in 1840, there were upon the upper lakes, forty-eight steamers of from 150 to 750 tons burden, and costing $2,000,000 [illegible] business west of Detroit producing to the owners a[illegible]01,000. In 1841, the trade had so augmented as to employ six of the largest boats in running from Buffalo to Chicago, and one to Green Bay, and during that year the sailing vessels had increased to about 250, of from 30 to 350 tons, costing about $1,250,000. In 1845 there were upon the upper lakes, 60 vessels, including propellers, moved by steam, measuring 23,000 tons, and 320 sailing vessels, costing $4,600,000, some of them measuring 1,200 tons. The increase in that year was 47 vessels, carrying 9,700

* Burnet's Letters, 149.—Chase's Statutes, ii. 913 to 924; especially sections from 34 to 40;—ii. 1463;—iii. pp. 1820, 2022, 225.—Journals of the House for 1807-8, pp. 103, 106, 110, 111, 121, 122, 125, 134. Report of Bank Commissioners, 1839.—Laws of 1845, p. 24 to 54.

† Lanman, 225. ‡ Lanman, 221. § Lanman, 222.





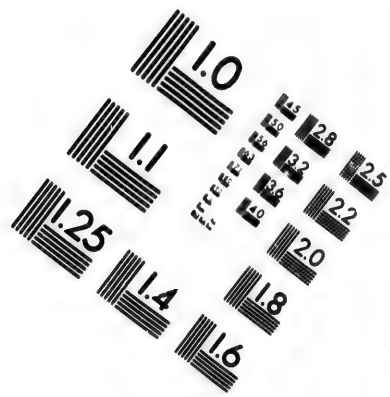
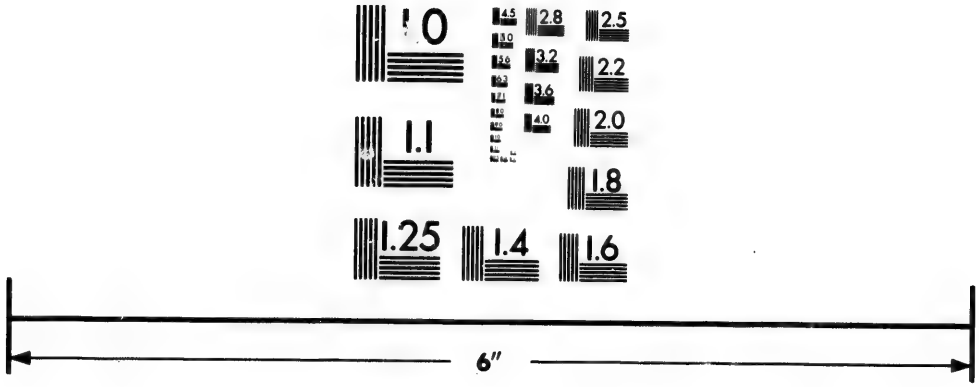
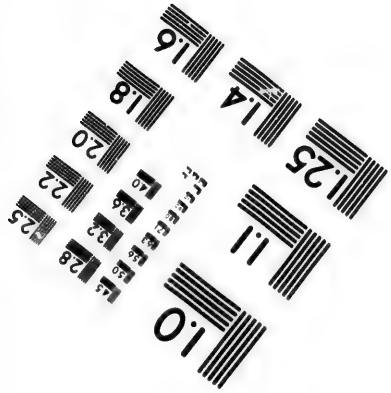
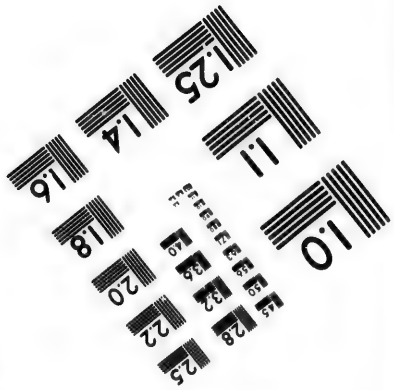


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tons, and costing $650,000; and since the last fall 16 steamers and 14 sailing vessels of the largest class have been put under construction. In 1845, there were upon lake Ontario, fifteen steamboats and propellers, and about 100 sailing vessels, having a burden of 18,000 tons, and costing $1,500,000, many of which, by using the Welland canal carry on business with Chicago and other places on the western lakes. Since the close of the last season many additional vessels have been built on this lake.

The commerce of the port of Buffalo alone, during the year 1845, amounted to $33,000,000 in value; and that of all the other places on the lakes exceeding that amount, would make an aggregate of full $70,000,000, while even this would be greatly augmented if we could add the value of the commerce of the upper lakes, which, by the way of the Welland canal, goes direct to the Canadian ports. The steamboats alone leaving Buffalo for the West in the year 1845, carried from that place 97,736 passengers, of whom 20,636 were landed at Detroit, 1,670 at Mackinac, 12,775 at Milwaukie, 2,790 at Southport, 2,750 at Racine, and 20,244 at Chicago. If to this aggregate we were to add the numbers arriving at Buffalo from the west, and the numbers leaving there in sailing vessels, the multitudes going between other places on those lakes, and some 50,000 who were passengers in the vessels on lake Ontario, we would have a grand total of at least 250,000 passengers on the lakes during the last year, whose lives were subjected to all the risks attending the navigation of those waters, exclusive of the officers and crews of all the vessels engaged in that navigation. During the last five years, upwards of four hundred lives and property worth more than a million of dollars have been lost on the lakes.

On the 24th of September, Lewis Cass concluded at Saginaw, a treaty with the Chippewas, by which another large part of Michigan was ceded to the United States.

On the 20th of August, Benjamin Parke, for the United States, bought at Fort Harrison, of the Kickapoos of Vermillion river, all their lands upon the Wabash; while on the 30th of July, at Edwardsville, Illinois, Auguste Chouteau and Benjamin Stephenson, bought of the main body of the same tribe the claims upon the same waters, together with other lands reaching west to the mouth of the Illinois river.*

In this year the United States appropriated $10,000 annually towards the civilization of the Indians, but no part was at first expended, as the best modes of effecting the object were not apparent.†

* American State Papers, vi. 194 to 200.
† See Calhoun in American State Papers, vi. 200, 201.

During 1819 also, a report was made to Congress upon the Missouri fur trade, exhibiting its condition at that time and tracing its history: it may be found in the 6th volume of the American State Papers, p. 201.

The second United States bank was chartered in 1816. On the 28th of January, 1817, this bank opened a branch at Cincinnati; and on the 13th of October following, another branch at Chillicothe, which did not commence banking, however, until the next spring. These branches Ohio claimed the right to tax, and passed a law by which, should they continue to transact business after the 15th of September, 1819, they were to be taxed fifty thousand dollars each, and the State Auditor was authorized to issue his warrant for the collection of such tax. This law was passed with great deliberation apparently, and by a full vote. The branches not ceasing their business, the authorities of the State prepared to collect their dues; this, however, the bank intended to prevent, and for the purpose of prevention, filed a bill in Chancery in the United States Circuit Court, asking an injunction upon Ralph Osborn, Auditor of State, to prevent his proceeding in the act of collection. Osborn, by legal advice, refused to appear upon the 4th of September, the day named in the writ, and in his absence the court allowed the injunction, though it required bonds of the bank, at the same time, to the extent of $100,000;—which bonds were given. On Tuesday, the 14th of September, as the day for collection drew nigh, the bank sent an agent to Columbus, who served upon the Auditor a copy of the petition for injunction, and a subpœna to appear before the court upon the first Monday in the following January, but who had no copy of the writ of injunction which had been allowed. The petition and subpœna Osborn enclosed to the Secretary of State, who was then at Chillicothe, together with his warrant for levying the tax; requesting the Secretary to take legal advice, and if the papers did not amount to an injunction, to have the warrant executed; but if they did, to retain it. The lawyers advised that the papers were not equivalent to an injunction, and thereupon the State writ for collection was given to John L. Harper, with directions to enter the banking house and demand payment of the tax; and upon refusal, to enter the vault and levy the amount required: he was told to offer no violence, and if opposed by force, to go at

once before a proper magistrate and depose to that fact. Harper, taking with him T. Orr and J. McCollister, on Friday, September 17th, went to the bank, and first securing access to the vault, demanded the tax; payment was refused, and notice given of the injunction which had been granted; but the officer, disregarding this notice, entered the vault, and seized in gold, silver and notes, $98,000, which, on the 20th, he paid over to the State Treasurer, H. M. Curry. The officers concerned in this collection were arrested and imprisoned by the United States Circuit Court for a contempt of the injunction granted, and the money taken was returned to the bank. The decision of the Circuit Court was in February, 1824, tried before the Supreme Court, and its decree affirmed, whereupon the State submitted. Meantime, however, in December 1820, and January 1821, the Legislature of Ohio had passed the following resolutions:

"*Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio,* That, in respect to the powers of the Governments of the several States that compose the American Union, and the powers of the Federal Government, this General Assembly do recognize and approve the doctrines asserted by the Legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia in their resolutions of November and December, 1798, and January, 1800, and do consider that their principles have been recognized and adopted by a majority of the American people.

Resolved, further, That this General Assembly do assert, and will maintain, by all legal and constitutional means, the right of the State to tax the business and property of any private corporation of trade, incorporated by the Congress of the United States, and located to transact its corporate business within any State.

Resolved, further, That the Bank of the United States is a private corporation of trade, the capital and business of which may be legally taxed in any State where they may be found.

Resolved, further, That this General Assembly do protest against the doctrine that the political rights of the separate States that compose the American Union, and their powers as sovereign States, may be settled and determined in the Supreme Court of the United States, so as to conclude and bind them in cases contrived between individuals, and where they are, no one of them, parties direct."

In accordance with these resolves, the bank, was, for a time, deprived of the aid of the State laws in the collection of its debts, and the protection of its rights;—and an attempt was made, though in vain, to effect a change in the Federal Constitution which would take the case out of the United States tribunals.*

In November 1819, Gov. Cass had written to the War Department, proposing a tour along the southern shore of lake Superior, and toward the heads of the Mississippi; the purposes being to ascertain the state of the fur trade, to examine the copper region, and especially to form acquaintance and connections with the various Indian tribes. In the following January the Secretary of War wrote approving the plan, and in May the expedition started. [A full account of it by Mr. Schoolcraft was published at Albany, N. Y., in 1821, in one volume. The expedition was attended with success.]

During this year, and from this time forward, treaties were made with the western and north-western tribes, extinguishing by degrees, their title throughout a great part of the original north-western territory:—of these treaties we shall not hereafter, speak particularly, except in as far as they stand connected with the Black Hawk war of 1832. The documents can be found in the sixth volume of the American State Papers; up to 1826 in the Land Laws, p. 1056; in the Executive Papers published since 1826;—and up to 1837 in the Collection of Indian Treaties published at Washington in that year. [A list of the Indian lands in each State and Territory in 1825, may be found in the American State Papers, vi. 545.

Upon the 31st of January the Ohio Assembly passed a law "authorizing an examination into the practicability of connecting lake Erie with the Ohio river by a canal."†

This act grew out of events, a sketch of which we think it may be worth while to present.

One of the earliest modern navigable canals was made in Lombardy in 1271; it connected Milan with the Tesino. About the same time, or perhaps earlier, similar works were commenced in Holland. It was not, however, till 1755 that

* See "state of the case for appellants, &c. (Cincinnati, 1823,) pp. 3, 5, 7.—Report of Ohio Legislature in American State Papers, xxi, 646, 647, 653, 654. Chase's Sketches, 43, 44. Chase's Statutes, ii, 1072, 1185, 1193.

† See Canal Documents published by Kilbourn, p. 26.

any enterprize of the kind was undertaken in England; this was followed, three years later, by the Duke of Bridgewater's first canal constructed by Brindley. In 1765, an act of Parliament authorized the great work by which Brindley and his patron proposed to unite Hull and Liverpool:—the Trent and the Mersey. This great undertaking was completed in 1777. The idea thus carried into effect in Great Britain was soon borne across the Atlantic. The great New York canal was suggested by Gouverneur Morris, in 1777; but, as early as 1774, Washington tells us that he had thought of a system of improvements by which to connect the Atlantic with the Ohio; which system, ten years later, he tried most perseveringly to induce Virginia to act upon with energy. In a letter to Gov. Harrison, written October 10th, 1784, he also suggests that an examination be made as to the facilities for opening a communication, through the Cuyahogo, and Muskingum or Scioto, between lake Erie and the Ohio. Such a communication had been previously mentioned by Jefferson in March, 1784; he even proposed a canal to connect the Cuyahoga and Big Beaver. Three years later, Washington attempted to interest the federal government in his views, and exerted himself, by all the means in his power, to learn the exact state of the country about the sources of the Muskingum and Cuyahoga. After he was called to the Presidency, his mind was employed on other subjects; but the whites who had meantime began to people the West, used the course which he had suggested, (as the Indians had done before them,) to carry goods from the lakes to the settlements on the Ohio; so that it was soon known definitely, that upon the summit level were ponds, through which, in a wet season, a complete water connection was formed between the Cuyahoga and Muskingum.*

From this time the public mind underwent various changes; more and more persons becoming convinced that a canal between the heads of two rivers was far less desirable, in every point of view, than a complete canal communication from place to place, following the valleys of the rivers, and drawing water from them. In 1815, Dr. Drake, of Cincinnati, proposed a canal from some point on the Great Miami to the

* Penny Cyclopœdia, article "Canal." American State Papers, xx. 832 to 834. Sparks' Washington, ix. 68.

city in which he resided; and in January, 1818, Mr., afterwards Governor Brown, writes thus: "Experience, the best guide, has tested the infinite superiority of this mode of commercial intercourse over the best roads, or any navigation of the beds of small rivers. In comparing it with the latter, I believe you will find the concurrent testimony of the most skilful and experienced Engineers of France and England, against the river, and in favor of the canal, for very numerous reasons."

Meanwhile, along the Atlantic, various experiments had been tried, both in regard to improving rivers and digging canals. In October, 1784, Virginia, acting under the instigation of Washington, passed a law "for clearing and improving the navigation of James river:" in March 1792, New York established two companies for "Inland Lock Navigation;" the one to connect the Hudson with lake Champlain, the other to unite it with lake Ontario, whence another canal was to rise round the Great Falls to Erie. These enterprises, and various others, were presented to Congress by Mr. Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in an elaborate report made April 4th, 1808. Subsequent to this report, in April, 1811, the General Assembly of New York passed a law for the Great Erie canal, and at the head of the Commissioners was Gouverneur Morris, who had proposed the plan thirty-four years previous. To aid her in this vast work, New York asked the power of the Federal Government, and Ohio passed resolutions in favor of the aid being given. No great help, however, was given; and New York with the strength imparted by the energy of Clinton, carried through her vast work; and when Ohio began to speak of similar efforts, through the same voice that had encouraged her during her labors, the Empire State spoke encouragement to her younger sister.*

When, therefore, Governor Brown in his inaugural address of December 14, 1818, referred to the necessity of providing cheaper ways to market for the farmers of Ohio, he spoke to a people not unprepared to respond favorably. In accordance with the Governor's suggestion, Mr. Sill, on the 7th of January, 1819, moved that a committee be appointed to report on the expediency of a canal from the lake to the Ohio:

* Report of Mr. Gallatin of 1808, found in the American State Papers, xx 793 to 804 - also see same, pp. 781 to 789; do. 769 to 780; do. 724 to 921. Vol. xxi. 165, 166, 178.

this was followed on the next day by a further communication from Governor Brown, and the subject was discussed through the winter. In the following December the Executive again pressed the matter, and in January, 1820, made a full statement of facts relating to routes, so far as they could be ascertained. Farther information was communicated in February, and on the 20th of that month, an act passed, appointing Commissioners to determine the course of the proposed canal, provided Congress would aid in its construction, and seeking aid from Congress. That aid not having been given, nothing was done during 1820 or 1821, except to excite and extend an interest in the subject, but upon the 3d of January, 1822, Micajah Williams, chairman of a committee to consider that part of the Governor's message relating to Internal Improvements, offered an elaborate report upon the subject; and brought in the bill to which we have already referred as having been passed upon the 31st of the last mentioned month.*

The examination authorized by that law was at once commenced, Mr. James Geddes being the engineer.

Upon the same day, (December 6, 1821,) on which Mr. Williams moved for a committee on canals, Caleb Atwater moved for one upon schools; and on the same day that the law above referred to was passed, one was also passed authorizing the appointment of Commissioners to report to the next Legislature a plan for establishing a complete system of Common Schools. To the history of that subject we next ask the reader's attention.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided, that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be for ever encouraged." In the previous Ordinance of 1785, regulating the sale of lands in the west, section No. 16 of every township was reserved "for the maintenance of public schools within the said township." And the Constitution of Ohio, using the words of the Ordinance of 1787, says, that "schools and the means of instruction shall for ever be encouraged by legislative provision." In accordance with the feelings shown in these several clauses, the Governors of Ohio

* The messages, resolutions, reports and laws, are all in the "Public Documents concerning the Ohio canals," compiled and published by John Kilbourn, Columbus, 1828: p. 2 to p. 31.

always mentioned the subject of education with great respect in their messages; but nothing was done to make it general.* It was supposed, that people would not willingly be taxed to educate the children of their poor neighbors; not so much because they failed to perceive the necessity that exists for all to be educated, in order that the commonwealth may be safe and prosperous; but because a vast number, that lived in Ohio, still doubted whether Ohio would be their ultimate abiding place. They came to the west to make money rather than to find a home, and did not care to help educate those whose want of education they might never feel.

Such was the state of things until about the year 1816, at which time several persons in Cincinnati, who knew the benefits of a free-school system, united, and commenced a correspondence with different portions of the State. Their ideas being warmly responded to, by the dwellers in the Ohio Company's purchase, and the Western Reserve more particularly, committees of correspondence were appointed in the different sections, and various means were resorted to, to call the attention of the public to the subject; among the most efficient of which was the publication of an *Education Almanac* at Cincinnati. This work was edited by Nathan Guilford, a lawyer of that place, who had from the first taken a deep interest in the matter. For several years this gentleman and his associates labored silently and ceaselessly to diffuse their sentiments, one attempt only being made to bring the subject into the legislature: this was in December 1819, when Ephraim Cutler, of Washington county, brought in a bill for establishing common schools, which was lost in the Senate.†— At length, in 1821, it having been clearly ascertained, that a strong feeling existed in favor of a common school system through the eastern and north-eastern parts of the State, and it being also known that the western men, who were then about to bring forward their canal schemes, wished to secure the assistance of their less immediately benefited fellow-citizens, it was thought to be a favorable time to bring the free

*See especially Governor Worthington's message, and that of 1819 in particular.

† Atwater's History, 254. In speaking of common schools, we mean always free schools established upon a State system. In January, 1821, a law was passed in Ohio, authorizing Township Common Schools in which the tuition, &c., was to be paid by those parents who were able to pay. See Chase, ii. 1176.

school proposition forward; which, as we have stated above, was done by Mr. Atwater.

On the 3d of January, 1823, Mr. Worthington, on behalf of the Canal Commissioners, presented a report upon the best route for a canal through the State, and a farther examination was agreed upon;* which was made during the year.

The friends of the common school system continued their efforts, and although they did not succeed in procuring an assembly favorable to their views, they diffused information and brought out inquiry.†

Michigan during this year was invested with a new form of Territorial Government; Congress having authorized the appointment of a Legislative Council of nine members, to be chosen by the President from eighteen candidates elected by the people.‡

In 1824, the friends of canals, and those of free common schools in Ohio, finding a strong opposition still existing to the great plans of improvement offered to the people, during this year strained every nerve to secure an Assembly in which, by union, both measures might be carried. Information was diffused and interest excited by every means that could be suggested, and the autumn elections were in consequence such as to ensure the success of the two bills which were to lay the foundation of so much physical and intellectual good to Ohio.‖

The subject of civilizing the Indians was taken up as early as July, 1789, and was kept constantly in view by the United States Government from that time forward; in 1819, ten thousand dollars annually were appropriated by Congress to that purpose, and great pains were taken to see that they were wisely expended.§ In March of this year a report was made by Mr. McLean, of Ohio, upon the proposition to stop the appropriation above named; against this proposition he reported decidedly, and gave a favorable view of what had been done, and what might be hoped for.¶

* Ohio Canal Documents, 31 to 53.

† Atwater's History, 262.

‡ Lanman's Michigan, 227.

‖ See the names of the members of the Ohio Assembly for 1814–5, and their votes, in Atwater, 303.

§ See American State Papers, vols. v. and vi. indexes. See particularly vi. 646 to 654.

¶ American State Papers, vi. 457 to 459.

Upon the 4th of February, 1825, a law was passed by Ohio, authorizing the making of two canals, one from the Ohio to Lake Erie, by the valleys of the Scioto and Muskingum; the other from Cincinnati to Dayton; and a canal fund was created: the vote in the House in favor of the law was 58 to 13, in the Senate 34 to 2*.

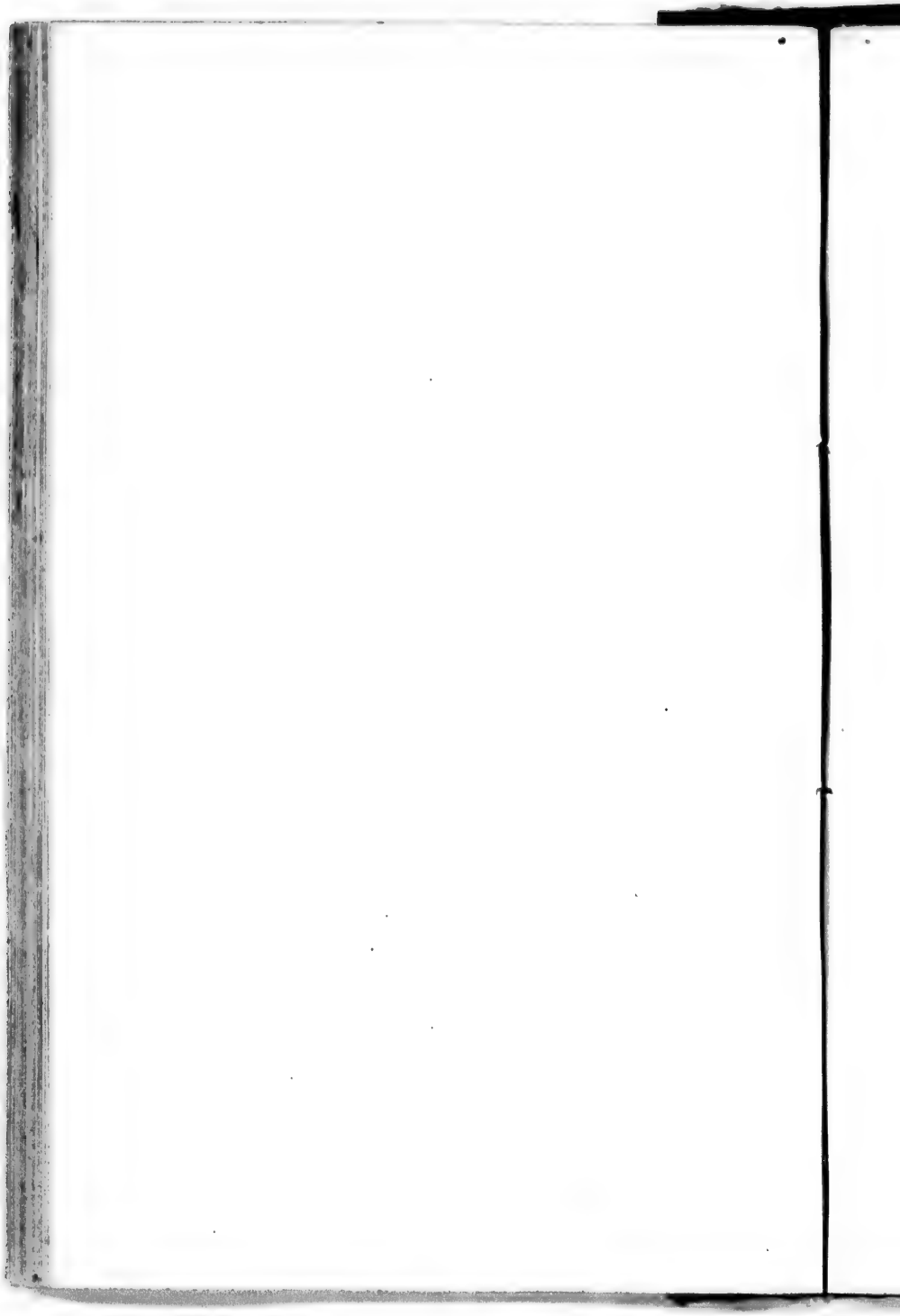
Upon the day following, the law to provide for a system of common schools was also passed by large majorities.†

These two laws were carried by the union of the friends of each, and by the unremitting efforts of a few public spirited men.

[The first edition of these Annals, compiled by the late Mr. Perkins, contains a lapse from 1825 to 1832. The remainder, four pages, 560 to 564, is confined almost wholly to events in Illinois and Missouri, which the editor is expected to give with more accuracy and in detail. We therefore close the body of the work here and proceed to the Appendix.]

* Ohio Canal Documents, 158 to 166. Chase, ii. 1472.

† Chase, ii. 1466.



APPENDIX.

CHAPTER I.

ANNALS OF UPPER LOUISIANA.

Explorations and Discoveries.—Historical Sketch of the Lead Mines.—French Settlement in Illinois.—State of the country under British domination.

A number of facts pertaining to Louisiana, and especially the Upper District, have been reserved for the APPENDIX, that they may appear in consecutive order, and be convenient for reference. These we shall group under particular heads, and subdivided by sections.

SECTION FIRST.

Explorations and Discoveries.

During the short administration of D'Iberville, (Annals, pp. 56, 58,) more than sixty persons perished with disease and famine, so that at the close of the year 1705, the colony was reduced to one hundred and fifty persons.

Feeble as was the colony, attempts were made to explore new and distant regions. In the year 1700, M. de St. Dennis, with twelve Canadians and several Indians, made a voyage of discovery up Red River. After a tiresome expedition of six months, the party returned without gaining any material information concerning the Indian tribes on the Upper Red River.

The same year Bienville, with a party, ascended the same river to Bayou Pierre, visited the villages of the Yattersee Indians, and on the same excursion explored the Washita.—The next year both these rivers were more fully explored by St. Dennis, and in 1703, a settlement was made on the Washita. About the same period, another settlement, with a mission, was made on the Yazons.

St. Dennis, with ten men, made another and more extensive exploration up Red River, into Texas, for several hundred

miles, meeting with no settlements until he reached "the *Presidio*, or fortress of St. John the Baptist, on the Rio del Norte, in New Mexico." During this excursion St. Dennis, against the remonstrance of Don Diego Raymond, the commandant at the Presidio, pushed on to Mexico, and proposed a project of commercial intercourse between the French colony of the Mississippi and the Spanish colony in Mexico.*

St. Dennis spent fourteen years in various explorations in Louisiana, Texas and Mexico. In 1716, he penetrated the interior the third time, with mules, horses and goods, from Nachitoches to Guadaloupe, in Texas, where the faithless Spaniards met him, took his goods and conveyed him to Mexico. Eventually he made his escape and came back by the Presidio.†

Amongst the early explorers of Louisiana, we must not omit the name of *Bernard de la Harpe.* Major Stoddard was so fortunate as to find the original journal of this gentleman, in manuscript, and communicated it to the Department of State.

La Harpe, with a body of troops, ascended Red River to the village of the Cadoques, in 1719, and built a fort which he called *St. Louis de Carlorette.* A correspondence was opened between him and the Spanish commandant, and also the Superior of the Missions in Texas. The Spanish officers expressed a desire to be at peace with the French, but claimed that the post La Harpe occupied, was within the Spanish territory. La Harpe replied that the Spaniards well knew the post on Red River was not within the dominions of Spain; that the province they called Texas, formed a part of Louisiana; that La Salle had discovered and taken possession of it in 1685, and that this possession had been renewed at various times since that period; that the Spanish adventurer, *Don Antonio du Miroir*, who discovered the northern provinces in 1683, never penetrated east of New Mexico, or the Rio Bravo, [Rio del Norte;] that the French were the first to make alliances with the Indian nations; that the rivers flowed into the Mississippi, consequently the lands between them belonged to France; and that if he would do him the pleasure of a visit, he would find that he occupied a post which he knew

* Du Pratz Louisiana, pp. 7, 12. Stoddard's Sketches, p. 27.

† Du Pratz, 12.

how to defend. The contest ended with this correspondence, and the post established by La Harpe, was maintained by the French until Louisiana fell into the hands of Spain after the treaty of 1762.

M. de la Harpe, in 1720, with half a dozen soldiers, a few Indians, and eleven horses, loaded with goods and provisions, made an excursion from his post on Red river, to the Washita and Arkansas rivers. He met with a friendly reception from the Indians, took possession of the country, and hoisted the flag of France. He sold his goods profitably, and then floated down the Arkansas in perogues to the Mississippi, and reached Biloxi through Bayou Manchac, and lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain. On the Arkansas, La Harpe describes an Indian village of three miles in extent, containing upwards of four thousand inhabitants. He describes it as situated about one hundred and twenty miles south-west of the Osages.

Various attempts had been made by the French to establish a colony on the bay of St. Bernard, without success. In 1721, La Harpe, under royal orders, embarked at New Orleans with a detachment of troops, engineers and draftsmen, to take a more accurate survey of the bay and country than his predecessors had done. He found eleven and a half feet of water on the bar at the entrance, and surveyed four large rivers that entered it. He described the soil along the coast as extremely fertile, and the country beautifully variegated with woods, prairies, and streams of pure water. This bay is now known as Galveston.

Another explorer was named *M. Dutisne.* He was sent out to explore the country of the Missouris, Osages, and Panoucas. He ascended the Mississippi to the mouth of Saline river, about twenty miles below Ste. Genevieve, and from thence traveled westward, over a rocky, broken and timbered country, as he reckoned, three hundred and fifty miles, to the principal village of the *Osages.* This village he describes as situated on a hill five miles from the Osage river, and contained about one hundred cabins. These Indians spent but a small part of their time at their village, being engaged in hunting the other part.

The *Panoucas* [Poncas?] were in two villages, about one hundred and twenty miles west of the Osages, in a prairie country, abounding with buffaloes. Near them were three

hundred horses, which the Indians prized exceedingly. The *Paonis*, [Pawnees] were at the distance of four hundred and fifty miles. The village of the *Missouris* was situated three hundred and fifty yards from the river that bears their name. M. Dutisne took formal possession of the country in the name of the king of France, and erected posts with the king's arms as a testimony of their claim.*

Another party under Lesueur, ascended the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, which D'Akau and Hennepin had visited in 1680. [Annals, p. 39.] This was in 1702.

The party under Lesueur, then proceeded up the St. Peter's river, as they estimated, one hundred and twenty miles, and entered a stream they called Green river, near which they found a mine of copper and ochre. Here a fort was erected, and named *L'Huiller*, said by the party to be in north latitude 44 deg. 13 minutes. The Indians regarding this position as an encroachment on their rights, the party retired in the course of the year to the mouth of another small river, about one hundred miles above the Wisconsin, where they built another fort, and opened mines of copper. At still another place, about forty miles above the river St. Croix, they found considerable quantities of copper, and one piece that weighed sixty pounds. The Indians being hostile, they found it prudent to retreat, and abandon that remote country.†

The explorers next turned their attention up the Missouri, which they ascended in 1705, as far as the mouth of the Kanzas river, and met with a friendly reception from the natives. Soon after they were engaged in a profitable trade with the Kanzas and Missouries.

And here, probably, is the place to record an invasion of Missouri from the Spanish country.

The Spaniards of Mexico had been successful in their perfidy with St. Dennis in Texas, and in exciting the Assinais against the French on Red River. They knew the importance of the Missouri river, and were anxious to obtain a strong position on its border. They readily conceived that such a measure, if prosecuted successfully, would confine the claims of the French to the Illinois side of the Mississippi, and turn the current of the Indian trade up the Missouri. Their first ob-

* Stoddard's Sketches, pp. 39 to 44.

† Stoddard, 27. Martin's Louisiana, i. 155.

ject was to conquer the Missouri nation, who lived on the bank of the Missouri river, a short distance above the mouth of the Kanzas, and plant a colony at that place. These Indians were friendly to the French, and at that time were at war with the Pawnees, whom the Spaniards expected to enlist as their allies.

A numerous caravan to form a considerable colony, started from Santa Fe, in 1720, and marched in pursuit of the Pawnee villages; but they lost their way and made the unlucky blunder to get among the Missouries, whose destruction they meditated. Ignorant of the country and mistaking the Missouries for Pawnees, they communicated their object without reserve, and requested their co-operation. The Missouries manifested no surprise at this unexpected visit, and only requested time to assemble their warriors.

In forty-eight hours two thousand appeared in arms. They attacked the Spaniards in the night, and killed the whole party, except the priest, who succeeded in making his escape on horse-back. Some writers assert it was the Osages; but the records preserved in Santa Fe, authorize the statement here given.*

This bold measure of the Spaniards, in penetrating into a country with which they had no acquaintance, for eight hundred miles from their own, apprized the French of danger, and prompted them to provide a defence in that quarter.—Accordingly, M de Bourgmont, was dispatched with a considerable force to take possession of an Island in the Missouri river, some distance above the mouth of the Osage river, on which he built Fort Orleans.

At that period the "Padoucas," whose country was north and west of the Missouries, were at war with the latter and their allies, the Kanzas, Ottoes, Osages, "Aia-ouez" [Ioways] and Pani-Mahas. M. de Bourgmont, in 1724, made an extensive exploration from Fort Orleans, to the north-west, accompanied by a few French soldiers and a large party of friendly Indians. His object was a general peace amongst all these nations, and an extensive trade with them. In this enterprize he was successful. He set out on the 3rd of July, and returned to the fort on the 5th of November.†

* Abbe Raynal's East and West Indies, v. p. 180. Stoddard's Sketches, 45, 46. Wetmore's Gazeteer, 199.

† Du Prats, from Bourgmont's Journal, pp. 63 to 74.

Soon after this event, probably the next year, Fort Orleans was attacked and entirely destroyed by the Indians, the French were all massacred, but it was never known by whom this bloody work was performed. From this time troubles of a serious nature began with the Indians, which lasted sixteen years.*

In 1723, La Harpe, with an exploring party, left the Yazoo river, on the 15th February, and ascended the Mississippi, and then the Arkansas, until he reached a village of the Arkansas Indians, where he found a Frenchman by the name of Duboulay, who with a party, was stationed here to protect these Indians and the French traders. La Harpe then proceeded to "Law's grant," which lay N. N. W. from the village, on the right side of the river. Here was a settlement of about "thirty persons, of all ages and sexes," who had a small clearing sown with wheat.† Other explorations will come in, in connection with the lead mines.

SECTION SECOND.

Historical Sketch of the Mines of Missouri.

The grant of the fancied gold and silver mines of the Mississippi, and the monstrous banking scheme of John Law, have already been sufficiently noticed. [Annals, pp. 59, 60.]

The retrocession of this privilege by Crozat to the crown of France, was immediately followed by granting letters patent to "*The Company of the West*," an association of individuals at Paris. This company had exclusive privileges to the commerce of Louisiana, and working the mines, with the right of disposal of the lands. The project of an exploration for minerals was started in France. Gold, silver and diamonds, —not the paltry gatherings of lead, copper and iron,— were the objects sought. The most liberal inducements to French emigrants, especially miners and mechanics, were held out, and *Phillip Francis Renault*, as the agent and manager of "*the Company of St. Phillips*," came out. This company was a branch of the Company of the West, for prosecuting the mining business in Upper Louisiana. He left France in 1719, with 200 mechanics, miners and laborers, and provided with all things necessary to prosecute the objects of the company.

*Stoddard, 46.
† Martin, i. 250.

At St. Domingo, he bought five hundred slaves for working the mines, which he brought to Illinois, where he arrived in 1720.

Renault established himself and his colony a few miles above Kaskaskia, in what is now the south-west corner of Monroe county, and called the village he founded St. Phillips. Great excitement existed in France at the prospective success of Renault, and large expectations were entertained in returns of gold and silver, all which resulted in woful disappointment.

From this point he sent out his mining and exploring parties into various sections of Illinois and Upper Louisiana, as Missouri was then called. Excavations for minerals were made along Drewry's creek in Jackson county, about the St. Mary in Randolph county, in Monroe county, along Silver creek in St. Clair county, and many other places in Illinois, the remains of which are still visible. Silver creek took its name from the explorers, and tradition states that considerable quantities of silver ore was raised and sent over to France. It is thought, however, that no successful discoveries were made.

In Missouri, the exploring and mining parties were headed by M. La Motte, an agent said to have been well versed in the knowledge of mining. In one of his earliest excursions, he discovered the lead mines on the St. Francois, which bears his name.

Renault made various discoveries of lead, and made considerable excavations at the mines north of Potosi, Mo., that still bear his name; but the company were entirely disappointed in all their high raised expectations of finding gold and silver.

Renault finally turned his whole attention to the smelting of lead, of which he made considerable quantities. It was conveyed from the interior on pack horses to the Mississippi river, sent to New Orleans in perogues, and from thence shipped to France.

The operations of Renault were retarded and checked from a quarter least expected. The French King at Paris, in May, 1719, issued an edict by which the "Company of the West" was united to the East India and China Company, under the title of the Royal Company of the Indies; (*La Compagnie Royale des Indies.*) And in 1731, the whole territory was re-

troceded to the crown of France; the objects of the company (including the monster bank of John Law,) [Annals, 59, 60,] totally failed, and Renault was left to prosecute the mining business without means.

The explorations for mineral treasures extended to the banks of the Ohio and Kentucky rivers, and to the Cumberland Valley, in Tennessee, and even to the mountain range between the eastern waters and those of the Mississippi Valley.—"French Lick," now Nashville, was a rallying point in those early days, and subsequently became a trading post of the French, long before the pioneers from Virginia and North Carolina visited that range.

The exertions of Renault on behalf of the "Company of the West," and his claims for services, were not passed over by the government. Four grants of land, already noticed, were made, covering large tracts of country, and which bear date June 14th, 1723, but whether legal, has not been decided.

One of these was at "*Old Piora*," on the Illinois river, said to embrace a copper-mine, the discovery of which was the consideration. Another large tract included Fort Chartres, and the village of St. Phillips, (called also *Little Village*,) in the south-west corner of Monroe county, Illinois, and extends back from the river beyond the bluffs, known still as the "Renault Grant."

He continued in the Illinois country many years after the explosion of the "Mississippi bubble." After disposing of his slaves, (or those of the company,) to the French inhabitants in Illinois, he returned to his native country, in 1744.* Thus ended the first series of efforts at mining in Illinois and Missouri.

Very little was done in the way of mining under the Spanish government. As settlements increased, after a lapse of years, some new discoveries were made and operations for lead resumed. The most important and principal discovery, made under Spanish authority, was *Mine a Burton*, which took its name from a Frenchman who, while hunting in that quarter, found the ore lying on the surface of the ground. It is impossible now to fix the exact date of this discovery, as Mr. Burton, when living in 1819, could not then recollect.

* Schoolcraft's View of the Mines, New York, 1819, pp. 14 to 17. American State Papers, ii. 162.

only it was about *forty years* previous. This would make the discovery to have been about 1780.

It is here pertinent to the design of this work, to introduce the following sketch of the life of M. Burton, as drawn from personal knowledge, by Col. Thos. H. Benton, of St. Louis, who saw Burton, and gathered the facts from him and his friends. The article is to be found in the "St. Louis Enquirer," of October 16th, 1818.

"He is a Frenchman from the north of France. In the forepart of the last century, he served in the low countries under the orders of Marshal Saxe. He was at the siege of *Bergen op-zoom*, and assisted in the assault of that place when it was assailed by a division of Marshal Saxe's army, under the command of Count Lowendahl. He has also seen service upon the continent. He was at the building of Fort Chartres, on the American bottom, afterwards went to Fort Du Quesne, (now Pittsburgh) and was present at Braddock's defeat. From the life of a soldier, Burton passed to that of a hunter, and in that character, about half a century ago, while pursuing a bear to the west of the Mississippi, he discovered the rich lead mines which have borne his name ever since. His present age cannot be ascertained. He was certainly an *old soldier* at Fort Chartres, when some of the people of the present day were little children at that place. The most moderate computation will make him one hundred and six. He now lives in the family of Mr. Micheaux, at the Little Rock ferry, three miles above Ste. Genevieve, and walks to that village almost every Sunday to attend Mass. He is what we call a square built man, of five feet eight inches high, full chest and forehead; his sense of seeing and hearing somewhat impaired, but free from disease, and apparently able to hold out against time for many years to come."

So far as the process of mining was pursued under the Spanish government, it appears to have been rude and imperfect, and not more than fifty per cent. of lead obtained from the ore. The common open log furnace was the only kind employed in smelting, and the *lead-ashes* were thrown away as useless.

In 1797, the late Moses Austin, Esq., a native of Connecticut, and who had been engaged in mining in Wythe county, Va., arrived in Upper Louisiana, visited and explored the country about Mine a Burton, and obtained a grant of land of one league square, from the Spanish authorities, in considera-

tion of erecting a reverberatory furnace and other works for prosecuting the mining business at those mines.*

Associated with Mr. Austin, was his son Stephen F. Austin, who, in 1798, commenced operations, erected a suitable furnace for smelting the "ashes of lead," and sunk the first regular shaft for raising ore. These improvements revived the mining business, and drew to the country many American families, who settled in the neighborhood of the mines. The next year a shot-tower was built on the pinnacle of the cliff near Herculaneum, under the superintendence of Mr. Elias Bates, and patent shot were made. A manufactory of sheet lead was completed the same year, and the Spanish arsenals at New Orleans and Havana, received a considerable part of their supplies for the Spanish navy from these mines.

The enterprizing Americans soon discovered *Mine Robino*, *Mine a Martin*, and several others, and at the period of the annexation of the territory to the United States, the mines were extensively and advantageously worked. We give in connection, the names and localities of the principal mines worked under the Spanish government.

Mines.	*Locality.*
Mine La Motte, - - - - -	Head of St. Francis river.
Mine a Joe, - - - - - -	On Flat river.
Mine a Burton, (now Potosi, on a branch of Mineral Fork.)	
Old Mines, - - - - - - -	On Mineral Fork.
Renault's Mines, on Fourche a Renault, a branch of Mineral Fork.	

In a few years after the cession, Shibboleth, New Diggings, Labaume's, Bryan's, and several other mines were discovered and opened.

These mines attracted the attention of the American government at the earliest period, and measures were taken by General Wilkinson to ascertain the situation and extent of the mines; their annual product; the manner of working them; and such other information as was necessary to the action of government.

Copper mines were discovered on the Merrimac river, by the mineralogical explorers under Renault and La Motte.

* Howe's Virginia, Wythe county, p. 515. Schoolcraft's Lead Mines, p. 19.

Several attempts were made to work them, but from some cause they were not successful in separating the metal from the slag.

The richest mines, both of lead and copper, were discovered on the Upper Mississippi. They have yielded from eighty to ninety per cent. of pure lead.

In 1786, Julien Dubuque, an enterprising Canadian, visited this region, explored its mineral wealth, returned two years after, and, at a council held with the Indians in 1788, obtained from them a grant of a large tract of land, amounting to 140,000 acres, beginning on the West side of the Mississippi.

Here he resided, and obtained great wealth in mining and trading with the Indians, and died in 1810. His grave is about one mile below the city of Dubuque, in the State of Iowa.

The mines of the Upper Mississippi, are between Rock and Wisconsin rivers on the east, and about the same parallel on the west side of that river.

For many years the Indians and some of the French *couriers du bois*, had been accustomed to dig led in the mineral region about Galena. But they never penetrated much below the surface, though they obtained considerable quantities of mineral.

In 1823, the late Colonel James Johnson, of Kentucky, obtained a lease from the United States' government, to prosecute the business of mining and smelting, which he did with a strong force and much enterprize. This movement attracted the attention of enterprising men in Illinois, Missouri, and other States. Some went on in 1826, more following in 1827, and in 1827, the country was almost literally filled with miners, smelters, merchants, speculators, gamblers, and every description of character. Intelligence, enterprise, and virtue, were thrown in the midst of dissipation, gambling, and every species of vice. Such was the crowd of adventurers in 1829, to this hitherto almost unknown and desolate region, that the lead business was greatly overdone, and the market for a while nearly destroyed. Fortunes were made almost upon a turn of a spade, and lost with equal facility. The business is prosecuted to a great extent. Exhaustless quantities of mineral exist here, over a tract of country two hundred miles in extent.

From 1821, to September, 1823, the amount of lead made in the vicinity of Galena, Illinois, was 335,130 pounds. Dur-

ing the next succeeding ten years, the aggregate was about seventy millions of pounds.

The average number of miners during the year 1825, was 100; in 1826, 400; and in 1827, 1,600. Many citizens of Illinois, from the counties of St. Clair, Madison, &c., went up the river with supplies of provision in the spring, to prosecute mining, and returned downward and homeward at the approach of winter. From this trifling incident, a mischievous wag from "Yankeedom," ycleped the people of Illinois, "Suckers," from these migratory miners.

Copper, in considerable quantities, is now raised and smelted on the Upper Mississippi.

SECTION THIRD.

French Settlements in Illinois.

The exact date of the first permanent settlements in Illinois, cannot now be ascertained, unless we regard the trading post of Crevecœur, near the present site of Peoria, as the first, and there is no evidence that this remained a continuous, and therefore permanent station. [See Annals, p. 39.]

Cahokia, (called in early times, "*Notre Dame des Kahokias,*") from probable evidence appears to have been a trading post and mission station earlier than Kaskaskia. We find no evidence to sustain the statement of the author, whose very imperfect and incongruous work has been attributed to Tonti, that La Salle, on his return from his exploration of the Lower Mississippi, left colonies at these places. It is inferred from a variety of circumstances, that both Cahokia and Kaskaskia were settled by traders and missionaries, as early, if not previous to 1690.

Father Allouez, a Jesuit missionary, and a companion of La Salle, appears to have been the first at Kaskaskia. It is possible he, in company with some traders, laid the foundation of Kaskaskia, and, if so, its priority to Cahokia, is decided. Father Gravier succeeded Allouez about 1690, and the station was called "The Village of the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin."

About the period of Father Gravier, two missionaries, Pinet and Binniteu, came to the country. It is stated on respectable authority, that Father Pinet founded Cahokia, and was successful in converting a large number of the aborigines.

His chapel could accommodate only a part of the multitude that resorted to mass. The Indians were of the Cahokia and Tamaroas tribes, two branches of the confederacy of the Illinois.

Binniteu followed the tribe to which he was attached, to their hunting grounds in the interior, where he died with a fever. Pinet soon after died, and Gabriel Marest joined the Illinois missions, and for some time appears to have had the whole under his charge.

Whatever may be thought of the doctrines they taught, or their mode of converting Indians, by Protestants, (a question not necessary to be discussed in this work,) they were a heroic, devoted, self-sacrificing class of men. Their journals as found in that curious and instructive work, "*Letters Edifiantes et Curieuses*," (Curious and Edifying Letters,) give abundant proof of this fact, as they do of the general topography of the country, and the number, position and characteristics of the Indian tribes.

Father Marest, in his correspondence says: "Our life is passed in rambling through thick woods, in climbing over hills, in paddling the canoes across lakes and rivers, to catch a poor savage who flies from us, and whom we can neither tame by teachings nor caresses."

Sebastian Rasles, (or Rale, as given in his life in Sparks' biography,) came to Illinois in 1692. He embarked at Quebec the 13th of August, 1691, spent the winter at Michillimackinac, and reached Kaskaskia the following spring. A letter before us gives an interesting description of the manners and customs of the Illinois Indians. He gives a description of the Indian mode of torturing their prisoners, and says: "It was the Iroquois that invented this frightful mode of putting captives to death, and it is but just that the Illinois should repay them in the same way." Rather strange morality for a religious teacher.

It is but just, however, to give these missionaries in Illinois the credit of putting an end to the torture of prisoners among the tribes under their immediate instruction.

On the difficulties of christianizing the Indians of Illinois, we give the following extract from the communication of Father Rasle, as translated from the "Lettres Edifiantes," by John Russell, Esq.

"That which we call christianity, is known among the Indians only by the word *Prayer*. When in my letters I say such and such tribes have embraced the *Prayer*, you are to understand that they have become christianized. There would be infinitely less difficulty in converting the Illinois, if religion and polygamy could go together. The Indians are extremely pleased with having me convert their wives and children; but when I talk to them they show their native inconstancy, and say they cannot think of being compelled to have but one wife and to keep that one always.

At the hour of Matins and Vespers *all* the Indians, young and old, attend in the chapel. All the children, except those of the Powows [Jongleurs,] are baptized. The jongleurs are the greatest enemies to religion. It is in the baptism of the infants that the great fruits of our labor are manifest, for all of these children do not die in infancy, and those who grow up to adult age, are zealous, and would sooner die than renounce their religion. It is a happy thing for the Illinois that they are so far from Quebec, for now brandy cannot be so easily brought to them as to other tribes of Canada. This drink is the grand obstacle to christianizing the Indians, and the source of infinite crimes.

Father Rasle continued in Illinois two years, when he was recalled by the Superior and stationed among the Abernaquis in Maine, where himself and Indian converts were barbarously massacred by a party of New Englanders.*

Charlevoix, in a series of letters addressed to the Duchess Lesdiguieres, entitled "Journal of a Voyage to North America,* writes from Kaskaskia, October 20th, 1721, as follows about Cahokia:—

"We lay last night in a village of the *Caoquias* and the *Tamarous*, two Illinois tribes which have been united, and together compose no very numerous canton. This village is situated on a very small river which runs from the east, and has no water but in the spring season, so that we were obliged to walk half a league, before we could get to our cabins. I was astonished they had pitched upon so inconvenient a situation, especially as they had so many better in their choice.—But I was told the Mississippi washed the foot of that village when it was built; that in three years it had lost half a league of its breadth, and that they were thinking of seeking out for another habitation, which is no great affair among the Indians.

"I passed the night in the missionaries' house, who are two ecclesiastics from the Seminary of Quebec, formerly my disciples, but they must now be my masters.

* See his Life in Spark's Biography, second series.

M. Taumur, the eldest of the two, was absent; but I found the youngest, M. le Mercier, such as he had been represented to me, rigid to himself, full of charity to others, and displaying in his own person, an amiable pattern of virtue."

Of Kaskaskia and the mission there, Father Charlevoix says, (p 221.)

"Yesterday I arrived at Kaskasquias about nine o'clock in the morning. The Jesuits have here a very flourishing mission, which has lately been divided into two, thinking it convenient to have two cantons of Indians instead of one. The most numerous is on the banks of the Mississippi, of which two Jesuits have the spiritual direction: half a league below stands Fort Chartres, about the distance of a musket shot from the river. M. de Boisbrilliard, a gentleman of Canada, commands here for the company, to whom this place belongs; the French are now beginning to settle the country between this fort and the first mission. Four leagues farther and about a league from the river, is a large village inhabited by the French, who are almost all Canadians and have a Jesuit for their curate. The second village of the Illinois lies farther up the country, at the distance of two leagues from this last, and is under the charge of a fourth Jesuit.

The French in this place live pretty much at their ease; a Fleming, who was a domestic of the Jesuits, has taught them to sow wheat which succeeds very well. They have black cattle and poultry. The Illinois on their part manure the ground after their fashion, and are very laborious. They likewise bring up poultry, which they sell to the French. Their women are very neat-handed and industrious. They spin the wool of the buffalo, which they make as fine as that of the English sheep; nay sometimes it might even be mistaken for silk. Of this they manufacture stuffs which are dyed black, yellow, or a deep red. Of these stuffs they make robes which they sew with thread made of the sinews of the roe-buck.—The manner of making this thread is very simple. After stripping the flesh from the sinews of the roe-buck, they expose them to the sun for the space of two days: after they are dry they beat them, and then without difficulty draw out a thread as white and as fine as that of Mechlin, but much stronger."

Besides those already mentioned, between the years 1680 and 1700, we find the names of Gabriel de la Ribourdie and Zenobe Mambre, as missionaries in Illinois. A congregation composed of a few Frenchmen, and, probably, some Indians, especially females, was collected near Fort St. Louis, on the "Great Rock." This was on the Illinois river a few miles be-

low the present site of Ottawa. The traders generally married Indian wives and lived in amity with them. The success in converting Indians, even to the Catholic faith, was not great, for Father Gravier mentions only seven persons as baptized, in his register of baptisms among the Indians, from the 20th of March, 1695, to the 22nd of February, 1699.*

In the year 1718, the Directors of the Company of the West, sent M. de Boisbriant, with a small military force, to establish a post near Kaskaskia, and the same year he began a fortification called *Fort Chartres*. (This is probably the same officer Charlevoix names Boisbrilliard.) What rule of military engineering was his guide in fixing the site on the American bottom, three miles from the quarry of rock, "a musket shot from the river," and on ground subject to inundation, we cannot conjecture. A more unfortunate location could not have been selected. Some historians have stated that this fort was constructed for a defence against Spanish aggression. But at the period it was commenced, no Spanish post existed nearer than Santa Fe, and no one dreamed of an attack from that quarter. The object was protection to the villages and the mining companies about to be sent forth, from any hostile demonstrations of the Indians.

The plan of the structure erected by M. Boisbriant is unknown to the writer. Another structure built on the same site in 1756, will be noticed in the next section.

During the years of 1718 and 1719, the French settlements of Cahokia, Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres, were increased by immigration from Canada, and from France by the way of New Orleans. M. Renault, as has been noticed in the preceding section, brought with him a large number of European adventurers, and 500 slaves from the West Indies.

On the 2nd of September, 1721, the council deputed by the King of France, for the government of the Royal Company of the Indies, enacted a series of articles, regulating trade, commerce, and even prices. This ordinance may be found in Dillon's Indiana, volume i. pages 40, 44.

The trade and commerce of Louisiana was monopolized by the Company of the Indies, and for the upper district the factory or stone house was established at Fort Chartres. The commandant of that post, M. Pierre Duque Boisbriant, the re-

* Dillon's Indiana, i. 27.

presentative of the crown, and the Commissary of Company, or "Principal Secretary," Marc Antoine de la Loire De Ursins, jointly acted in granting lands.

The oldest on record of which we are aware, is a grant made on the 10th of May, 1722,* to Charles Danie. The next is on the 22nd of June, the same year, at which time Broisbriant and Des Ursins made a grant to the missionaries of Cahokia and Tamarois, "a tract of four leagues of land square," (as expressed in the grant,) bounded on the west side of the Mississippi, including the adjacent islands, beginning a "quarter of a league above the little river of Cahokia," and extending south and east for quantity. This grant was in fee simple, and from it have emanated the titles to the village tract and common fields of Cahokia.†

In the Annals, page 195, we mentioned the concealment or destruction of papers by Madame Rocheblave, the Governor's wife, when Kaskaskia was taken by General Clark. It is supposed that many of the grants and concessions perished at this or some other period.

There are no events of material importance in the records of history, from the dissolution of the Company of the Indies, until the war between England and France of 1756; the year in which Fort Chartres was rebuilt, a sketch of which is contained in the next section. The male population of the country, inaddition to the cultivation of their farms, were the *voyageurs* on the rivers, and the *courieurs des bois* in the trading expeditions.

The leaders in all the French colonies on the Mississippi, were gentlemen of education and energy of character, while the large majority were illiterate *paysans*, who possessed little property and less enterprize.

But they were a contented race, patient under hardships, unambitious, ignorant of the prolific resources, and destitute of the least perception of its future destiny. They never troubled themselves with the affairs of government, never indulged in schemes of aggrandizement, nor showed the least inclination for political domination. They were a frank, open-hearted, unsuspicious, joyous people, careless of the acquisition of property.

* American State Papers, Public Lands, ii. 164.

† American State Papers, ii. 167.

The following truthful and graphic sketch we copy from "Sketches of the West," by James Hall, Esq.

They made no attempt to acquire land from the Indians, to organize a social system, to introduce municipal regulations, or to establish military defences; but cheerfully obeyed the priests and the king's officers, and enjoyed the present, without troubling their heads about the future. They seem to have been even careless as to the acquisition of property, and its transmission to their heirs. Finding themselves in a fruitful country, abounding in game, where the necessaries of life could be procured with little labor, where no restraints were imposed by government, and neither tribute nor personal service was exacted, they were content to live in unambitious peace, and comfortable poverty. They took possession of so much of the vacant land around them, as they were disposed to till, and no more. Their agriculture was rude; and even to this day, some of the implements of husbandry, and modes of cultivation, brought from France a century ago, remain unchanged by the *march of mind*, or the hand of innovation. Their houses were comfortable, and they reared fruits and flowers; evincing, in this respect, an attention to comfort and luxury, which has not been practised among the English or American first settlers; but in the accumulation of property, and in all the essentials of industry, they were indolent and improvident, rearing only the bare necessaries of life, and living from generation to generation without change or improvement.

The only new articles which the French adopted, in consequence of their change of residence, were those connected with the fur trade. The few who were engaged in merchandise, turned their attention almost exclusively to the traffic with the Indians, while a large number became hunters and boatmen. The *voyageurs*, *engagees*, and *couriers des bois*, as they are called, form a peculiar race of men. They were active, sprightly, and remarkably expert in their vocation. With all the vivacity of the French character, they have little of the intemperance and brutal coarseness usually found among the boatmen and mariners. They are patient under fatigue, and endure an astonishing degree of toil and exposure to weather. Accustomed to live in the open air, they pass through every extreme, and all the sudden vicissitudes of climate, with little apparent inconvenience. Their boats are managed with expertness, and even grace, and their toil enlivened by the song. As hunters, they have roved over the whole of the wide plain of the west, to the Rocky Mountains, sharing the hospitality of the Indians, abiding for long periods, and even permanently, with the tribes, and sometimes seeking their alliance by marriage. As boatmen, they navi-

gate the birch canoe to the sources of the longest rivers, and pass from one river to another, by laboriously carrying the packages of merchandise, and the boat itself, across mountains, or through swamps or woods, so that no obstacle stops their progress. Like the Indian, they can live on game, without condiment or bread; like him they sleep in the open air, or plunge into the water at any season, without injury.

The French had also a fort on the Ohio, about thirty-six miles above the junction of that river with the Mississippi, of which the Indians obtained possession by a singular stratagem. A number of them appeared in the day time on the opposite side of the river, each covered with a bear-skin, walking on all-fours, and imitating the motions of that animal. The French supposed them to be bears, and a party crossed the river in pursuit of them. The remainder of the troops left their quarters, and resorted to the bank of the river, in front of the garrison, to observe the sport. In the meantime, a large body of Indian warriors, who were concealed in the woods near by, came silently up behind the fort, entered it without opposition, and very few of the French escaped the carnage. They afterwards built another fort on the same ground, which they called *Massacre*, in memory of this disastrous event, and which retained the name of *Fort Massac*, after it passed into the hands of the American government.*

The foregoing statement is a truthful one according to all the traditionary evidence we can collect. We find no authority for the word "Marsiac," as given by Mr. Nicolet.†

This post was a mission station as early as 1711, when the Ohio was called the "Ouabache," as is shown in the correspondence in the Letters Edifiantes already alluded to. Probably it continued a trading post and mission station, until the British authorities came into possession of Illinois.

The style of agriculture in all the French settlements was simple. Both the Spanish and French governments, in forming settlements on the Mississippi, had special regard to convenience of social intercourse, and protection from the Indians. All their settlements were required to be in the form of villages or towns, and lots of a convenient size for a door yard, garden and stable yard, were provided for each family. To each village were granted two tracts of land at convenient distances, for "*common fields*" and "*commons*."

A common field is a tract of land of several hundred acres,

* Sketches of the West, i. 180 to 182.

† Report, p. 79.

enclosed in common by the villagers, each person furnishing his proportion of labor, and each family possessing individual interest in a portion of the field, marked off and bounded from the rest. Ordinances were made to regulate the repairs of fences, the time of excluding cattle in the spring, and the time of gathering the crop and opening the field for the range of cattle in the fall. Each plat of ground in the common field was owned in fee simple by the person to whom granted, subject to sale and conveyance, the same as any landed property.

A common is a tract of land granted to the town for wood and pasturage, in which each owner of a village lot has a common, but not an individual right. In some cases this tract embraced several thousand acres.

By this arrangement, something like a community system existed in their intercourse. If the head of a family was sick, met with any casualty, or was absent as an *engagee*, his family sustained little inconvenience. His plat in the common field was cultivated by his neighbors and the crop gathered. A pleasant custom existed in these French villages not thirty years since, and which had come down from the remotest period.

The husbandman on his return at evening from his daily toil, was always met by his affectionate *femme* with the friendly kiss, and very commonly with one, perhaps two of the youngest children, to receive the same salutation from *le pere*. This daily interview was at the gate of the door yard, and in view of all the villagers. The simple-hearted people were a happy and contented race. A few traits of these ancient characteristics remain, but most of the descendents of the French are fully Americanised.

SECTION FOURTH.

State of the Country under British Domination.

Amongst the sources of information concerning the Illinois country during the period of British rule, is a quarto volume entitled, "*The present state of the European Settlements on the Mississippi,*" by Captain Phillip Pitman. It was published in London, 1770, contains 108 pages, and is illustrated by maps and charts.

Captain Pitman was military Engineer in the British army,

and in that capacity was sent to survey the forts, munitions of war and towns in Florida, in 1763, when the British took possession of that country. Having surveyed the fortifications of Pensacola and Mobile, near the Gulph, he proceeded to the posts and settlements on the Mississippi, and after surveying New Orleans and the other posts in Louisiana proper, he reached Illinois about 1766. He describes "the country of Illinois, as bounded by the Mississippi on the West, by the river Illinois on the north, the rivers Ouabache and Miamies on the East, and the Ohio on the South." Of this tract of country he says:—

"The air in general, is pure, and the sky serene, except in the month of March and the latter end of September, when there are heavy rains and hard gales of wind. The months of May, June, July and August, are excessively hot, and subject to sudden and violent storms. January and February are extremely cold, the other months in the year are moderate."

Very probably during the seasons Captain Pitman was in Illinois, "heavy rains" occurred in the latter end of September, but in the proportion of five years out of six, the autumnal months are dry; the pastures decay; and farmers find inconvenience in sowing wheat, from the drouth. During the periodical rise of the rivers in the spring, and especially the annual rise of the Missouri in June, rain falls to a greater or less extent. Captain Pitman, whose accuracy, in general, cannot be questioned, probably drew his comparison of the climate and seasons in Illinois with England, to which he had been accustomed. He continues:—

"The principal Indian nations in this country are, the Cascasquias, Kahoquias, Mitchigamias, and Peoryas; these four tribes are generally called the Illinois Indians. Except in the hunting seasons, they reside near the English settlements in this country. They are a poor, debauched, and detestable people. They count about three hundred and fifty warriors. The Pianquichas, Mascoutins, Miamies, Kickapous, and Pyatonons, though not very numerous, are a brave and war-like people.

"The soil of this country in general, is very rich and luxuriant; it produces all sorts of European grains, hops, hemp, flax, cotton, and tobacco, and European fruits come to great perfection.

"The inhabitants make wine of the wild grapes, which is very inebriating, and is, in color and taste, very like the red wine of *Provence*. * * * * *

"In the late wars, New Orleans and the lower parts of Louisiana were supplied with flour, beef, wines, hams, and other provisions from this country. At present its commerce is mostly confined to the peltry and furs, which are got in traffic from the Indians; for which are received in return, such European commodities as are necessary to carry on that commerce and the support of the inhabitants."

Of Fort Chartres, which was rebuilt in 1756, under the authority of the French government, in view of the hostilities then existing between England and France for the possession of the country on the Ohio, Captain Pitman gives the following description:—

"Fort Chartres, when it belonged to France, was the seat of government of the Illinois. The head quarters of the English commanding officer is now here, who, in fact, is the arbitrary governor of this country. The fort is an irregular quadrangle; the sides of the exterior polygon are 490 feet. It is built of stone, and plastered over, and is only designed as a defence against the Indians. The walls are two feet two inches thick, and are pierced with loop-holes at regular distances, and with two port-holes for cannon in the faces, and two in the flanks of each bastion. The ditch has never been finished. The entrance to the fort is through a very handsome rustic gate. Within the walls is a banquette raised three feet, for the men to stand on when they fire through the loop-holes. The buildings within the fort are, a commandant's and commissary's house, the magazine of stores, corps de garde, and two barracks; these occupy the square. Within the gorges of the bastion are a powder magazine, a bake-house, and a prison, in the lower floor of which are four dungeons, and in the upper, two rooms, and an out-house belonging to commandant. The commandant's house is thirty-two yards long and ten broad, and contains a kitchen, a dining-room, a bed-chamber, one small room, five closets for servants, and a cellar. The commissary's house, (now occupied by officers,) is built on the same line as this, and its proportion and the distribution of its apartments are the same. Opposite these are the store-house and the guard-house; they are each thirty yards long and eight broad. The former consists of two large store-rooms, (under which is a large vaulted cellar,) a large room, a bed-chamber, and a closet for the store-keeper; the latter of a soldiers' and officers' guard room, a chapel, a bed-chamber, a closet for the chaplain, and an artillery store-room. The lines of barracks have never been finished; they at present consist of two rooms, each for officers, and three for soldiers: they are each twenty feet square, and have betwixt them a small passage. There are fine spacious lofts over each building

which reach from end to end; these are made use of to lodge regimental stores, working and entrenching tools, &c. It is generally believed that this is the most convenient and best built fort in North America."

In 1756, the fort stood half a mile from the bank of the river; in 1766, it was 80 yards. In two years after, Captain Pitman states:—

The bank of the Mississippi, next the fort, is continually falling in, being worn away by the current, which has been turned from its course by a sand-bank, now increased to a considerable island, covered with willows. Many experiments have been tried to stop this growing evil, but to no purpose. Eight years ago the river was fordable to the Island; the channel is now forty feet deep.

In the year 1764, there were about forty families in the village near the fort, and a parish church, served by a Franciscan friar, dedicated to Ste. Anne. In the following year, when the English took possession of the country, they abandoned their houses, except three or four poor families, and settled in the villages on the west side of the Mississippi, choosing to continue under the French government."

About the year 1770, the river made further encroachments, and in 1772, it inundated portions of the American bottom, and formed a channel so near this fort, that the wall and two bastions on the west side, next the river, were undermined and fell into the river. The British garrison abandoned it, and it has never since been occupied. Those portions of the wall which escaped the flood, have been removed by the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and adjacent settlements for building purposes.

In 1820, Dr. Lewis C. Beck, of New York, while collecting materials for his Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri, visited these ruins, and aided by Mr. Hanson of Illinois, made a complete and accurate survey, with an engraved plan of the fort as it then appeared. The line of the exterior wall was one thousand four hundred and forty-seven feet. The two houses, formerly occupied by the commandant and commissary, were each ninety-six feet in length and thirty feet in breadth.

The following description, as it then appeared, is from Beck's Gazetteer, pp. 108, 109.

"In front, all that remains, is a small stone cellar, which has no doubt been a magazine: some distance above, or north

of this, is an excavation in the earth, which has the appearance of having been burned; it may have been a furnace for heating shot, as one of the cannon must have been in this vicinity. Not a vestige of the wall is to be seen on this side, except a few stones, which still remain in the ravine below. At the south-east angle there is a gate, and the wall is perfeet. It is about fifteen feet high and three feet thick, and is built of coarse lime-stone, quarried in the hills about two miles distant, and is well cemented. The south side is, with few exceptions, perfect; as is also the south-east bastion. The north-east is generally in ruins. On the east face are two port holes for cannon, which are still perfect; they are about three feet square, formed by solid rocks or clefts worked smooth, and into proper shape; here is also a large gate, 18 feet wide, the sides of which still remain in a state of tolerable preservation; the cornices and casements, however, which formerly ornamented it, have all been taken away. A considerable portion of the north side of the fort, has also been destroyed.

The houses, which make up the square in the inside, are generally in ruins. Sufficient, however, remains to enable the visitor to ascertain exactly their dimensions and relative situations. The well, which is little injured by time, is about 24 feet north of the north-east house, which, according to Pitman, was the commandant's house. The banquette is entirely destroyed. The magazine is in a perfect state, and is an uncommon specimen of solidity. Its walls are four feet thick, and it is arched in the inside.

Over the whole fort, there is a considerable growth of trees, and in the hall of one of the houses, there is an oak about 18 inches in diameter.

There is now (1850) a large Island in the river where a sand-bar "covered with willows," had commenced at the period of Captain Pitman's survey. A "slough" is next the ruins. Trees more than three feet in diameter, are within the walls. It is a ruin in the midst of a dense forest, and did we not know its origin and history, it might furnish a fruitful theme of antiquarian speculation.

Captain Pitman gives the following description of *Kaskaskia*, or according to the French orthography of the period, which he follows, *Cascasquias*.

"The village of Notre Dame de Cascasquias is by far the most considerable settlement in the country of the Illinois, as well from its number of inhabitants, as from its advantageous situation. * * * * * *

"Mons. Paget was the first who introduced water-mills in this country, and he constructed a very fine one on the river

Cascasquias, which was both for grinding corn and sawing boards. It lies about one mile from the village. The mill proved fatal to him, being killed as he was working it, with two negroes, by a party of the Cherokees, in the year 1764.

"The principal buildings are, the church and Jesuits' house, which has a small chapel adjoining it; these, as well as some other houses in the village, are built of stone, and, considering this part of the world, make a very good appearance.—The Jesuits' plantation consisted of two hundred and forty arpents of cultivated land,* a very good stock of cattle, and a brewery; which was sold by the French commandant, after the country was ceded to the English, for the crown, in consequence of the suppression of the order.

"Mons. Beauvais was the purchaser, who is the richest of the English subjects in this country; he keeps eighty slaves; he furnishes eighty-six thousand weight of flour to the King's magazine, which was only a part of the harvest he reaped in one year.

"Sixty-five families reside in this village, besides merchants, other casual people, and slaves. The fort, which was burnt down in October, 1766, stood on the summit of a high rock opposite the village, and on the opposite side of the [Kaskaskia] river. It was an oblongular quadrangle, of which the exterior polygon measured two hundred and ninety, by two hundred and fifty-one feet. It was built of very thick squared timber, and dove-tailed at the angles. An officer and twenty soldiers are quartered in the village. The officer governs the inhabitants, under the direction of the commandant at Chartres. Here are also two companies of militia."

Prairie du Rocher, or "La Prairie de Roches," as Captain Pitman has it, is next described—

"As about seventeen [fourteen] miles from Cascasquias.—It is a small village, consisting of twelve dwelling-houses, all of which are inhabited by as many families. Here is a little chapel, formerly a chapel of ease to the church at Fort Chartres. The inhabitants here are very industrious, and raise a great deal of corn and every kind of stock. The village is two miles from Fort Chartres. [This means *Little Village*, which was a mile, or more, nearer than the fort.] It takes its name from its situation, being built under a rock that runs parallel with the river Mississippi at a league distance, for forty miles up. Here is a company of militia, the Captain of which regulates the police of the village."

Saint Phillippe is a small village about five miles from Fort Chartres, on the road to Kaoquias. There are about sixteen

* An *arpent* is 85-100ths of an English acre.—EDITOR.

houses and a small church standing; all of the inhabitants, except the Captain of the militia, deserted it 1765, and went to the French side, [Missouri.] The Captain of the militia has about twenty slaves, a good stock of cattle, and a water-mill for corn and planks. This village stands in a very fine meadow, about one mile from the Mississippi."

Next follows a description of Cahokia, or, in the orthography of the time, "Kaoquias," which we give entire. It will be kept in mind that Captain Pitman was officially employed in surveying all the forts, villages and improvements to be found in the English territories on the Mississippi and Gulph of Mexico; that he was engaged several years in this work by personal observation, and that the work from which these extracts are made is an official document of great value as filling up a chasm in the history of Illinois, for which no other correct sources of information are to be found.

"The village of Saint Famille de Kaoquias," (so Pitman writes,) 'is generally reckoned fifteen leagues from Fort Chartres, and six leagues below the mouth of the Missoury. It stands near the side of the Mississippi, and is marked from the river by an Island of two leagues long. [See Annals, p. 122.] The village is opposite the centre of this Island; it is long and straggling, being three quarters of a mile from one end to the other. It contains forty-five dwelling-houses, and a church near its centre. The situation is not well chosen; as in the floods it is generally overflowed two or three feet.—This was the first settlement on the Mississippi. The land was purchased of the savages by a few Canadians, some of whom married women of the Kaoquias nation, and others brought wives from Canada, and then resided there, leaving their children to succeed them.

"The inhabitants of this place depend more on hunting, and their Indian trade, than on agriculture, as they scarcely raise corn enough for their own consumption; they have a great plenty of poultry and good stocks of horned cattle.

"The mission of St. Sulpice had a very fine plantation here, and an excellent house built on it. They sold this estate and a very good mill for corn and planks, to a Frenchman who chose to remain under the English government.—They also disposed of thirty negroes and a good stock of cattle to different people in the country, and returned to France in 1764. What is called the fort, is a small house standing in the centre of the village. It differs nothing from the other houses, except in being one of the poorest. It was formerly enclosed with high pallisades, but these were torn down and burnt. Indeed, a fort at this place could be of but little use.

In the language of Captain Pitman, we have given a full and accurate description of the settlements in Illinois, at the period it passed from the dominion of France to that of Great Britain. The population of all classes, other than the aborigines, could not have exceeded three thousand persons. About one-third of this number left the country. The missionaries, with their attendants, returned to France. Many families directed their course to the vicinity of New Orleans. A still larger number crossed the river to Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis and St. Charles. Not more than two thousand French, English and negroes remained. The increase during British rule did not exceed the number who retreated. The cession took place in 1763, but it remained in the possession of the French until the year 1765. M. St. Ange de Belle Rive was commandant at Fort Chartres, and Lieutenant Governor of the district of Illinois. He made some wise and salutary regulations about titles to lands, and on the arrival of Captain Stirling, of the Royal Highlanders, to assume, in the name of His Britannic Majesty, the government of the country, St. Ange retired to St. Louis, and there exercised the functions of commandant, much to the satisfaction of the people, until November, 1770, when his authority was superceded by Piernas, commandant under the Spanish government.

At the period of the change of government in Illinois, General Gage was Commander-in-Chief of the King's troops in North America. Captain Stirling brought to the country the following proclamation of Governor Gage:—

"Whereas, by the peace concluded at Paris, the 10th day of February, 1763, the country of Illinois has been ceded to his Britannic Majesty, and the taking possession of the said country of the Illinois, by the troops of his majesty, though delayed, has been determined upon; we have found it good to make known to the inhabitants—

That his majesty grants to the inhabitants of the Illinois, the liberty of the catholic religion, as has already been granted to his subjects in Canada. He has consequently given the most precise and effective orders, to the end, that his new Roman Catholic subjects of the Illinois may exercise the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish church, in the same manner as in Canada.

"That his majesty, moreover, agrees that the French inhabitants or others, who have been subjects of the most Christian king, (the king of France,) may retire in full safety and free-

dom wherever they please, even to New Orleans, or any part of Louisiana; although it should happen that the Spaniards take possession of it in the name of his Catholic majesty, (the king of Spain,) and they may sell their estates, provided it be to subjects of his majesty, and transport their effects as well as their persons, without restraint upon their emigration, under any pretence whatever, except in consequence of debts, or of criminal processes.

"That those who choose to retain their lands and become subjects of his majesty, shall enjoy the same rights and privileges, the same security for their persons and effects, and the liberty of trade, as the old subjects of the king.

"That they are commanded by these presents, to take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his majesty, in presence of Sieur Stirling, captain of the Highland regiment, the bearer hereof, and furnished with our full powers for this purpose.

"That we recommend forcibly to the inhabitants, to conduct themselves like good and faithful subjects, avoiding, by a wise and prudent demeanor, all causes of complaint against them.

"That they act in concert with his majesty's officers, so that his troops may take possession of all the forts, and order be kept in the country. By this means alone they will spare his majesty the necessity of recurring to force of arms, and will find themselves saved from the scourge of a bloody war, and of all the evils which the march of an army into their country would draw after it.

"We direct that those presents be read, published, and posted up in the usual places.

"Done and given at head-quarters, New York—signed with our hands—sealed with our seal at arms, and countersigned by our Secretary, this 30th of December, 1764.

"THOMAS GAGE.*

"By his Excellency, G. M. TURIN."

Captain Stirling remained but a short time in Illinois. He was succeeded by Major Farmer, of whose administration little is known. Next in office was Colonel Reed, who made himself conspicuous by a series of military oppressions, of which complaints were made without redress. He became odiously unpopular and left the colony.

The next in command was Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkins, who arrived at Kaskaskia on the 5th of September, 1768. On the 21st of November following, he issued a proclamation, stating that he had received orders from Gen. Gage to establish a court of justice in Illinois, for settling all disputes and

* Brown's Illinois, pp. 212, 213.

controversies between man and man, and all claims in relation to property, both real and personal.

As military commandant, Colonel Wilkins appointed seven judges, who met and held their first court at Fort Chartres, December 6th, 1768. Courts were then held once in each month.

Even this system, though greatly preferable to a military tribunal, was far from satisfying the claims of the people. They insisted on a trial by a jury, which being denied them, the court became unpopular.

In 1772, after the flood already noticed, the seat of government was removed to Kaskaskia.

We know not at what period Colonel Wilkins left the country, nor whether any other British officer succeeded him. When taken possession of by Colonel Clark, in 1778, M. Rochblave, a Frenchman, was commandant. [See Annals, p. 195.]

CHAPTER II.

SKETCHES OF ILLINOIS HISTORY.

Sketches of Indian History in Illinois—Progress of Illinois from 1800 to 1812—Incidents of the War in Illinois.

SECTION FIRST.

Events from 1777 *to* 1800.

A communication from Hon. John Reynolds, of Belleville, Illinois, to whom we are indebted for several items of the history of that State, gives the following statement, dated April 7th, 1850.

"Dear Sir:—Mr. N. Boismenue, a native of Cahokia, gave me the following facts, which he received from his father and other citizens of Cahokia. They are connected with the revolution, and date one or two years before Colonel Clark conquered the country. You may rest assured as to the truth of the same."

As we have personal knowledge of Mr. Boismenue, and his character for veracity and a retentive memory, and having before heard of such an enterprize, we have no hesitation in giving it a place, as an incident connected with Illinois.

Evidence has already been given, that the French population disliked the British government, and only wanted a favorable opportunity to throw off the yoke.

Notwithstanding all that has been said in the preceding chapter, of the quiet, peaceful, unambitious character of the many, there was restlessness and a daring spirit among the few. Of this class was the party described by Mr. Boismenue. Whether their motives were purely patriotic or of a mixed character, cannot now be known.

We give the facts substantially as communicated by our correspondent.

There was at Cahokia, a restless, adventurous, daring man by the name of Thomas Brady, or as he was familiarly called, "Tom Brady;" a native of Pennsylvania, who, by hunting, or in some other pursuit, found himself a resident of Cahokia. He raised a company of sixteen resolute persons, all of Cahokia and the adjacent village of Prairie du Pont, of which the father of Mr. Boismenue, the informant, was one. After becoming organized for an expedition, the party moved through the prairies to a place called the "Cow Pens," on the river St. Joseph, in the south-western part of Michigan. Here was a trading-post and fort originally established by the French, but since the transfer of the country, had been occupied by the British by a small force, as a protection of their traders from the Indians. In 1777, it consisted of twenty-one men.

Brady, with his little band of volunteers, left Cahokia about the 1st of October, 1777, and made their way to the fort, which they captured in the night, without loss on either side, except a negro. This person was a slave from some of the colonies on the Mississippi, who, in attempting to escape, was shot. One object of this expedition, probably, was the British goods in the fort.

The company started back as far as the Calumet, a stream on the border of Indiana, south-east of Chicago, when they were overtaken by a party of British, Canadians and Indians, about three hundred in number, who attacked the Cahokians and forced them to surrender. Two of Brady's party were killed, two wounded, one escaped, and twelve were made prisoners. These remained prisoners in Canada two years, except Brady, who made his escape, and returned to Illinois

by way of Pennsylvania. M. Boismenue, senior, was one of the wounded men.

The next spring a Frenchman, by the name of Paulette Maize, a daring fellow, raised about 300 volunteers from Cahokia, St. Louis, and other French villages, to re-capture the fort on the river St. Joseph. This campaign was by land, across the prairies in the spring of 1778. It was successful; the fort was re-taken, and the peltries and goods became the spoil of the victors. The wounded men returned home with Maize. One gave out; they had no horses; and he was dispatched by the leader, to prevent the company being detained on their retreat, lest the same disaster should befal them as happened to Brady, and his company. Some of the members of the most ancient and respectable families in Cahokia, were in this expedition.

Thomas Brady became the Sheriff of the county of St. Clair, after its organization by the Governor of the North-Western territory in 1790. He was regarded as a trust-worthy citizen and died at Cahokia many years since. After the conquest of Illinois, the ancient inhabitants of the new county formed by Virginia, [Annals, p. 200,] took the oath of allegiance to that State.

In the spring of 1779, Colonel John Todd, bearing the commission of County Lieutenant for the county of Illinois, visited Post Vincennes and Kaskaskia, for the purpose of organizing a temporary government, according to the provisions of the act of the General Assembly of Virginia, of October 1778. On the 15th of June, Mr. Todd issued the following proclamation.*

"*Illinois* [*county,*] *to-wit:*—Whereas, from the fertility and beautiful situation of the lands bordering upon the Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, and Wabash rivers, the taking up the usual quantity of land heretofore allowed for a settlement by the government of Virginia, would injure both the strength and commerce of this country—I do, therefore, issue this proclamation, strictly enjoining all persons whatsoever from making any new settlements upon the flat lands of the said rivers, or within one league of said lands, unless in manner and form of settlements as heretofore made by the French inhabitants, until further orders herein given. And in order that all the claims to lands in said county may be fully known, and some

* Dillon's Indiana, i. 186.

method provided for perpetuating by record the just claims, every inhabitant is required, as soon as conveniently may be, to lay before the person in each district appointed for that purpose, a memorandum of his or her land, with copies of all their vouchers; and where vouchers have never been given, or are lost, such depositions or certificates as will tend to support their claims;—the memorandum to mention the quantity of land, to whom originally granted, and when—deducing the title through the various occupants to the present possessor.

The number of adventurers who will shortly overrun this country renders the above method necessary as well to ascertain the vacant lands as to guard against trespasses which will probably be committed on lands not of record.

Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia, the 15th of June, in the 3d year of the Commonwealth, 1779.

JOHN TODD, Jr."

For the preservation of peace and the administration of justice, a court of civil and criminal jurisdiction was instituted at Post Vincennes, in June, 1779. The court was composed of several magistrates. Colonel J. M. P. Legras, having been appointed commandant of the town, acted as president of the court, and in some cases exercised a controlling influence over its proceedings. Adopting in some measure the usages and customs of the early French commandants, the magistrates of the Court of Post Vincennes began to grant or concede tracts of land to the French and American inhabitants of the town, and to different civil and military officers of the country. Indeed it appears that the court assumed the power of granting lands to every applicant. Before the year 1783, about twenty-six thousand acres of land were granted to different individuals. From 1783 to 1787, when the practice was stopped by General Harmar, the grants amounted to twenty-two thousand acres.* They were given in tracts varying in quantities from four hundred acres to the size of a house lot. Besides these small concessions there were some grants of tracts several leagues square. The commandant and magistrates, after having exercised this power for some time, began to believe that they had the right to dispose of all that large tract of land which, in 1742, had been granted by the Piankeshaw Indians, for the use of the French inhabitants of Post Vincennes. "Accordingly an arrangement was made, by which the whole country to which the Indian title was supposed to be extinguished, was divided between the members of the court, and orders to that effect entered on their journal: each member absenting himself from the court on the day that the order was to be made in his favor, so that it might appear to be the act of his fellows only.‡

Colonel Todd was killed at the battle of Blue Licks, [An-

‡ Letter written in 1790, from Winthrop Sargent to George Washington.

nals, p. 272,] where he commanded the Kentuckians. He had been to Virginia on business pertaining to Illinois, returning through Kentucky, and not having resigned his command in the militia of that district, he led the troops to the battle field. Had he lived he would have become a resident of Illinois.—His administration in the new territory was patriotic and popular.

The successor of Colonel Todd was a French gentleman by the name of Timothy de Monbrun, whose official signature is found to land grants and other documents in the archives of Randolph county. His name appears at the head of a trading company at the French Licks, (Nashville, Tenn.) before the revolutionary war. How long he administered the affairs of the country we know not, and whether any other person was his successor is equally doubtful. The reader will recollect that in 1784, Virginia ceded the North-Western territory to the Continental Congress, and that the territory of Illinois remained without an organized government until 1790 [Annals, p. 576.]

The next series of events demanding attention, are the first American settlements in Illinois, and their difficulties with the Indians.

The military expedition of General George Rogers Clark, in 1788, and the subjection of the forts of St. Vincent, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia, was the occasion of making known the fertile plains of Illinois to the people of the Atlantic States, and exciting a spirit of emigration to the banks of the Mississippi. Some who accompanied him in that expedition, shortly after returned and took possession of the conquered country.

At the period of which we speak, with the exception of the old French villages of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres, Village a Cote, Prairie du Pont, and a few families scattered along the Wabash and Illinois rivers, Illinois was the abode of the untamed savage.

Tradition tells us of many a hard-fought battle between the original owners of the country and these intruders. *Battle-ground creek* is well known, on the road from Kaskaskia to Shawneetown, twenty-five miles from the former place, where the Kaskaskias and their allies were dreadfully slaughtered by the united forces of the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies.

Of the Indians, the Kickapoos were the most formidable and most dangerous neighbors to the whites, and for a number of years kept the American settlements in continual alarm. At first, they appeared friendly; but from 1786 to 1796, a period of ten years, the settlements were in a continual state of alarm from these and other Indians.

The first settlement formed by emigrants from the United States, was made near Bellefontaine, Monroe county, in 1781, by James Moore, whose numerous descendants now reside in the same settlement. Mr. Moore was a native of Maryland, but came to Illinois from Western Virginia, with his family, in company with James Garrison, Robert Kidd, Shadrach Bond, sen., and Larkin Rutherford. They passed through the wilderness of the Ohio river, where they took water, came down the river, and up the Mississippi to Kaskaskia. Mr. Moore, and a portion of his party, planted themselves on the hills near Bellefontaine, and Garrison, Bond, and the rest, settled in the American bottom, near Harrisonville. This station became afterwards known by the name of the block-house fort.

Nothing deserving special notice occurred amongst this little band of pioneers, till 1785, when they were joined by Jos. Ogle, Jos. Worley, and James Andrews, with large families, from Virginia. In 1786, the settlements were strengthened by the arrival of James Lemen, George Atcherson, and David Waddell, with their families, and several others. The same year, the Kickapoo Indians commenced their course of predatory warfare. A single murder, that of James Flannery, had been committed in 1783, while on a hunting excursion, but it was not regarded as an act of war.

But in 1786, they attacked the settlement, killed James Andrews, his wife and daughter, James White and Samuel McClure, and took two girls, daughters of Andrews, prisoners. One of these died with the Indians, the other was ransomed by the French traders. She is now alive, the mother of a large family, and resides in St. Clair county. The Indians had previously threatened the settlement, and the people had built and entered a block-house; but this family was out and defenceless.

1787. Early in this year, five families near Bellefontaine, united and built a block-house, surrounded it with palisades, in which their families resided. While laboring in the corn-

field, they were obliged to carry their rifles, and often at night had to keep guard. Under these embarrassments, and in daily alarm, they cultivated their corn-fields.

1788. This year the war assumed a more threatening aspect. Early in the spring, William Biggs was taken prisoner. While himself, John Vallis, and Joseph and Benjamin Ogle, were passing from the station on the hills to the Block-house fort in the bottom, they were attacked by the Indians. Biggs and Vallis were a few rods in advance of the party. Vallis was killed and Biggs taken prisoner. The others escaped unhurt. Biggs was taken through the prairies to the Kickapoo towns on the Wabash, from whence he was finally liberated by means of the French traders. The Indians treated him well, offered him the daughter of a brave for a wife, and proposed to adopt him into their tribe. He afterwards became a resident of St. Clair county, was a member of the territorial legislature, judge of the county court, and wrote and published a narrative of his captivity among the Indians.

On the 10th day of December, in the same year, James Garrison and Benjamin Ogle, while hauling hay from the bottom, were attacked by two Indians; Ogle was shot in the shoulder, where the ball remained; Garrison sprang from the load and escaped into the woods. The horses taking fright, carried Ogle safe to the settlements. In stacking the same hay, Samuel Garrison and a Mr. Riddick were killed and scalped.

1789. This was a period of considerable mischief. Three boys were attacked by six Indians, a few yards from the block-house, one of which, David Waddel, was struck with a tomahawk in three places, scalped, and yet recovered; the others escaped unhurt. A short time previous, James Turner, a young man, was killed on the American bottom. Two men were afterwards killed and scalped while on their way to St. Louis. In another instance, two men were attacked on a load of hay; one was killed outright, the other was scalped, but recovered. The same year John Ferrel was killed, and John Dempsey was scalped and made his escape. The Indians frequently stole the horses and killed the cattle of the settlers.

1790. The embarrassments of these frontier people greatly increased, and they lived in continual alarm. In the winter, a party of Osage Indians, who had not molested them hitherto,

came across the Mississippi, stole a number of horses, and attempted to recross the river. The Americans followed and fired upon them. James Worley, an old settler, having got in advance of his party, was shot, scalped, and his head cut off and left on the sand-bar. The same year, James Smith, a Baptist preacher from Kentucky, while on a visit to these frontiers, was taken prisoner by a party of Kickapoos. On the 19th May, in company with Mrs. Huff and a Frenchman, he was proceeding from the block-house to a settlement then known by the name of the Little Village. The Kickapoos fired upon them from an ambuscade near Bellefontaine, killed the Frenchman's horse, sprang upon the woman and her child, whom they despatched with a tomahawk, and took Smith. His horse being shot, he attempted to flee on foot; and having some valuable papers in his saddle-bags, he threw them into a thicket, where they were found next day by his friends. Having retreated a few yards down the hill, he fell on his knees in prayer for the poor woman they were butchering, and who had been seriously impressed, for some days, about religion. The Frenchman escaped on foot in the thickets. The Indians soon had possession of Smith, loaded him with packs of plunder which they had collected, and took up their line of march through the prairies. Smith was a large, heavy man, and soon became tired under his heavy load, and with the hot sun. Several consultations were held by the Indians, how to dispose of their prisoner. Some were for despatching him outright, being fearful the whites would follow them from the settlement, and frequently pointing their guns at his breast. Knowing well the Indian character, he would bare his breast as if in defiance, and point upwards to signify the Great Spirit was his protector. Seeing him in the attitude of prayer, and hearing him sing hymns on his march, which he did to relieve his own mind from despondency, they came to the conclusion that he was a 'great medicine,' holding daily intercourse with the Good Spirit, and must not be put to death. After this, they took off his burdens and treated him kindly. They took him to the Kickapoo towns on the Wabash, from whence, in a few months, he obtained his deliverance, the inhabitants of New Design paying one hundred and seventy dollars for his ransom.

1791. In the spring of this year, the Indians again com-

menced their depredations by stealing horses. In May, John Dempsey was attacked, but made his escape. A party of eight men followed. The Indians were just double their number. A severe running fight was kept up for several hours, and conducted with great prudence and bravery on the part of the whites. Each party kept the trees for shelter; the Indians retreating, and the Americans pursuing, from tree to tree until night put an end to the conflict. Five Indians were killed without the loss of a man or of a drop of blood on the other side. This party consisted of Capt. N. Hull, who commanded, Joseph Ogle, sen., Benjamin Ogle, James Lemen, sen., J. Ryan, William Bryson, John Porter, and D. Draper.

1792. This was a season of comparative quietness. No Indian fighting; and the only depredations committed, were in stealing a few horses.

1793. This was a period of contention and alarm. The little settlements were strengthened this year by the addition of a band of emigrants from Kentucky; amongst which was the family of Whiteside.

In February, an Indian in ambuscade, wounded Joel Whiteside, and was followed by John Moore, Andrew Kinney, Thos. Todd, and others, killed and scalped. Soon after, a party of Kickapoos, supposed to have been headed by the celebrated war-chief, Old Pecan, made a predatory excursion into the American bottom, near the present residence of S. W. Miles, in Monroe county, and stole nine horses from the citizens. A number of citizens rallied and commenced pursuit; but many having started without preparing for long absence, and being apprehensive that an expedition into the Indian country would be attended with much danger, all returned but eight men. This little band consisted of Samuel Judy, John Whiteside, William L. Whiteside, Uel Whiteside, William Harrington, John Dempsey, and John Porter, with William Whiteside, a man of great prudence and unquestionable bravery in Indian warfare, whom they chose commander.

They passed on the trail near the present site of Belleville, towards the Indian camps on Shoal creek, where they found three of the stolen horses grazing, which they secured. The party then, small as it was, divided into two parts of four men each, and approached the Indian camps from opposite sides. The signal for attack was the discharge of the captain's gun.

One Indian, a son of Old Pecan, was killed, another mortally, and others slightly wounded, as the Indians fled, leaving their guns. Such a display of courage by the whites, and being attacked on two sides at once, made the Indians believe there was a large force, and the old chief approached the party and begged for quarter. But when he discovered his foes to be an insignificant number, and his own party numerous, he called aloud to his braves to return and retrieve their honor. His own gun he surrendered to the whites, but now he seized the gun of the captain, and exerted all his force to wrest it from him. Captain Whiteside was a powerful man, and a stranger to fear; but he compelled the Indian to retire, deeming it dishonorable to destroy an unarmed man, who had previously surrendered.

This intrepid band was now in the heart of the Indian country, where hundreds of warriors could be raised in a few hours' time. In this critical situation, Captain Whiteside, not less distinguished for prudence than bravery, did not long hesitate. With the horses they had recovered, they immediately started for home, without loss of time in hunting the remainder. They travelled night and day, without eating or sleeping, till they reached in safety Whiteside's station, in Monroe county. On the same night, Old Pecan, with seventy warriors, arrived in the vicinity of Cahokia. From that time the very *name* of Whiteside struck terror amongst the Kickapoos.

Hazardous and daring as this expedition was, it met with great disapprobation from many of the settlers. Some alleged that Old Pecan was decidedly friendly to the whites; that another party had stolen the horses; that the attack upon his camp was clandestine and wanton; and that it was the cause of much subsequent mischief. These nice points of casuistry are difficult to be settled at this period. It has long been known, that one portion of a nation or tribe will be on the war-path, while another party will pretend to be peaceable. Hence it has been found necessary to hold the tribe responsible for the conduct of its party.

1794. The Indians, in revenge of the attack just narrated, shot Thomas Whiteside, a young man, near the 'station,' tomahawked a son of William Whiteside, so that he died, all in revenge for the death of Old Pecan's son. In February of the same year, the Indians killed Mr. Huff, one of the early settlers, while on his way to Kaskaskia.

1795. Two men at one time, and some French negroes at another time, were killed on the American bottom, and some prisoners taken. The same year, the family of Mr. McMahan was killed and himself and daughters taken prisoners. This man lived in the outskirts of the settlement. Four Indians attacked his house in day-light, killed his wife and four children before his eyes, laid their bodies in a row on the floor of the cabin, took him and his daughters, and marched for their towns. On the second night, Mr. McMahan, finding the Indians asleep, put on their moccasins and made his escape. He arrived in the settlement just after his neighbors had buried his family. They had enclosed their bodies in rude coffins, and covered them with earth as he came in sight. He looked upon the newly formed hillock, and raising his eyes to heaven in pious resignation, said, 'they were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided." His daughter, now Mrs. Gaskill, of Ridge Prairie, was afterwards ransomed by the charitable contributions of the people.

Not far from this period, the Whitesides, and others, to the number of fourteen persons, made an attack upon an encampment of Indians, of superior force, at the foot of the bluffs west of Belleville. Only one Indian ever returned to his nation to tell the story of their defeat. The graves of the rest were to be seen, a few years since, in the border of the thicket, near the battle ground. In this skirmish, Capt. Wm. Whiteside was wounded, as he thought, mortally, having received a shot in his side. As he fell, he exhorted his sons to fight valiantly, not to yield an inch of ground, nor let the Indians touch his body. Uel Whiteside, who was shot in the arm, and disabled from using the rifle, examined the wound, and found the ball had glanced along the ribs and lodged against the spine. With that presence of mind, which is sometimes characteristic of our backwoods hunters, he whipped out his knife, gashed the skin, extracted the ball, and holding it up, exultingly exclaimed, "Father, you are not dead!" The old man instantly jumped on his feet, and renewed the fight, exclaiming, come on, boys, I can fight them yet! Such instances of desperate intrepidity and martial energy of character, distinguished the men who defended the frontiers of Illinois in those days of peril.

The subjugation of the Indians in the Miami country, by

General Wayne, in 1794, and the treaty that grew out of it the following year, brought peace to the borders of Illinois, and the settlers remained unmolested from these daily alarms. A few horses were stolen from time to time, and in 1802 Joseph Vanmeter and Alexander Dennis were killed on the American bottom, but no attack was made upon the settlements. Families again took up their abodes in the borders of the prairies; emigrants from the States clustered around them, and the cultivation of the soil was pursued without fear or interruption.

During most of the period we have gone over, these people lived under the jurisdiction of the North-Western territory. The administration of civil government was conducted in its most simple form; the morals of the people were pure, and much of rural simplicity and hospitality was enjoyed.

There was something peculiarly interesting in this primitive society. The grosser vices were unknown. There was but very little use for the administration of either civil or criminal laws. Ardent spirit, that outrage upon morals, social order, and religion, had been introduced but in small quantities; thefts and other crimes were extremely rare, and fraud and dishonesty in dealings, but seldom practised. The Moores, Ogles, Lemens, and other families, were of unblemished morals, and were impelled by a love of freedom to leave the banks of the Potomac, in Virginia, for a residence on the prairies of Illinois. They were opposed to slavery, and took up their long line of march for these wild regions, that they and their posterity might enjoy, uninterrupted, the advantages of a country unembarrassed with slavery.

For the first eight or ten years of the period I have glanced over, the only professor of religion in the colony was a female, who had been a member of the Presbyterian church; yet the sabbath was observed with religious consecration. The people were accustomed to assemble, sing hymns, and read a portion of scripture or a sermon. No one ventured to offer a prayer.

In 1778, James Smith, a Baptist preacher from Kentucky, whose captivity with the Indians has been narrated, visited the settlement and preached to the people. The influence of the divine spirit descended, and some were converted. This was the first protestant preaching, and these were the first

converts, and this the first revival of religion, ever known on the banks of the "father of waters."

In 1790, Smith made his first visit to the country, preached several times, and other persons became anxious about their souls, amongst whom was the woman who was murdered, when he was captured. Owing to the unsettled state of the country, it was not deemed expedient to organize a church.—Amongst the converts made under the preaching of Smith, were Joseph Ogle and some of his children, James Lemen, sen., their wives and others.

In 1793, Joseph Lillard, a Methodist preacher, made a visit to the country, and attended several meetings. Some of the families embraced Methodist principles. The succeeding year, Josiah Dodge, a regular Baptist preacher, originally from Connecticut, but then from Kentucky, visited Illinois, and preached the gospel with some success. The next year he returned and baptized James Lemen, sen., and wife, John Gibbons and Isaac Enocks. This was the first instance of the ordinance of baptism being administered by a protestant in these ends of the earth. During the same year, 1796, elder David Badgley from Virginia, visited Illinois, and organized the Baptist church at New Design, which was the first regularly organized protestant community.

It is worthy of note, that the descendants of those early settlers whose attention was turned to religion, and for whom the Lord spread a table in the wilderness, are now worthy and respectable members of christian churches. A large majority of the Moores, Lemens and Ogles, are of this description.

In a few years, preachers of the gospel were raised up in the country, many of whom are now alive; and notwithstanding the difficulties they had to surmount, and the privations to endure, they have been instrumental in doing much good. In those days, that minister's library was thought to be well supplied, that contained a complete copy of the Holy Scriptures, a copy of Watts' Psalms and Hymns, and Russell's seven Sermons. There were preachers then, who taught the people in the best manner they were able, without possessing, and without the power of obtaining a *whole copy* of the Word of God.

The opportunity of these pioneers to educate their children

was extremely small. If the mother could read, while the father was in the cornfield, or with his rifle upon the range, she would barricade the door to keep off the Indians, gather her little ones around her, and by the light that came in from the crevices in the roof and sides of the cabin, she would teach them the rudiments of spelling from the fragments of some old book. After schools were taught, the price of a rough and antiquated copy of Dilworth's spelling book was *one* dollar, and that dollar equal in value to *five* now.

The first school ever taught for the American settlers, was by Samuel Seely, in 1783. Francis Clark, an intemperate man, came next. This was near Bellefontaine, in 1785.—After this, an inoffensive Irishman of small attainments, by the name of Halfpenny, was employed by the people for several quarters. Spelling, reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic, were all the branches attempted to be taught, and these in a very imperfect manner.

Following him, the late pious and eccentric John Clark, a preacher of the gospel, taught the youth of these settlements gratuitously. He was a good scholar, of Scotch descent and education, and initiated the young men of that day, not only in the rudiments of an English education, but in several instances, in mathematics, natural philosophy, and the latin language.

The year 1797 was distinguished for a mortal sickness that prevailed in the settlement of New Design. A colony of one hundred and twenty-six persons, left the south branch of the Potomac, in Virginia, early in the spring, descended the Ohio by water, landed at Fort Massac, bringing their horses and wagons, with which they crossed the wilderness to New Design. The season proved uncommonly rainy; the mud was excessively deep, and frequently for miles in extent, they were obliged to wade through sheets of water. They were twenty-one days in traversing this wilderness, which is mostly a timbered region. The old settlers had been so long harrassed with Indian warfare, that agriculture had been neglected, their cattle were few in number, and their stock of provisions very scanty. Their cabins usually consisted of a single room, for all domestic purposes; and though hospitality to strangers is a universal trait in frontier character, it was utterly beyond the power of the inhabitants to provide accommodations in

provisions or shelter to these new comers, who arrived in a famishing, deplorable, and sickly condition. They did the best they could; a single cabin frequently contained three or four families. Their rifles could procure venison from the prairies; but the extreme rains were followed with unusual heat; they had no salt, and their meat was often in "spoiling order," before they could pack it from the hunting grounds to the settlement. Medical aid was procured with the greatest difficulty, and that but seldom. Under such circumstances, need it surprise the reader, that of the one hundred and twenty-six emigrants who left Virginia in the spring, only sixty-three remained at the close of summer. A little bluff had been entirely covered with newly-formed graves! They were swept off by a putrid fever, uncommonly malignant, and which sometimes did its work in a few hours. The old inhabitants were healthy as usual.

The settlers state, that no disease like it ever appeared in the country before or since. Intelligence of this fatal sickness reached the Atlantic states, found its way into the periodical journals, and, more than all other events, has produced an impression abroad, that all Illinois is a sickly country; an impression wholly incorrect. Illinois, unquestionably, is as healthy a region as any western state.

SECTION II.

Sketches of Indian History in Illinois.

The territory of Illinois, south of a line from about Quincy to Ottowa, was originally claimed by a confederacy of tribes under the general name of Illinois, or as called by Hennepin (of doubtful authority,) *Illini*. We have searched every authority within our reach, for the etymology and meaning of this name. The most elaborate work in our library on Indian names and the structure of numerous languages and dialects of the aborigines of our country, is the second volume of the "*Archæologia Americana*," or Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society. This work contains 422 large octavo pages, from the pen of the late Albert Gallatin, Esq., whose researches in this department of literature are the most extensive to be found. "The works of Eliot, Colton, Roger Williams, and Edwards of New England; the dictionary of Father Rasle, illustrated by the learned and discrimina-

ting Pickering; and the researches of Heckewelder and Zeisberger, on whose data have been reared the philosophical hypotheses of Du Ponceau;" are investigations in the languages and dialects of the Indian nations, most profound and searching. Mr. Gallatin has brought together in one view, the languages and dialects of all the Indian nations of North America, so far as authentic specimens could be procured. We are thus particular to remove any impressions that our suggestion of the origin and meaning of the term *Illinois* is fanciful.

The aborigines of this continent are not of one stock. In language, religion, manners, customs, figure, mental power, and other characteristics, the native inhabitants of North America were divided into several distinct classes; and these again, were subdivided into numerous confederacies and tribes, differing from each other in dialect, and slight modifications of character. The first division, and the only one that demands attention in this work, has been denominated by the French the *Algonquin* race; by Mr. Schoolcraft, the *Algic* race.

This was the most numerous class when the continent was first visited by Europeans, and, embraced all the Indians of Canada, New England and New York, except the *Iroquois* or "Six Nations," who are a different and a superior stock. The *Lenno-lenape*, or Delawares, of New Jersey and Pennsylvania; the Powhattan confederacy of Virginia, the Chouannons, or Shawanoes, from James' River to Florida; the Meaumies [Miamies] of Ohio and Indiana; the O'jibways, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Musquakies, [Fox Indians] Saukies, Kickapoos, and many others, including the Illinois confederacy, are of the Algonquin or Algic stock. They are called in the work before us, the *Algonquin-Lenape* nations.

The name Illinois is derived from *Lenno*, "man." The Delaware Indians (according to Heckewelder and Zeisberger) call themselves Lenno-Lenape, which means "original, or unmixed men." The term *manly* men, to distinguish themselves from mean, trifling men, would convey the exact idea. "Nape" means "male," and "Lenape" a real man.

The tribes along the Illinois gave the French explorers to understand, they were *real men*. They said "lenno," or "lenni." All uncouth, strange and barbarous sounds are liable to be misunderstood, and mis-spelt, unless long acquaintance and

* Transactions, ii. 21.

a careful analysis produce accuracy. The word *lenno* expressed the nation to which they belonged as a generic term.—There was no particular tribe called *Illini*. The word Illinois is partly Indian, and partly French. Every scholar knows that the termination is French. The river took its name from the Indians that occupied its banks.

The confederacy under the generic name Illinois, consisted of five tribes; the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Tamarouas, Peorias, and Mitchigamias. This last (if Charlevoix is correct) was a foreign tribe admitted into their confederacy, and which originally came from the other side of the Mississippi. This, we doubt, for originally they were about Lake Michigan, where they left their name. This confederacy are said to have been numerous, and before the visit of Marquette and Joliet, to consist of ten or twelve thousand souls.

The Iroquois, or five nations, were at war with them when La Salle visited Illinois. They claimed to have conquered the country, and exercised their right to dispose of it to their ally, Great Britain. The Chickasaws made war on them from the south: the Sauks, Foxes, Kickapoos, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, and other bands from the north, and though once numerous, they were greatly reduced by their enemies.

Starved Rock, near the foot of the rapids of the Illinois, is a perpendicular mass of lime and sand stone washed by the current at its base, and elevated 150 feet. The diameter of its surface is about 100 feet, with a slope extending to the adjoining bluff from which alone it is accessible.

Tradition says that after the Illinois Indians had killed Pontiac, the great Indian Chief of the northern Indians made war upon them. A band of the Illinois, in attempting to escape, took shelter on this rock, which they soon made inaccessible to their enemies, and where they were closely besieged. They had secured provisions, but their only resource for water was by letting down vessels with bark ropes to the river. The wily besiegers contrived to come in canoes under the rock and cut off their buckets, by which means the unfortunate Illinois were starved to death. Many years after, their bones were whitening on this summit.

Iroquois river and county, in the eastern part of the State, reminds us of one victory, at least, the Illinois Indians gained over their ancient enemies. The latter were driven from the field with considerable loss.

The Tamarouas tribe were nearly exterminated by the Shawanese, in a fight in the eastern part of Randolph county, where their bones could be seen about the period of the conquest of Illinois by Clark. From that period their name was lost.

We are at some loss to arrange the Mascoutin tribe, or as given by Father Allouez, Mascontens.*

Charlevoix says, and he is confirmed by Mr. Schoolcraft, that *Mascontenck* means a "country without woods, a prairie."†—There certainly was a tribe called by this name, in friendly relations with the Illinois confederacy. They were a distinct band when Colonel Clark negotiated with the Indians of Illinois, in 1778. [Annals, 205.] They certainly were not Sauks, Foxes, Kickapoos, nor Shawanese. Probably they, too, belonged to the Illinois confederacy, and constituted the sixth branch.

The Piankeshaws possessed the eastern part of the State adjacent to the Wabash river. Formerly they claimed the country on both sides of the Wabash, but about the middle of the sixteenth century, they gave the Shawanoes (who originated from the country on the Atlantic, between James' river and Florida) liberty to occupy the country on the Ohio and eastern side of the Wabash. In 1768, they granted a tract of country east of the Wabash to the Delaware Indians.‡—They claimed the country from the Wabash west to the dividing ridge, which separates the waters emptying into the Saline creek and the Kaskaskia river, from the streams that flow into the Wabash. They were a branch of the Miami confederacy.

There is a tradition that the Kickapoos originally came from beyond the Mississippi river, and yet their language, manners and customs are similar to those of the Sauks and Foxes. They claimed the country on the Sangamon, Mackinaw and Vermillion rivers in Illinois, and had villages on the Wabash in Indiana. Indian titles and boundaries are extremely vague and indeterminate. They have ever been a nomadic people, wandering from place to place. "Attachment to the graves of their fathers" is poetry.

* Relations of New France, 1666.

† Transactions Antiquarian Society, ii. 61.

‡ Transactions, ii. 63.

The Sauks originated from the region of Quebec and Montreal. Probably they were expelled by the Iroquois who conquered that country. We can next identify them on the northern side of Michigan, along Saganau bay, as the name imports. Saganau is from Sau-ke-nuk, (Saukietown.)

Next they are at "Sauk river," in Wisconsin, below Green Bay, where they formed an alliance with the "Ottagamies," as called by the English and many Indians; the "*Les Renards*," by the French. Their true name is *Mus-quau-kee*, singular, or Mus-quau-ki-uk, plural. The meaning is *red* clay, as Saukie means *white* clay. The Foxes possessed the country about Green Bay, and along the river that bears their name.

It was not until some years after the French settled in Illinois, they wandered to the Mississippi, and took possession of the peninsula of Rock River, where they dispossessed the Sauteaux, with whom the French had traded. These people were a branch of the Chippeway, or Ojibbeway nation.—Their principal village was where Rock Island city now exists, but they had several other village sites, one of which was where Quincy now is. They took possession of the country of the Ioways, [Aiouez] whom they partly subjugated. The Foxes had their principal village on the west side of the Mississippi, at Davenport. A small Sauk village was on the west side of the Mississippi river, near the mouth of the Desmoines.

The Pottawatomies, Ottowas and Chippeways, have an affinity in language, and have sustained a friendly relationship. They possessed the country in the north-eastern part of Illinois and around Lake Michigan.

The Menominees, (or Melominees of some writers) had their country north-west of Green Bay, among the rice-lakes. Their name signifies "Rice-eaters," and hence the French call them "Folls-avoine," a term that signifies wild rice, or "oats."—This tribe is mentioned by the missionaries as early as 1669. Another small tribe about Green Bay and Sturgeon Bay, is the "*Puants*," so called from their extreme filthy habits.

SECTION THIRD.

Progress of Illinois from 1800 *to* 1812.

During this period, no important events of a thrilling character occurred to interrupt the quiet routine of peaceful life in this remote territory. The termination of the Indian hostilities invited immigration from the States. The settlements in what is now Monroe county, became the temporary resort of many families from the two Carolinas, Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, who, in a year or two, passed over to Upper Louisiana. The population of Illinois in 1790, did not much exceed 2000 white persons, and in 1800, about 3000. (The estimate in the preceding section included Indiana.) We have a list of the names of heads of American families, who came to Illinois previous to 1788, and thereby became entitled to donations of land, called "head-rights." Their number is 80. Of these the names of John Edgar, George Atcheson, Wm. Arundel, William Biggs, John Boyd, John Cook, John Dodge, James Garrison, Thomas Hughes, Jacob Judy, Peter Smith, James Lemen, sen., James Moore, Henry O'Harra, Joseph Ogle, James Piggott, Larkin Rutherford, John K. Simpson, Joseph Worley, James McRoberts, Thomas Brady, John Dempsey, Thomas Flannery, and many others, will be recollected by the old settlers.

A letter from Governor Reynolds, dated Belleville, Illinois, February 29th, 1848, gives the following facts:—

"The whole country both sides of the Mississippi, was called Illinois in ancient times. When my father started from Knox county, in East Tennessee, for the "Spanish country," as he intended, it was called there Illinois. He left Tennessee in the spring of 1800, crossed the Ohio river at "Lusk's ferry," as it was called, and landed on the right bank of the Ohio, where Golconda is now situated. There was no house on the road to Kaskaskia, until we reached General Edgar's ferry, one mile above the town. In 1801, there were six families east of the Kaskaskia river in a settlement. The names were Stacey McDonough, James Hughes and Messrs. Pettit, Dunks, and Anderson. My father, Robert Reynolds, settled near the river and town of Kaskaskia. Pettit, Anderson and Dunks, resided on Nine Mile creek, a few miles north of the first named persons, but it was called one settlement, although several miles in extent. No one at that period lived east nearer than Vincennes.

In very early times a town by the name of Washington was laid off in Horse Prairie, and a few families resided there in 1800. Mr. Leonis had a saw mill on Horse Creek, and General Edgar had a fine flouring mill on a small stream east of the Kaskaskia river. At a still earlier period, a town was established at or near Bellefontaine, in Monroe county, where both Americans and French resided, and I have seen the vestiges of it.

"Before 1790, General Edgar made salt at the foot of the bluffs near the residence of Judge Bond, and near the terminus of the bluffs at the south part of Monroe county. The water was not very strong, and yet considerable salt was made at this lick. At the Salines, below Ste. Genevieve, considerable salt was manufactured, during many years, within sight of the Illinois shore. And in still more ancient times, the French from Vincennes made salt at the Salines in Gallatin county."

General John Edgar was an officer in the British navy, in Canada, and on the lakes. He came to Kaskaskia during the war of the revolution. He was a trader and accumulated a large amount of lands.

Of the Americans who resided in the town of Kaskaskia in 1800, we give the names of John Edgar, James Edgar, William Morrison, Robert Morrison, John Rice Jones, William Arundel, and probably some others. Colonel William Morrison was engaged in the Indian trade. He kept the principal wholesale and retail store in the place for many years. He was a man of talents, enterprize, and indomitable energy, and died some years since at an advanced age.

The old Kaskaskia tribe of Indians at that period, were numerous, and resided between the town and ruins of Fort Chartres. They counted 150 warriors, which makes their population about 700 or 800. Their chief, old Du Coigne, was a man of strong mind and always friendly to the white people. The Kickapoos were frequently at war with the Kaskaskia Indians, and cut off many, but intoxicating drink killed many more.

Two American settlements were commenced in the present boundaries of St. Clair county previous to 1800. *Turky Hill*, a few miles east of Belleville, was first settled in 1798, by William Scott, John and Franklin Jarvis, Hosea Riggs, Saml. Shook, George Stout, and their families. From five to seven miles south-east of Belleville, another settlement was com-

menced about 1797, by Abraham Eyman, John Teter, William Miller and Mr. Randelman.

In 1802, several families commenced settlements in St. Clair county, north of Belleville. Amongst these was Captain Jos. Ogle and his sons, J. J. Whiteside, and W. L. Whiteside. About the same time Goshen settlement was commenced, near the bluffs, in the present boundary of Madison county, southwest of Edwardsville ; and the settlements on Wood river and Rattan's prairie, a few miles east of the present site of Alton.

From this period until the organization of the territory of Illinois, new settlements were formed in Gallatin, Johnson, Union and Jackson counties; and in White county, on the Wabash. In 1810, so great had been the increase that the census gives the population of the territory at 12,284 inhabitants. At the same time Indiana territory reported 24,520.

In July, 1790, there were one hundred and forty-three heads of families in Vincennes, who were residents of that place at or before 1783; and eighty Americans who claimed rights to lands in Knox county.

The act of Congress for the organization of the Illinois territory in 1809, has already been mentioned. [Annals, 576, 577.] The territorial government was begun in due form on April 25th, 1809, on which day, the late Nathaniel Pope, the Secretary and acting Governor, took the customary oath.

We here give the commission of the Secretary from the President, and the oath of office administered by judge Shrader, one of the United States' Judges for the territory of Louisiana.

"James Madison, President of the United States of America, to all who shall see these presents, Greeting:—

Know Ye, that reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, diligence, and abilities of Nathaniel Pope, of the Louisiana territory, I have nominated, and by the advice and consent of the Senate, do appoint him Secretary to and for the Illinois territory; and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfil the duties of that office, with all the powers, privileges and emoluments to the same of right appertaining, for the term of four years from the date hereof, unless the President of the United States for the time being, should be pleased sooner to revoke and determine this commission.

In testimony whereof, I have caused these letters to be made patent, and the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand at the city of Washington, the seventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the thirty-third.

JAMES MADISON.

By the President,

R. SMITH, Secretary of State."

The following was the oath of office:

Territory of Louisiana.

Be it remembered, That on the 25th day of April, 1809, personally appeared before me, Otho Shrader, one of the Judges in and over the Territory of Louisiana, Nathaniel Pope, Esq., appointed Secretary in and for the Illinois territory, by commission of the President of the United States, bearing date the 7th day of March last past, and took the following oath, to wit: That he will support the Constitution of the United States, and that he will perform the duties of his said office with fidelity, to the best of his knowledge and judgment.

NAT. POPE.

Sworn to and subscribed before me at the town of Ste. Genevieve, the day and year aforesaid.

OTHO SHRADER.

We give these forms as a specimen, for the information of our young readers, and others who may desire to know how such government matters are conducted. In substance, the commission and form of oath is the same for United States officers in all territorial organizations.

On the 28th of April, a proclamation was issued by the Secretary as acting governor, making the counties of St. Clair and Randolph, counties of the Illinois territory. The next day, (29th,) application having been made to the acting governor, by affidavit before a justice of the peace, charging Jas. Dunlap with the murder of Rice Jones, and requesting the governor of the Orleans territory to deliver up said Dunlap. This murder was the result of an affray between the parties, the particulars of which are not distinct in the mind of the writer.

On the 3d of May, the following persons were commissioned by the acting governor as justices of the peace:—

Nicholas Jarrot, John Hay, Caldwell Cairns, Thomas Todd, Jacob A. Boyer, Jas. Lemen, sen., Enoch Moore, D. Badgley, James Bankston, William Biggs, Robert Elliot, John Finlay,

David White, Samuel S. Kennedy, Antoine Deschamps, Harvey M. Fisher, and Nicholas Boilvin. John Hays was appointed Sheriff, Enoch Moore Coroner, and Elias Rector, Attorney General.

On the 11th of June, Ninian Edwards, Governor, arrived from Kentucky, and entered on the duties of his office. He had taken the oath before the Hon. Thomas Todd, Judge of the Supreme Court of Kentucky. On the 16th of the same month the Governor and two Judges, constituting the legislative authority in the first stage of the territorial government, re-enacted the laws of the territory of Indiana, that were applicable to Illinois. John Hay, (not the sheriff mentioned above,) was appointed clerk of the county of St. Clair, which office he held by successive re-appointments until his decease in 1815.

Benjamin H. Doyle, who had been appointed Attorney General in place of Elias Rector, having resigned, on the 30th of December, 1809, John Jourdon Crittenden was appointed Attorney General. On the 9th of April, 1801, the office becoming again vacant, Thomas T. Crittenden was appointed.

For eight years Illinois formed a part of Indiana, and the principal statutes of that territory were re-enacted by the Governor and Judges, and became the basis of statute law in Illinois, much of which, without change of phraseology, remains in the revised code of that State, as the same laws, in substance, originated in the legislation of the Governor and Judges of the North-Western territory; and by the Governor and Judges of Indiana, were enacted in the territory of Louisiana during the period of their temporary jurisdiction west of the Mississippi, we give a synopsis of several of these ancient statutes. Since the penitentiary system of discipline and punishment has been introduced into all these States, the penalty of whipping and other inhuman modes of punishment have been changed to imprisonment with labor.

We extract from the laws published in 1807, by Stout and Smoot, Vincennes, Ia. The volume comprises those acts formerly in force and as revised by Messrs. John Rice Jones and John Johnson, territorial Judges, and passed (after some amendments by the territorial legislature;) with the original acts passed at the first session of the second General Assembly of the territory.

At that period the counties in the whole territory, including Illinois, were Dearborn, Clark and Knox, (which probably included the eastern side of Illinois) in Indiana; and St. Clair and Randolph, in Illinois.

Justices of the Peace.—A competent number for each county,—nominated and commissioned by the Governor;—power to take all manner of recognizances and obligations as any Justices of the Peace in the U. States;—all to be certified to the Court of Common Pleas at next session,—but those for a felony belong to the Court of Oyer and Terminer. One or more Justices of the Peace, may hear and determine, by due course of law, any petty crimes and misdemeanors, where the punishment shall be fine only, not exceeding three dollars.—Justices required to commit the offender when crime was perpetrated in their sight without further testimony. All warrants to be under the hand and seal of the justice. Justices to have power to punish by fine, as provided in the statute, all assaults and batteries not of an aggravated nature; and cause to be arrested all affrayers, rioters and disturbers of the peace, and bind them over by recognizance to appear at the next General Court,or Court of Common Pleas, to be held within the county, and to require such persons to give security. Justices of the Peace to examine into all homicides, murders, treasons, and felonies, done in their respective counties, and commit to prison all persons suspected to be guilty of manslaughter, murder, treason, or other capital offence, and hold to bail all persons suspected to be guilty of lesser offences; and require sureties for the good behavior of idle, vagrant, disorderly characters; swindlers and gamblers, as well as every description of disorderly and vagrant persons.

Courts.—Courts of Common Pleas were organized in each county, of three Judges, any two of whom were a quorum.—They were appointed and commissioned by the Governor for and during good behavior. Said Court to hear and determine, according to the common law, all crimes and misdemeanors, the punishment whereof did not extend to life, limb, imprisonment for one year, or forfeiture of goods and chattels, lands and tenements. This Court held pleas of *assize*, *scire facias*, *replevins*, and was empowered to hear and determine all manner of pleas, suits, actions and crimes, real, personal, and mixed, according to law. The Court held annually six ses-

sions, at three of which no suits for criminal causes should be tried. [This provision was made for speedy justice in all civil actions.]

If the court was not opened on the day appointed, the sheriff could adjourn from day to day for two days, and then until the next term.

Compensation of the judges of this court was two dollars and fifty cents per day, paid from the county levy.

This court had power to take all recognizances and obligations, and all not triable in said court to be certified to the next court of oyer and terminer. All fines to be duly and truly assessed according to the quality of the offence, without affection or partiality.

Criminals who had absconded from the counties to be brought back by warrant. Any person aggrieved may appeal to the General Court. All writs issued to be in the name of the United States. Judges had power to grant under seal, *replevins, writs of partition, writs of view*, and all other writs and process, under said pleas and actions, cognizable in said court, as occasion may require.

The court may issue subpœnas, under seal, and signed by any clerk, into any county in the territory, summoning any witness. The clerk of said court was appointed by the governor during good behavior.

Supreme Court.—Styled General Court—held twice a year at Vincennes, first Tuesdays in April and September;—had authority to issue writs of *habeas corpus, certiorari*, and writs of *error*. The members of the court were constituted *circuit* judges, and required to hold a circuit court once in each year in the counties of Dearborn, Clark, Randolph and St. Clair. This court was empowered to hear and determine all cases, matters and things, cognizable in said court;—to examine and correct errors of inferior courts, and punish;—to punish "contempts, omissions, neglects, favors, corruptions and misfaults of all justices of peace, sheriffs, coroners, clerks, and other officers;—award process to collect all fines, forfeitures and amercements;"—to hold courts of oyer and terminer, and general jail delivery. The governor was empowered to call a special term for capital offences.

Jurymen were required to attend, and fined for non-attend-

ance, not exceeding eight dollars in the General Court, and five dollars in the court of common pleas.

Sheriffs were appointed by the governor, and bonds of four thousand dollars required. Their duty was to keep the peace, cause all offenders to give recognizances, quell and suppress all affrays, routs, riots and insurrections, and call to their aid all the power of the county; pursue, apprehend and commit to jail all criminals, felons, traitors and fugitives from justice; execute all processes, attend all courts of record; have custody of the jail of the county, and do all other duties enjoined by law.

Oaths of office.—Every person appointed to a civil office must make oath, or affirmation. The form used was as follows:—

"I, A. B. being appointed to the office of ——, do solemnly swear I will execute the duties of my said office, according to the best of my skill and understanding, without favor, or partiality, so help me God."

Any officer or other person scrupulously conscientious of taking an oath, may *Affirm* according to the following form:—

"I, A. B., being appointed to the office of ——, do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm, that I will well and truly execute the duties of my said office, according to the best of my skill and understanding, without fraud or partiality, and I declare and affirm under the pains and penalties of perjury."

Oaths and affirmations to be taken before the governor, or such other persons as he may appoint and commission; and in absence of the governor, by the judges.

Crimes and Punishments.—Capital crimes are treason, murder, arson, rape, and horse-stealing, on *second* conviction. Petit treason defined and punished as murder. Capital punishment to be inflicted by hanging.

Manslaughter punished as the common law heretofore pointed out. *Burglary* by whipping, not more than thirty-nine lashes, and to find sureties for good behavior for three years; and on default of sureties, to be committed to jail for the term of three years.

If goods were actually stolen, the culprit to be fined treble the value of the goods stolen. If personal violence or injury were done, the penalty was forfeiture of all the estate of the

convict, out of which the party injured was to be remunerated. If death was caused, it was deemed murder.

Robbery of goods by force on the highway or field, the same as burglary. If any person was killed, the act was murder. All abettors were regarded principals.

Riots and unlawful Assemblies.—Three or more persons assembling for mischief, or intention of any unlawful violence against the person or property of another, were fined each the sum of sixteen dollars and costs, and had to find securities for good behavior six months. In case of riots, all ministerial and judicial officers present, were required to make proclamation. If the rioters did not disperse, then they were required to call on all persons near, to suppress it;—if they cannot, then call on the military. If any citizen or soldier refuses to act, he was fined ten dollars. If any rioters were killed by the citizens or authorities when called on, the act was not criminal.

For obstructing lawful authority, the fine was not to exceed three hundred dollars; to be whipped not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, and find security for good behavior one year. On second conviction, the penalty was fine, whipping, and surety for three years.

Perjury.—Fine not exceeding sixty dollars, or be whipped not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; sit in the pillory not exceeding two hours, and be incapacitated for giving testimony, or being a juror, or sustaining any civil or military office. Procuring perjury, the same as if committed by the individual.

Larceny.—First offence, the penalty was to restore the value two-fold; or be whipped not over thirty-one stripes;—second offence, restitution, a fine not exceeding four-fold, and whipped not exceeding thirty-nine stripes. If the culprit had no property to pay the fine, the sheriff was to bind him out to servitude, under direction of the court, seven years. Receivers of stolen goods to be deemed principals, and punished accordingly. Any person compounding for stolen goods, upon conviction, shall forfeit twice the value, but no person was debarred from taking his own property if he prosecuted the thief. No parent was obliged to prosecute his own child.

Forgery.—Penalty, double the sum defrauded by the forgery, imposed as a fine,—one half to the party injured—the culprit rendered incapable of giving testimony, serving on a jury, or

sustaining any office of trust;—and to set in the pillory not less than three hours. All persons aiding to be deemed principals.

Usurpation of Office.—On conviction, to be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars.

Assault and Battery.—Fine not over one hundred dollars, and surety for good behavior one year.

Fraudulent Deeds;—with intent to deceive and defraud, were null and void;—fine not over three hundred dollars, and damages to the injured party.

Disobedience of Children or Servants. On complaint to justice of the peace, he may send to jail, or the house of correction, to remain there until sufficiently humbled. For striking the parent or master, on conviction before two justices, the party shall be whipped not exceeding ten stripes.

Obtaining Goods under Fraudulent Pretences.—Penalty same as larceny.

Arson.—For setting fire to, or burning any building, the penalty was death!

Horse-stealing.—First conviction to pay the value and costs, and receive not less than fifty, nor more than two hundred stripes; and stand committed to jail until the value and costs were paid. For second conviction, death!

Hog-stealing.—For stealing, marking, or altering the marks of the hog kind; penalty not less than fifty nor more than two hundred dollars; and also not less than twenty-five, nor over thirty-nine stripes. Persons may mark their own unmarked hogs while running at large.

For altering or defacing any marks or brands of cattle, horses, hogs, etc., penalty, five dollars, besides the value of the animal. Prosecution to be within six months after discovery: and, moreover, to receive forty stripes. For second offence, to pay the fine aforesaid, and stand in the pillory two hours, and be branded on the left hand with the letter T.

For mis-marking or branding, etc., fine, five dollars.

[In all frontier settlements, horses, cattle, hogs, etc., run at large on the range. Horses are commonly branded, and cattle and hogs marked in the ear: each settler having his peculiar mark, which is recorded in books of the county. Hence the severe penalties for marking, etc.]

Persons who know of this offence and conceal it, and not

discover it to some magistrate within ten days, shall pay a fine of ten dollars. Persons killing cattle or hogs in the woods, shall show the heads to some magistrate, or to two substantial freeholders, within three days, on penalty of ten dollars. Every man shall have an ear-mark, and record it in the clerk's office of the county where he resides.

Maiming.—Penalty for unlawfully cutting, maiming, biting, gouging a member or limb, maliciously and in fighting, fine not less than fifty, nor more than one thousand dollars; to be confined in jail not less than one, nor more than six months; one-fourth of the fine to the territory, and three-fourths to the party injured. For want of means to pay the fine, the party to be sold for a term not exceeding five years.

Sodomy, is defined the crime "against nature," and with beasts. Fine not less than fifty, nor more than five hundred dollars; imprisonment not less than one, nor more than five years; whipping not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred stripes; and accounted infamous, and incapable of holding any office, or giving testimony.

Bigamy.—Penalty, to be whipped not less than one hundred nor more than three hundred stripes; fine, not less than one hundred, nor more than five hundred dollars, for the use of the party injured; and imprisonment not less than six, nor more than twelve months, and made infamous. *Provided*, one party be beyond the seas for seven years, or elsewhere the same period and not heard from, the marriage is lawful. Forcible or stolen marriages made felony.

For marrying a minor without the guardian's consent;—imprisonment not more than two years.

Selling Criminals.—Persons convicted and unable to pay fines and costs, may be sold, or hired out to pay the demand. If such persons abscond, they may be whipped thirty-nine stripes, and serve two days for one.

Marriages.—Males of seventeen, and females of fourteen years, may lawfully marry. Judges of the General Court, and Court of Common Pleas; Justices of the Peace in each county; Ministers of the Gospel in any religious society in the district in which they are settled; and the society of Quakers in their public meetings, may join together the parties in marriage. Intentions of the parties to be published, either three times in religious meetings, or a public notice set

up under the hand and seal of a magistrate;—or a license from the clerk of the Courts of Common Pleas, authorizing marriage. Fee for license one dollar, and the clerk to record the certificate of the person who officiates. Males under the age of twenty-one, and females under eighteen years, not to marry, unless leave be obtained of the parents and guardian.

[The plan of license from the clerk, has been the exclusive mode in Illinois.]

Coroners to be appointed by the Governor in each county, and their duties were prescribed by law.

Townships.—The Court of Common Pleas were authorized to divide the counties into townships, and establish boundaries to the same.

[In Illinois, the township divisions were abolished, and the only civil division has been counties, until recently under the new Constitution, the counties are authorized to organize townships, upon a vote of the people.]

Prisons and Prison Bounds.—Courts of Common Pleas to lay off prison bounds, not to exceed more than two hundred yards from the jail. Persons imprisoned for debt, by giving bond with double security for the debt, may use bounds. [No imprisonment for debt has existed in these *States;* consequently "prison bounds" are unknown]

Persons who convey tools and other aid in the escape of a prisoner, to be fined not exceeding one hundred dollars; and if the prisoner escape, the abettor to be liable to the same penalty as the prisoner. But if liable to capital punishment, he who aids in escape, shall be fined, whipped, imprisoned, stand in the pillory, or sit on the gallows with a rope around his neck, as the Court may order. Jailors who suffer a prisoner to escape voluntarily, shall suffer the same penalties as any other abettor.

The Judges of the Court of Common Pleas to enquire into the condition of the prison at each term.

Sheriffs required to keep persons of different sexes in separate rooms, unless married; to provide proper food, meat, drink and bread; and if the prisoner be unable to pay, the county to be taxed for such expenses.

Execution Laws.—Real estate to be sold for debt, under judgment. Personal property to be advertised by the sheriff, ten days previous to sale.

Administration Laws. — Clerks of the Courts of Common Pleas to take proofs of wills; grant letters of administration during vacancy of Court. The Court of Common Pleas was the Probate Court. Rights of minors and orphans well guarded and secured. No minor or orphan to be put under the control of persons of a different religious persuasion from their parents; nor against their own mind or inclination.

The true interest or meaning of testator to be duly regarded in all wills. Administrators to give bonds with two or more sureties; respect being had to the value of the estate. Children of intestates to share equally in the distribution of the estate. When no heirs, the widow *to have one half the estate.* Courts of Common Pleas may order sale of real estate, where the personal estate is not sufficient to pay the debts, or support and educate the children.

Tavern Licenses.—No person to keep a tavern, ale-house, dram-shop, or house of entertainment, [in which any intoxicating liquor is sold] without license, under penalty of one dollar each day; two-thirds to the poor of the county, and one-third to the informer. No licensed person shall allow drunkenness, gaming, etc., in or about his house, under penalty of five dollars.

All tavern keepers shall provide good entertainment for man and beast; penalty five dollars.

The Court shall demand twelve dollars for license to keep a tavern, annually. No license to be granted unless the person becomes bound to the Governor of the Territory to keep an orderly house, and conform to the law in every respect.

Another act provided that no license shall be granted, "unless the person requiring the same shall first become bound to the Governor of the Territory, with security, if required, in any sum not exceeding three hundred dollars, that he, she, or they, obtaining such license, shall, at all times, be prepared to accommodate four lodgers, and stabling and feed for four horses."

Severe penalties were enacted for selling intoxicating liquors to Indians, slaves, apprentices and minors.

We have given a synopsis only of such statutes as may serve to illustrate the principles of Territorial Legislation in all the North-Western region. Most of the same principles have been transferred to Oregon, and form the basis of law in

that remote Territory. Similar statutes pertaining to the Territory of Louisiana, may be found in the Territorial Laws of Missouri, 1842, volume i. pp. 15 to 66.

NOTE.—Since the caption of this chapter was prepared and went to press, we have thought it to be expedient to alter our plan. "Incidents of war in Illinois," we have reserved for the next chapter, and substituted the foregoing "*Synopsis*," in its place. By an oversight, the caption of Section First, was left out in the contents of the chapter.

CHAPTER III.

INCIDENTS OF THE WAR.

Threatening aspects of the Indians—Various incidents of the War in Illinois and Missouri—Expedition to Peoria and Erection of Fort Clark.

SECTION FIRST.

Indian Hostilities Threatened.

The manifestation of hostile intentions among some of the tribes of northern Indians, was made as early as 1809. Even in December, 1808, the sub-agent on the Missouri, wrote to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, as follows:—

"I am sorry to inform you, that on the 15th instant, a certain John Rufty was fired upon and killed, about six miles above this place, [Fort Osage.] Rufty belonged to McClelland's party of hunters.

There were only two men in a canoe; the survivor was unable to ascertain to what nation of Indians the party belonged. On that subject there are various conjectures; some suspect the Kanzas, others the Iowas, the Ottoes, the Sioux, and the Panis."

By the requisition of the Secretary of War, under the act of Congress of 1808, for arming and equiping one hundred thousand militia in the United States, Governor Lewis of the

territory of Louisiana, made proclamation for raising and equipping three hundred and seventy-seven militia of the territory, which were duly apportioned in the counties of St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, New Madrid, and Arkansas.

On the 28th of June, 1809, Nicholas Jarrot, of Cahokia, who had just returned from Prairie du Chien, made affidavit, that the British Agents and traders at that place, and on the Frontiers of Canada, were stirring up the Indians, furnishing them guns and ammunition, and preparing them for hostile demonstrations.

In November, a communication from Messrs. Portier and Bleakly, of Prairie du Chien, denying the statements of M. Jarrot. They were persons implicated. About the same period, hostile demonstrations were made on the part of the Sac and Fox nations, against Fort Madison. During the same month, hostilities commenced between the Osages and Iowas; the latter having killed some of the former, not far from where Liberty is now situated, north of the Missouri river. In 1810, hostile demonstrations were made by the Indians on the Wabash. [Annals, 577 to 581.]

It was in July, 1810, that a band of hostile Indians, supposed to be Pottawatomies, came into a frontier settlement on the Loutre, at the upper part of Loutre Island, and nearly opposite the mouth of the Gasconade river, and stole a number of horses. A company was raised, consisting of Stephen Cooper, William T. Cole, Messrs. Brown, Gooch, Patton, and another person, making six, who followed the Indians across Grand Prairie to a branch of Salt river, called Bone Lick. The party discovered the Indians, eight in number, who, in the retreat, threw off their packs and plunder, and scattered in the woods. Night coming on, the party struck a camp and immediately lay down to sleep, though Stephen Cole, the leader, warned them against it, and proposed a guard. This notion was hooted at as an evidence of cowardice. About mid-night they were awakened by the "Indian yell"! and the death-dealing bullet! Stephen Cole killed four Indians and wounded the fifth, though severely wounded himself. W. T. Cole, his brother, was killed at the commencement of the fight. Two others of the party were killed.

The survivors reached the settlements next morning to tell

the dreadful tidings, and a party returned to the ground, buried the dead, but found the Indians had escaped.

We obtained this incident from Samuel Cole, in 1849, whose father was killed in the action, but he gave it from memory, and placed it in 1807. The early files of the "Gazette," published in St. Louis from 1808, is our authority for the date of this and several preceding incidents.

The settlement on the Loutre, commenced, probably, in 1806 or 1807, and until 1810, was the "Far West," except the French hamlet of Cote Sans Dessein. During that year emigrant families found their way to the "Boone's Lick country," now Howard county, Missouri. The incidents of the war in that quarter, we will leave for a subsequent section.

In July, 1811, a company of "rangers," or mounted riflemen, was raised in Goshen settlement, Illinois. The intelligence of the battle of Tippecanoe was peculiarly alarming to the inhabitants of Illinois and Missouri, and measures as prompt and efficient as circumstances admitted, were adopted by the Governors of the two territories.

Early in 1812, the Indians on the Upper Mississippi were very hostile, and committed frequent murders.

An express from Fort Madison came down the river on the ice in a sleigh, with some traders, and reached St. Louis on the 13th of February. They were fired on frequently by war parties, and especially a few miles above Salt river, where the Indians chased them some distance. A family by the name of O'Neal was killed in the district of St. Charles, about the same time.

The following item from the Louisiana Gazette of March 21, is corroborated by other evidence:

"Since Christmas last, the following murders have been committed by the Indians in this country. *Two* persons near the Mines on the Mississippi, *nine* in the district of St. Charles, within the settlements, supposed to be killed by the Kickapoos; *one* man at Fort Madison, on the third instant, by the Winnebagoes. There were several men who left Fort Madison for this part of the territory, about the 17th February, who are supposed to have fallen into the hands of the enemy, as they have not been heard of.

"Main Poc, the Pottawatomie chief, is preparing a war party to proceed against the Osages. This fellow has been lately at Fort Malden, and it is thought at Peoria that he intends to strike at the whites.

"Travelers and spies who have been amongst them, all concur in the same story, that the Indians have no desire to make peace with us; that red wampum is passing through the upper villages, from the Sioux of St. Peters, to the head of the Wabash; that at every council fire the Americans are devoted and proscribed; and in short, that a general combination is ripening fast."

At the same period, the few companies of rangers, raised by the act of Congress, and the militia volunteers, were the only defence of the towns and settlements of Missouri and Illinois.

A company of rangers under command of Capt. Kibby, in the district of St. Charles, as fine a body of hardy pioneers as ever took the field, by constant and rapid movements, protected the tract of country from the mouth of Salt river to Loutre Island on the Missouri.

In the month of April, 1812, a deputation of Pottawatomies, Kickapoos and Chippeways, came down the Mississippi, headed by Gomo, to negotiate a treaty with Gov. Edwards. They met at Cahokia, where the Governor addressed them in a forcible speech, told them of the strong desire of our government to maintain peace and harmony with all the Indian nations;—warned them of the arts and deceptions of the Shawanese prophet, and the agents and traders from Canada; assured them he perfectly understood the hostile dispositions of the Indians; the murders and depredations already committed; and the combination amongst the tribes attempted to be formed; and should adopt energetic measures to protect the white people. He insisted that the murderers must be delivered up, or the whole nation would suffer.

They professed to be humble, professed their inability to deliver up the murderers, laid the blame on the Winnebagoes, and promised good behavior on their part. Some of these fellows were concerned in the massacre at Chicago in August.

During the summer of 1812, hostile Indians were lurking about the settlements in the Boone's Lick country, and along the Missouri river. Fort Mason had been established on the Misssissippi, as a rendezvous for the United States troops and rangers. Of this class of troops, who furnished their own horses, equipments, forage and rations, at one dollar per day,

ten companies were raised by an act of the last Congress; four in Illinois, two in Missouri, and four in Indiana. The term of service was for one year, but by re-enlistments were continued from year to year during the war.

Two companies in Illinois, and one in Missouri, had been raised the preceding year. These rangers, as a protection to the defenceless settlements, were a most effective corps.—Many were heads of families, and all were of the most enterprizing and industrious class of citizens, and deeply interested in the defence of their families and friends.

It is no more than justice to this worthy class of citizens, who defended the settlements in the now flourishing States of Indiana, Illinois and Missouri, that we should devote a page or two of this work to this subject. And we cannot do it better justice than in the language of a *Memorial* from the General Assembly of Illinois, in 1833, to the Congress of the United States, asking for a donation of land, as was given to regular soldiers.

"*To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:*

Your memorialists, the General Assembly of the State of Illinois, would respectfully present to your honorable body, the necessity and justice of calling your attention to the relief of the soldiers who defended this frontier during the late war:—The class of citizens, now for the first time attempted to be brought forward to your consideration, are not the least deserving your aid, though they are the last almost of your defenders of our country who have asked for any remuneration. Their claims to this attention and favor of Government will be better understood by a brief outline of the condition of the country, the nature of their services, and the great reliance and dependence placed upon their faithfulness, fortitude and courage. In the year 1812, and long before, the settlements of this country were confined to a few inhabitants on the margins of the rivers Mississippi and Ohio, while all between was a wilderness so little frequented by the whites, that it was the constant abode of the Indian; when the late war broke out, the inhabitants were always open to their attack, and actually subject to their perpetual hostilities. In this state of things the weakness of their situation caused them to erect a house here and there something larger than their ordinary dwellings, which they dignified with the name of "station;" some of them had not even this primitive defence, and with it they were exposed, either to the open assault, or

the sly ambush of the enemy, and were daily falling a human sacrifice to the most ferocious cruelty. To depict their situation, in one word, it is only necessary to say, that a few adventurers had left a peaceable and cultivated land, where the savage war-whoop was known only by "tale or history," and settled in an Indian country, destitute of money and the necessaries they had been accustomed to; a little spot of corn ground was their only hope of subsistence, and with a sword slung to the plough handle they cultivated it. Thus the lives and property of the whites were *always* in jeopardy and often lost; and the government of the territory itself, which had been recently established under the authority of the United States, was immediately in danger. The late war with Great Britain breaking out just at this time with all its violence, and while the great body of the forces of the United States were engaged in defending the more populous and valuable parts of the Union, this territory was without the parental aid of the Government; left to rely upon its own strength and courage for its defence against the Indians, who lay encamped in myriads within it. The then Governor of the Territory, Ninian Edwards, by his prompt and vigorous exertions, contributed greatly to advance the means of defence, and by acts of disinterested patriotism and magnanimity, almost unexampled, relieved the necessities of the soldiers by advancing from his private funds their pay, without which they could not have rendered any service. Relying upon individual means and seeking only to relieve the country of distress, the class of citizens whose claims it is the object of this memorial to urge, came boldly forward, and did effectually defend the citizens and property of the United States. It has not escaped the observation of your memorialists that it may be contended that *one dollar* per day, which was the allowance to each individual, was more than usual for soldiers, and extremely liberal; but in the estimation of your memorialists, their services have far outgone that consideration, for the ranger was bound, out of this, to furnish himself with a horse, arms, clothing, ammunition, and provisions; not one cent was ever contributed by Government towards their sustenance, no convenience provided, but that, which their own well earned money paid for.

Many of them had families, whose reliance for support was upon him who was upon duty, and who were provided for out of his wages; while in service they often failed in cultivating their farms for an entire season, and the loss of a crop to the inhabitants of the territory was a misfortune of no small magnitude. Add to these circumstances, the information that a horse of middling qualities would cost 100 dollars, a gun from twenty-five to forty dollars, and all other articles of consumption, use or necessity cost in the same proportion. Deduct

from their pay those articles of necessity, without which they were not qualified for service, what remains as a remuneration for the time, service and devotion of these citizen soldiers? Your memorialists answer unhesitatingly, *nothing*. They left their fire-sides, their families, and their farms, penetrated the uninhabited wilderness, traversed countries without roads or bridges; and met without a murmur, all the inclemencies of the weather "to beard the lion in his den," the savage in his ambuscade, and rid the country of violence, outrage and death.

For services like these, your memorialists relying confidently upon the justice and liberality of Congress, ask for a remuneration to all these organized militiamen, mounted militiamen, and rangers who defended this frontier during the late war under the authority of Congress. There are near thirty millions of acres of unappropriated lands in the State of Illinois. A liberal donation of this land would be but little expense to the General Government, and would be of great advantage to those for whom it is asked, and an easy method of remunerating such signal services and so devotedly rendered. Which was read.

On the question, Will the House concur with the committee, in the adoption of said memorial?

It was decided in the affirmative.

SECTION SECOND.

Incidents of the War continued.

It was in the month of April, 1812, that three families were murdered by the Indians, at no great distance from Vincennes. One was the family of Mr. Hutson, on the Wabash; another, the family of Mr. Harriman, on the Embarras, and the third a family of Mr. Hinton, on Driftwood fork of White river. In May, a party of Indians came to the house of a Mr. McGowan, about forty miles from Vincennes, and killed him in bed. His family escaped.

The news of the declaration of war produced no other effect than to inspire the people with more zeal in defending the settlements and repelling the savage foe that hovered around them.

There was a United States factory and a small stockade fort at Bellevue, up the Mississippi, which was besieged by a party of Winnebagoes, about two hundred in number. It was not an eligible situation for defence, as from points of steep and high bluffs, the invaders could throw fire-brands and burn-

ing sticks on the block-houses. The commanding officer, Lt. Thomas Hamilton, with Lieutenant B. Vasquez and a small force, resolutely defended the fort, and drove off the assailants.

We have already given a sketch of the expedition of Governor Edwards and Colonel Kussell, against the Kickapoos at the head of Peoria Lake. [Annals, 617—619.]

The year 1813, opened with gloomy prospects to these far off and exposed territories. On the 9th of February, ten Indians contrived to elude the vigilance of the rangers in Illinois, passed down near the Wabash, and massacred two families at the mouth of Cache [Cash] river, on the Ohio, seven miles from the Mississippi.

Indians frequently crossed the Mississippi above the mouth of the Illinois river, and committed depredations, killed and scalped individuals, and in some instances families, in Saint Charles county. The exposed settlements were in the district now included in Lincoln and Pike counties.

In the month of March, David McLain, a minister of the gospel, and a Mr. Young, traveling from the Boone's Lick settlement into Kentucky, after having crossed the Kaskaskia river at "Hill's ferry," in the present county of Clinton, in Illinois, were fired on by a party of Indians. Young was killed and scalped; McLain's horse was shot, and fell, but he escaped in the woods, and ran with great speed, with several Indians in chase. Soon all fell back but one, who was an athletic fellow, and appeared determined not to lose his prey. Mr. McLain was encumbered with a thick overcoat, wrappers on his legs and spurs on his feet. The Indian fired and missed him, which gave him a little chance to throw off his coat, in hopes the prize would attract the attention of the savage. Finding no other Indians in pursuit, and as this one approached, McLain would make signs of surrender, until the Indian was within a few feet, when he would assume an attitude of defiance, watch the motion of his enemy, and at the instant he fired, dodge the ball and then put on all his energy to escape. The contest continued for more than an hour, during which his foe fired at him seven times. In one case, as he threw his breast forward, he unfortunately threw his elbow back and received the ball in his arm.

During the chase he contrived to throw off his boots. They

had made a considerable distance in the timbered bottom down the river. Finding himself nearly exhausted, the last and only chance was to swim the river. He plunged in, making the utmost effort of his remaining strength, and yet he had to keep an eye constantly fixed on his wily foe, who had loaded his gun the eighth time, and from the bank brought it to a poise, and fired a second after McLain had dove in deep water. By swimming diagonally down stream he had gained on his pursuer, who, with the peculiar yell on such occasions, gave up the chase. Doubtless his report to the *braves* was, that he had followed a "great medicine," who was so charmed that his musket balls could not kill him. Mr. McLain was so exhausted that it was with the utmost difficulty he could crawl up the bank; having, in a state of profuse perspiration, plunged into the cold water of the river. He was wet, chilled, badly wounded, and scarcely able to stand. Two days previous, two or three families about Hill's ferry, had become alarmed from Indian "signs," and removed to the west of Silver creek. It was thirty-five miles to the Badgley settlement, which McLain, after incredible effort and suffering, reached the next morning. Here with his wound and a severe fever, he lay several weeks. A party of volunteers went over the Kaskaskia, buried Mr. Young, found Mr. McLain's saddle-bags, but saw no Indians.

The fact of this rencontre may be found in the "Missouri Gazette" of March 20th; the particulars we obtained from the heroic sufferer at his residence in Howard county, Mo., in 1818.

A farmer, of the name of Boltenhouse, was killed near the Wabash, a few miles south of Albion, in a little prairie that perpetuates his name. A Mr. Moore and his son, while hauling a load of corn in the South-Eastern part of Jefferson county, Illinois, were killed and scalped in the prairie that bears his name. One or two more persons were killed between that place and the U. S. Saline.

The "Gazette" reckons "sixteen men, women, and children who fell victims to savage ferocity, in Missouri and Illinois, between February 8th and March 20th."

The same paper has a communication from a gentleman in Illinois, of the efforts of the "rangers" and "volunteers," un-

der the direction of Governor Edwards, to protect the settlements.

"We have now nearly finished twenty-two family forts, [stations,] extending from the Mississippi, nearly opposite Bellefontaine, [mouth of the Missouri,] to the Kaskaskia river, a distance of about sixty miles. Between each fort, spies are to pass and repass daily, and communicate throughout the whole line, which will be extended to the U. S. Saline, and from thence to the mouth of the Ohio. Rangers and mounted militia, to the amount of five hundred men, constantly scour the country from twenty to fifty miles in advance of our settlements, so that we feel perfectly easy as to an attack from our 'red brethren,' as Mr. Jefferson very lovingly calls them."

Notwithstanding these measures, the Indians would frequently prowl through the unsettled country between Kaskaskia and the Ohio river, and occasionally commit outrages. On the last of April they attacked a house about twelve miles south-east of that town, and tomahawked and scalped a boy.

Amongst the British traders, that had great influence over the northern Indians, was a Mr. Robert Dickson, who, at this period, had stationed himself at Prairie du Chien, and furnished the savages with large supplies of goods and munitions of war. Mr. Dickson had the manners and appearance of a gentleman, but doubtless, as did many other British subjects, who anticipated a war between Great Britain and the United States, felt himself authorized to enlist the Indians as partisans.

About the first of June, (1813,) Mr. Manuel Lisa, a citizen of St. Louis, and an acting partner of the Missouri Fur Company, arrived from the Mandan villages on the Upper Missouri. He reported, [Gazette, June 5,] that the Auricarees, Chiennes, Gros Ventres, Crows, and Arrapahoes, were hostile to the Americans; that the British North West Company had a number of trading houses within a short distance of the waters of the Missouri, and were active in their endeavors to enlist the savages against the Americans.

About this period, Benjamin Howard, Governor of Missouri, resigned the office, and accepted the commission of Brigadier-General in command of the rangers in both territories, and as the United States government had made no provision to sustain the militia volunteers, those in Illinois were

discharged from further services by Governor Edwards, as Commander-in-chief. The order is dated on the eighth of June.

About twenty horses were stolen by Indians on the remote settlements of Shoal creek, Illinois, during this month.

Fort Madison, (in Iowa, above the Lower Rapids,) was subject to repeated attacks from the Sacs, Foxes and Winnebagoes.

"On the 16th of July, the enemy carried a block-house, lately erected by the commanding officer, to command a ravine in which they had taken advantage in all their attacks upon this place; they kept up a fire on the garrison for about two hours. This is the ninth or tenth rencontre that has taken place on our frontier, between the 4th and 17th of this month." —[Gazette, July 31st.]

An editorial in the same paper, gives some important facts concerning Prairie du Chien, and the resources at the trading posts in Wisconsin, for supplying both British and Indians in their hostilities. A letter about the same time from Governor Edwards to Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, designed to call the attention of the government to the occupancy of that position, contains similar facts. We copy the editorial:

"Last winter, we endeavored to turn the attention of government towards Prairie du Chien, a position which we ought to occupy, by establishing a military post at the village, or on the Ouisconsin, six miles below.

"For several months we have not been able to procure any other than Indian information from the Prairie, the enemy having cut off all communication with us; but we are persuaded that permanent subsistence can be obtained for one thousand regular troops in the upper lake country. At Prairie du Chien there are about fifty families, most of whom are engaged in agriculture; their common field is four miles long, by half a mile in breadth. Besides this field, they have three separate farms of considerable extent, and twelve horse mills to manufacture their produce.

"At the village of L'abre Croche, an immense quantity of corn is raised; from thence to Milwaukee, on lake Michigan, there are several villages where corn is grown extensively. These supplies, added to the fine fish which abound in the lakes and rivers, will furnish the enemy's garrison with provision in abundance.

* * * * * * *

"Our little garrison on the Mississippi, half way up to the

Prairie, has taught the Indians a few lessons on prudence. With about thirty effective men, those brave and meritorious soldiers, Lieutenant Hamilton and Vasquez, in a wretched pen, improperly called a fort, beat off five hundred savages of the North-west."

This was *Bellevue*, already noticed, and the site of the town of that name in Jackson county, Iowa.

The movements of the government against Canada and the combined forces of the British and Indians, wrought conviction in the sagacious mind of Governor Edwards, that should they be defeated (as was the case at the battle of the Thames,) the savages would retreat, and by marauding bands attack the settlements of Illinois and Missouri. His correspondence on this subject with the War Department was frequent and voluminous. Our limited space will allow only a passing notice of the fact.

Early in August, one man was killed and another wounded in a field near "Stout's fort," on the Cuivre, in St. Charles county. The scattered settlements, through what is now Lincoln and the South-Eastern part of Pike counties, were often harrassed with small scouting parties of Indians, in 1813.—On the 15th of the same month, a party of sixteen picked men from the company of rangers, under the command of Captain Nathan Boone, were attacked late at light, between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, by a party of forty or fifty Indians. Captain Boone formed his men back from the fires, and, as they expected, the Indians rushed on the camping ground. Unfortunately, owing to a recent rain, the guns of the party were wet, did but poor execution, and they were obliged to retreat. One of the party received a slight wound in the hand. This party had been sent out by General Howard as spies.

During the campaign in the summer and autumn of 1813, all the companies of rangers from Illinois and Missouri were under the command of General Howard. Large parties of hostile Indians were known to have collected about Peoria, and scouting parties traversed the district between the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, then an entire wilderness.

It was from these marauding parties that the frontier settlements of Illinois and Missouri, were harrassed. It became an object of no small importance, to penetrate the country over

which they ranged, and establish a fort at Peoria, and thus drive them to the northern wilderness. Our authorities for the incidents of the campaign, is a long letter from the honorable John Reynolds, who was a non-commissioned officer in a company of spies; and the "Missouri Gazette," of November 6th. The rendezvous for the Illinois regiment was "Camp Russell," two miles north of Edwardsville. The whole party when collected, made up of the rangers, volunteers and militia, amounted to about fourteen hundred men, under the command of Gen. Howard. Robert Wash, Esq., and Dr. Walker, of St. Louis, were of his staff. Colonels Benjamin Stephenson, then of Randolph county, Illinois, and Alexander McNair, of St. Louis, commanded the regiments. W. B. Whiteside and John Moredock, of Illinois, were Majors in the second regiment, and William Christy and Nathan Boone filled the same office in the first, or Missouri regiment. A Major Desha, a United States officer from Tennessee, was in the army, but what post he occupied we do not learn. Colonel E. B. Clemson, of the United States Army, was Inspector.—Governor Reynolds states, there were some United States rangers from Kentucky, and a company from Vincennes. We have no means of ascertaining the names of all the subaltern officers. We know that Samuel Whiteside, Joseph Phillips, Nathaniel Journey and Samuel Judy, were Captains in the Illinois companies.

The Illinois regiment lay encamped on the Piasau, opposite Portage de Sioux, waiting for more troops, for three or four weeks. They then commenced the march, and swam their horses over the Illinois river, about two miles above the mouth. On the high ground in Calhoun county, they had a skirmish with a party of Indians. The Missouri troops, with General Howard, crossed the Mississippi from Fort Mason, and formed a junction with the Illinois troops. The baggage and men were transported in canoes, and the horses swam the river.

The army marched for a number of days along the Mississippi bottom. On or near the site of Quincy, was a large Sac village, and an encampment, that must have contained a thousand warriors. It appeared to have been deserted but a short period.

The army continued its march near the Mississippi, some distance above the Lower Rapids, and then struck across the

prairies for the Illinois river, which they reached below the mouth of Spoon river, and marched to Peoria village. Here was a small stockade, commanded by Colonel Nicholas of the United States Army. Two days previous, the Indians had made an attack on the fort, and were repulsed. The army, on its march from the Mississippi to the Illinois river, found numerous fresh trails, all passing northward, which indicated that the savages were fleeing in that direction.

Next morning the General marched his troops to the Senatchwine, a short distance above the head of Peoria Lake, where was an old Indian village, called Gomo's village.—Here they found the enemy had taken water and ascended the Illinois. This, and two other villages, were burnt. Finding no enemy to fight, the army was marched back to Peoria, to assist the regular troops in building Fort Clark, so denominated in memory of the old hero of 1778; and Major Christy, with a party, was ordered to ascend the river with two keel boats, duly armed and protected, to the foot of the rapids, and break up any Indian establishments that might be in that quarter. Major Boone, with a detachment, was dispatched to scour the country on Spoon river, in the direction of Rock River.

The rangers and militia passed to the east side of the Illinois, cut timber, which they hauled on truck-wheels by drag ropes to the lake, and rafted it across. The fort was erected by the regular troops under Captain Phillips. In preparing the timber, the rangers and militia were engaged about two weeks.

Major Christy and the boats returned from the Rapids without any discovery, except additional proofs of the alarm and fright of the enemy, and Major Boone returned with his force with the same observations.

It was the plan of General Howard to return by a tour through the Rock River valley, but the cold weather set in unusually early. By the middle of October it was intensely cold, the troops had no clothing for a winter campaign, and their horses would, in all probability, fail; the Indians had evidently fled a long distance in the interior, so that, all things considered, he resolved to return the direct route to Camp Russell, where the militia and volunteers were disbanded on the 22nd of October. Supplies of provisions, and munitions of

war had been sent to Peoria, in boats, which had reached there a few days previous to the army.

It may seem to those, who delight in tales of fighting and bloodshed, that this expedition was a very insignificant affair. Very few Indians were killed, very little fighting done, but one or two of the army were lost, and yet as a means of protecting the frontier settlements of these territories, it was most efficient, and gave at least six months quiet to the people.—After this, Indians shook their heads and said "White men like the leaves in the forest,—like the grass in the prairies,—they grow every where."

SECTION THIRD.

Campaign of 1814.

The first act of hostilities we find on record for 1814, is an attack on a party of surveyors in the vicinity of the United States Saline, in Saline county, Illinois, when Major Nelson Rector was severely wounded. His left arm was broken, a ball entered his left side, below the collar bone, and another cut the skin on the right side of his head. The Indians were concealed under the bank of a creek. This was on the first of March.

Two brothers, by name of Eastwood, were trapping for beaver on the head waters of the Gasconade and White rivers, when they were attacked by a party of Osages, who afterwards said they mistook them for southern Indians, with whom they were at war. They killed one brother, and the other made his escape. The Osage nation professed to be friendly to the United States. Subsequently, on the 27th of May, Pierre Chouteau, Esq., agent for the Osages, arrived in St. Louis, with several chiefs, with three Osages as prisoners, who had been given up as the murderers.

About the first of May, Governor Clark fitted out five barges, with fifty regular troops and one hundred and forty volunteers, and left St. Louis on an expedition to Prairie du Chien. On the 13th of June, Governor Clark, with several gentlemen who accompanied him, returned with one of the barges, having left the officers and troops to erect a fort and maintain the position.

No Indians molested the party till they reached Rock river,

where they had a skirmish with some hostile Sauks. The Foxes resided at Dubuque, and professed to be peaceable, and promised to fight on the American side.

Twenty days before the expedition reached Prairie du Chien, the British trader, Dickson, left that place for Mackinac, with eighty Winnebagoes, one hundred and twenty Folls-avoine, and one hundred Sioux, probably as *recruits* for the British army along the lake country. He had gained information of the expedition of Governor Clark from his Indian spies, and had left Captain Deace with a body of Mackinac fencibles, with orders to protect the place. The Sioux and Renards, (Foxes,) having refused to fight the Americans, Deace and his soldiers fled. The inhabitants also fled into the country, but returned as soon as they learned they were not to be injured. A temporary defence was immediately erected. Lieutenant Perkins, with sixty rank and file from Major Z. Taylor's company of the 7th regiment, took possession of the house occupied by the Mackinac Fur Company, in which they found nine or ten trunks of Dickson's property, with his papers and correspondence. A writer in the "Gazette" says:—

"The farms of Prairie du Chien are in high cultivation; between two and three hundred barrels of flour may be manufactured there this season, besides a vast quantity of corn.

Two of the largest boats were left in command of Aid-de-camp Kennerly, and Captains Sullivan and Yeizer, whose united forces amount to one hundred and thirty-five men. The regulars under command of Lieutenant Perkins, are stationed on shore, and are assisted by the volunteers in building the new fort."

This was called Fort Shelby. On his return, the people of St. Louis gave the Governor a public dinner, and expressed their hearty gratulations for the success of the enterprize.

About the last of June, Captain John Sullivan, with his company of militia, and some volunteers whose term of service had expired, returned from Prairie du Chien, and reported that the fort was finished, the boats well manned and barricaded; that the Indians were hovering around, and had taken prisoner a Frenchman while hunting his horses. The boats employed, carried a six pounder on their main deck, and several howitzers on the quarters and gangway. The men were protected by a musket-proof barricade.

On the 6th of August, the Gazette, (our authority in these details,) states:—

"Just as we had put our paper to press, Lieutenant Perkins, with the troops which composed the garrison at Prairie du Chien, arrived here. Lieutenant Perkins fought the combined force of British and Indians three days and nights, until they approached the pickets by mining; provisions, ammunition and water expended, when he capitulated. The officers to keep their private property, and the whole not to serve until duly exchanged. Five of our troops were wounded during the siege."

In a letter from Captain Yeizer, to Governor Clark, dated, St. Louis, July 28th, 1814, we find the following facts. Captain Y. commanded one of the gun-boats, a keel-boat fitted up in the manner heretofore described. On the 17th July, at half past one o'clock, from twelve to fifteen hundred British and Indians, marched up in full view of the fort and the town and demanded a surrender, "which demand was positively refused." They attacked Mr. Yeizer's boat at three o'clock, at long-shot distance. He returned the compliment by firing round-shot from his six pounder, which made them change their position to a small mound nearer the boat. At the same time the Indians were firing from behind the houses and pickets. The Boat then moved up the river to the head of the village; keeping up a constant discharge of firearms and artillery, which was answered by the enemy from the shore. The enemy's boats then crossed the river below, to attack the Americans from the opposite side of the river. A galling fire from opposite points was now kept up by the enemy, on this boat, until the only alternative was left for Captain Yeizer to run the boat through the the enemy's lines to a point five miles below; keeping up a brisk fire.

In the meantime, another gun-boat that lay on shore, was fired on until it took fire and was burnt. In Captain Yeizer's boat, two officers and four privates were wounded, and one private killed.

The British and Indians were commanded by Colonel McCay, (or Mackey,) who came in boats from Mackinac, by Green Bay and the Wisconsin, with artillery. Their report gives from one hundred and sixty to two hundred regulars, and "Michigan fencibles," and about eight hundred Indians. They landed their artillery below the town and fort, and formed a

battery; attacking the forts and the boats at the same time.—After Captain Yeizer's boat had been driven from its anchorage, sappers and miners began operations in the bank, one hundred and fifty yards from the fort. Lieutenant Perkins held out while hope lasted. In the fort were George and James Kennerly, the former an aid to Governor Clark; the latter a Lieutenant in the militia.

During this season strenuous efforts were made by the small force at command, to plant forts along the Upper Mississippi. *Cape au Gris*, (Cap au Grey) an old French hamlet on the left bank of the Mississippi, a few miles above the mouth of the Illinois river, was the place of rendezvous. Armed boats, already described, the means of transportation.

Among the persons in command were brevet Major Zachary Taylor, (President of the United States, in 1850,) and Captain Campbell, of the United States regular army. Among the commanders of companies, or of boats, we find the names of Captain Whiteside and N. Rector.

A detachment, under command of Major Taylor, left Cape au Gris on the 23d of August, in boats, for the Indian town at Rock River. The detachment consisted of three hundred and thirty-four effective men, officers, non-commissioned officers and privates. A report from the commanding officer to General Howard, dated from Fort Madison, September 6th, and published in the "Missouri Gazette" of the 17th, gives the details of the expedition. They met with no opposition until they reached Rock Island, where Indian villages were situated on both sides of the river, above and below the Rapids.—The object was to destroy these villages and the fields of corn. They continued up the rapids to Campbell's Island, so named from the commander of one of the boats; so named from some hard fighting his detachment had with some of the Indians.—The policy of the commanding officer was to commence with the upper villages, and sweep both sides of the river. But the policy was interrupted by a party of British, and more than a thousand Indians, with a six and a three pounder, brought from Prairie du Chien. Captains Whiteside and Rector, and the men under their charge, with Lieutenant Edward Hempstead, who commanded a boat, fought the enemy bravely for several hours as they descended the Rapids. The danger consisted in the enemy's shot sinking the boats, and

they were compelled to fall down below the rapids to repair the boats.

"I then called the officers together, and put to them the following question: 'Are we able, 334 effective men, to fight the enemy, with any prospect of success and effect, which is to destroy their villages and corn?' They were of opinion the enemy was at least three men to one, and that it was not practicable to effect either object. I then determined to drop down the river to the Desmoines, without delay, as some of the officers of the rangers informed me their men were short of provisions, and execute the principal object of the expedition in erecting a fort to command the river. * * *

"In the affair at Rock river, I had eleven men badly wounded, three mortally, of whom one has since died.

"I am much indebted to the officers for their prompt obedience to orders, nor do I believe a braver set of men could have been collected than those who compose this detachment. But, Sir, I conceive it would have been madness in me, as well as in direct violation of my orders, to have risked the detachment without a prospect of success.

"I believe I would have been fully able to have accomplished your views, if the enemy had not been supplied with artillery, and so advantageously posted, as to render it impossible for us to have dislodged him, without imminent danger of the loss of the whole detachment."

Fort Johnston, a rough stockade with block-houses of round logs, was then erected on the present site of the town of Warsaw, opposite the mouth of the Desmoines.

On the 18th of September, General Benjamin Howard, whose military district extended from the interior of Indiana to the frontier of Mexico, died in St. Louis, after a short, but painful illness. He was a native of Virginia, removed with his father to Kentucky at an early period, and was engage in the defence of the frontiers before the treaty of Greenville. After that period, he commenced the study of the law, and in the course of a few years, was ranked among the ablest men of his profession, when he was appointed to a seat on the bench.

About 1806, or 1807, he was elected to Congress from the Lexington district, and was in Congress when he was appointed Governor of Missouri Territory, as the successor of Governor Lewis. An interesting biographical sketch is to be found in the Missouri Gazette, of October 1st. We have also a letter from the venerable David Todd, of Columbia, Missouri, giving a sketch of his family connections, character and

personal appearance, for which we have not room in this section.

Fort Madison, after sustaining repeated attacks from the Indians, was evacuated and burnt. And in the month of October, the people of St. Louis were astounded with the intelligence, that the troops stationed in Fort Johnston, had burnt the block-houses, destroyed the works, and retreated down the river to Cape au Gres. The officer in command, (Major Taylor having previously left that post,) reported they were out of provisions and could not sustain the position. It should be here noticed, that the defeat of the Indians in the battle of the Thames, drove back a large force of hostile savages to the Mississippi.

Colonel Russell, who had been in a bad state of health, arrived in St. Louis on the 8th of October, and soon after held a conference with Governors Clark and Edwards on measures for the future defence of the two territories.

Two rangers were killed by Indians near Cape au Gres, and four more in a skirmish not far from Vincennes.

On the 5th of August, Mr. Henry Cox and his sons, while at work on his farm near Shoal creek, Illinois, were attacked by a party of Indians, one of his sons was killed and shockingly mangled, (so says the Gazette,) and another taken prisoner.

Early in July, a party of Indians entered the Wood river settlement, (five miles east of Alton city,) and massacred a Mrs. Reagan and her two children, after night-fall, as they were returning home from her brother's house, the late Mr. Moore. The husband and father, supposing they had tarried at their relations, was awakened in the morning by a company of rangers, with the distressing intelligence of the massacre of his wife and children, whose mangled remains were but a few rods from the house.

Captain (now General) Samuel Whiteside, with fifty rangers, was on their trail at an early hour, pursued them to the Sangamon river, where they discovered the party just as they entered a dense thicket in the river bottom, by which all escaped but the leader, in whose possession they found the scalp of Mrs. Reagan.

The only incident we find to complete this section, is the adventure of the heroic Thomas Higgins. He was a native of Kentucky, and joined the rangers of Illinois at their first

organization, and continued by annual enlistments until disabled.

A frontier settlement on Shoal creek, in the present county of Bond, had a "station," or block-house, about eight miles south of the present site of Greenville. It was one of the points of rendezvous for the rangers, where Lieutenant Journey and eleven men, including Higgins, were stationed.

On the 20th of August, 1814, Indian signs were discovered in the vicinity; and at night a party was seen prowling about the fort. Before day-light on the 31st, Lieutenant Journey and his command were on their trail. They had not proceeded far on the border of the prairie, before they were in an ambuscade, surrounded with seventy or eighty Indians; and at the first fire, the Lieutenant and three men were killed.—Six fled to the fort, while Higgins remained on the field, as he said "to have one more pull at the enemy." His horse had been shot in the neck, fell on his knees; but rose again in a moment. Higgins thought his horse mortally wounded, dismounted, and resolving to avenge the loss of his comrades, took to a tree. The fog of the early dawn, and the smoke of the Indian guns, which had obscured the atmosphere, now cleared away, and he discovered the Indians. Taking deliberate aim, he fired, and the foremost savage fell. Concealed by the smoke, he reloaded his gun; mounted his wounded horse and turned to retreat, when a familiar voice from the grass hailed him with "Tom, you wont leave *me?*" Turning around, he saw a fellow soldier by the name of Burgess, lying in the grass, wounded and helpless. "Come along," said Higgins. "I can't come," responded Burgess, "my leg is smashed to pieces." Higgins instantly dismounted, and in attempting to lift his friend on the horse, the animal took fright, ran off and left Higgins with the wounded man. He directed him to crawl on one leg and hands through the tallest grass, while he remained behind to protect him from the Indians. In this way Burgess reached the fort. Higgins could best have followed the same trail, but this would endanger his comrade.—He therefore took another direction, concealing himself by a small thicket. As he passed it, he discovered a stout savage near by, and two others approaching. He started for a small ravine, but found one of his legs fail, which, until now, he was scarcely conscious had been wounded in the first rencon-

tre. The large Indian pressed him close, and Higgins, knowing the advantage, resolved to halt and dodge the ball. The Indian poised his gun, and Higgins, turning suddenly, received the ball in his thigh. He now fell, rose again; and received the fire of the others; and again fell, severely wounded. The Indians now threw aside their guns and advanced on him with their spears and knives. As he presented his gun first at one, then at the other, each fell back. At last the stout Indian who had fired first, supposing Higgins' gun empty, advanced boldly to the charge, when Higgins fired, and he fell.

Higgins had now four bullets in his body,—an empty gun in his hand—two Indians unharmed before him: and a large party but a short distance in the ravine. Still he did not despair. His two assailants now raised the war-whoop, rushed on him with their spears, and a deadly conflict ensued. They gave him numerous flesh wounds, as the scars we have seen testified. At last one threw his tomahawk, which struck Higgins on his cheek, severed his ear, laid bare his skull to the back of his head, and stretched him on the prairie. Again the Indians rushed on, but Higgins kept them off with his feet, and grasping one of their spears, he arose, seized his rifle and dashed out the brains of his antagonist, but broke his rifle.—The other Indian now raised the yell, and rushed on him and attempted to stab the exhausted ranger with his knife. Higgins still fought with his broken rifle; then with his knife; both were bleeding, and nearly exhausted.

The smoke had cleared away; the party of Indians were in view; and the little garrison at the fort could see the contest, but dared not sally out. There was a woman,—a Mrs. Pursley,—at this crisis urged the rangers to the rescue. They objected,—she taunted them with cowardice,—snatched her husband's rifle from his hand, declared that "so fine a fellow as Tom Higgins, should not be lost for want of help"; mounted a horse, and sallied forth to his rescue. The men, ashamed to be outdone by a woman, followed at full gallop,—reached the spot where Higgins had fainted and fell, before the Indians came up, and brought off the wounded ranger to the fort. For many days his life was despaired of; there was no surgeon; some of his friends cut out two balls from his body; but by careful nursing he recovered. Another ball was extracted from his thigh, by his own hands and razor, some years

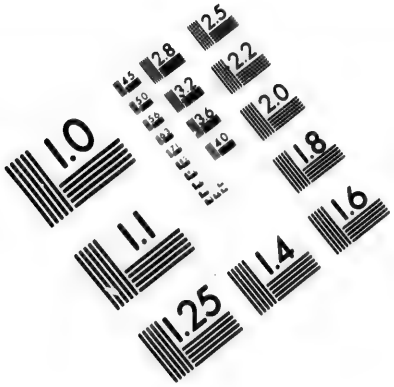
after. He was a fine specimen of a frontier man, open hearted, generous; and lived, and died, a few years since in Fayette county.

Postscript.—We have discovered—too late to correct the error in the text—a mistake in connecting the battle at the Upper Rapids, by Major Taylor, and a similar action at the same place by Lieutenant Campbell.

Soon after the return of Governor Clark from Prairie du Chien, it was thought expedient by General Howard, (who had just returned from Kentucky,) to send up a force to relieve the volunteer troops, and strengthen that remote post. He therefore sent Lieutenant Campbell, (who was acting as brigade Major) and three keel boats, with 42 regulars, and 66 rangers; and including the sutler's establishment, boatmen and women, making 133 persons. They reached Rock River without difficulty, but at the foot of the rapids, they were visited by large numbers of Sauks and Foxes, pretending to be friendly, and some of them bearing letters from the garrison above to St. Louis. In a short time the contractors and sutler's boats had reached the head of the rapids; the two barges with the rangers followed, and were about two miles ahead of the commander's barge. Here a gale of wind arose and the barge drifted against the little Island, known as Campbell's Island. Here he thought proper to lie by until the wind abated; sentries were stationed at proper distances, and the men were on the Island shore cooking, when the report of several guns announced the attack.

The savages were seen on shore in quick motion; canoes filled with Indians passed to the Island; and in a few moments they found themselves nearly surrounded with five or six hundred Indians, who gave the war-whoop and poured upon them a galling fire. The barges ahead, commanded by Captains Rector and Riggs, attempted to return, but one got stranded on the rapids; the other, to prevent a similar disaster, let go an anchor. The rangers from both these barges opened a brisk fire on the Indians. The unequal contest was kept up for more than an hour; the Indians firing from the Island and the shore under cover, when the commander's barge took fire. Captain Rector cut his cable, fell to windward, and took out the survivors. Captain Riggs soon after followed with his barge, and all returned to St. Louis.




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There were three regulars, four rangers, one woman and one child, killed and mortally wounded; and sixteen wounded; among whom was Major Campbell and Dr. Stewart, severely. (Gazette, July 30th, 1814.)

SECTION FOUR.

The Boone's Lick Settlements.

The country above the Cedar, a small stream on the western border of Callaway county, which was regarded as the boundary of the district (afterwards the county) of St. Charles, was called "*Boone's Lick*," from its first settlement until the organization of the State Government.

Cote Sans Dessein, (from a singular oblong hill in the bottom near) was a hamlet, or small village of French settlers, as early as 1808. In 1810, (perhaps a few in 1809) many enterprizing persons with their families, struck into the wilderness and commenced settlements, in what is now the county of Howard. Here were several large salt springs and "licks," at one of which the old pioneer had his hunting camp in the olden time, and where his son, Major Nathan Boone, made salt about 1807. This gave name to the "lick," and that to a large district of country. As the formation of this settlement and the "Incidents of the war," which is the subject of this chapter, are in direct connection, we shall group them together in this section.

About twelve families, in 1810, settled on the south side of the Missouri. They were from the Loutre settlement. Mrs. Cole and family, whose husband was killed by the Indians, settled at the lower point of the bluff, adjacent to Booneville, in 1811. [Appendix, p. 728.]

The Boone's Lick settlement, at the commencement of the war with Great Britain, numbered about one hundred and fifty families. The Governor of the territory considered them beyond the organized jurisdiction of any county, and for about four years the only authority over them was patriarchal.—The state of society was orderly, and the habits of the people virtuous. Several ministers of the gospel were among the immigrants. The force of public sentiment and the good sense of the people regulated society.

For several years, a party of the Sauk Indians, under Quash-

quamme, their chief, lived on the Moniteau, south of the Missouri. They professed to be friendly, but, as is customary with all uncivilized Indians, very probably they stole horses, and committed other depredations. And it is a general custom for hostile parties in their marauding excursions, to lay the mischief they commit to those who keep the peace. After the war this band of Sauks were ordered off. They went to Grand river, and from thence to the mouth of Rock river, and joined the other branch of the Sauk nation.

On the Petite Osage plains, in what is now Saline county, were a large party of Miami Indians. Their village, built of poles, was a short distance from the Missouri river. They are accused of committing many depredations, and some murders, which, probably, was the work of hostile Indians.

The Pottawatomies were the principal depredators in the Boone's Lick country, during the war. They stole nearly or quite three hundred horses from the settlements. The Foxes, Iowas and Kickapoos, carried the war into this frontier. For two years, the gallant settlers, unaided by any government, sustained the conflict and defended their families with dauntless heroism. Every man, and every boy that could load a rifle, was a soldier, and enrolled himself in one of the volunteer companies. By common consent, Colonel Benjamin Cooper was Commander-in-Chief. Colonel Cooper had been identified with the early operations in Kentucky, and possessed those elements of character, that eminently qualified him for a leader and adviser.

Amongst the subalterns, we recollect the names of Sarshall Cooper, (son of the Colonel,) Wm. Head, and Stephen Cole; regretting the names of others, equally deserving notice, are unknown to the writer.

(We find the name Braxton given to this gentleman in several documents, and infer that his name was Sarshall Braxton Cooper.)

The people erected five stockade forts for their defence.—Mr. McLain's fort, afterwards called Fort Hempstead, about one mile from the present site of New Franklin; Cooper's Fort, in the bottom prairie, near the old Boone's Lick: Kincaid's fort, a mile above the site of old Franklin, near the river; Head's fort, on the Moniteau, near the old Boone's Lick trace from St. Charles; and Cole's fort south of the Missouri,

a mile below Booneville. As dangers thickened, the people in this fort moved temporarily across the Missouri. The families, when danger was apprehended, resided in these stockades, but the citizen soldiers, besides ranging in advance of the forts after the enemy, had to hunt game for provisions, and cultivate the land for corn. As much of their stock was killed or driven off by the early incursions of the enemy, the terms "bear-bacon," and "hog-meat," were inserted in contracts for provisions in those days.*

Large enclosures near the forts were occupied for corn-fields, in common; and frequently sentinels stood on the borders of the field, while their neighbors turned the furrow.—Skirmishes with parties of Indians were frequent.

If they threatened the fort while the detachments were in the corn-field, or on the hunting range, the sound of the horn was the rallying signal.

Among the persons killed at different periods, and various points, we can record the names of Sarshall Cooper, Jonathan Todd, William Campbell, Thomas Smith, Samuel McMahan, William Gregg, John Smith, James Busby, Joseph W. Still, and a negro man.

Our authority for this and several other particulars, is Samuel Cole, son of W. T. Cole;—memoranda taken from the statements of many of the pioneers in the Boone's Lick country by the writer, in 1818;—Wetmore's Gazetteer;—and the files of the Missouri Gazette.

Of the murders committed, none excited so deep a feeling, as the tragic end of Captain Sarshall Cooper, who was killed at his own fire-side in Cooper's fort. It was on a dark and stormy night, when the winds howled through the adjacent forest, that a single warrior crept to the wall of Captain Cooper's cabin, which formed one side of the fort, and made an opening between the logs, barely sufficient to admit the muzzle of his gun, which he discharged with fatal effect. Captain Cooper was sitting by the fire, holding his youngest child in his arms, which escaped unhurt; his other children lounging on the cabin floor, and his wife engaged in domestic duties. A single crack of the rifle was heard, and Cooper was stretched on the floor! His prowess was well known to the Indians; his skill and bravery had often foiled the wily and treacher-

* Wetmore's Gazetteer, p. 82.

ous savages. He is remembered to this day by the early pioneers of Missouri for his heroic and manly virtues, as he is for his philanthropy and other moral qualities.

Captain Stephen Cole survived the war, after making every effort for the defence of the settlement, when, just about the period of prosperity, and the increase and value of lands and other property invited repose and contentment, his love of wild adventure, in 1822, induced him to become a pioneer in the trade to Santa Fe. He was killed by the red skins on the plains.

Colonel Cooper attained to a green old age. He was a member of the Territorial Council, much respected by all classes, and died about 1840.

After about two years of hard fighting, "on their own hook," to use a western figure, application was made to the Governor, and a detachment of rangers under General Henry Dodge was sent to their relief. The mounted men, (rangers) included the companies of Captain John Thompson, of St. Louis, Captain Daugherty of Cape Girardeau, and Captain Cooper of the Boone's Lick settlement, with fifty Shawanese and Delaware Indians; the whole amounting to three hundred men,

They marched to the village of the Miamies, took about four hundred men, women and children prisoners, and sent them to their nation on the Wabash.

In connection, an expedition ascended the Missouri river. under command of Captain Edward Hempstead.

In the spring of 1813, a party of Sauks and Pottawatomies made an attack on Loutre Lick, and killed a young man by the name of Massey, while ploughing in the field.

Early in 1814, the Sauks and Foxes stole horses in the neighborhood of Loutre Island. Fifteen or twenty rangers commanded by Captain James Callaway, being out on a tour of observation, accidentally fell on their trail, and followed it. They overtook the Indians in camp near the head of the Loutre creek, and found the horses, but the Indians apparently, had fled. They retook the horses, and proceeded towards the settlements, until they reached Prairie fork. Here the Captain, desirous of relieving the men who had charge of the horses in the rear, gave the command to Lieut. Riggs, who went on with the main party. In a short time, Captain Callaway and the men who had charge of the horses, were

fired on by a large party of Indians who lay in ambuscade, and was severely wounded. He broke the line of the Indians, while men and horses fled, rode towards the main Loutre, where he was intercepted by the Indians, and being mortally wounded, fell from his horse into the stream as he attempted to swim it, and expired. Four rangers in his party were killed. Their names were, McDermot, Hutchinson, McMillan, and Gilmore. The latter was taken prisoner and subsequently killed.

At the village of Cote Sans Dessein, the French and others erected a block-house and pallisade enclosure, to protect the families. The principal person in command, was a resolute Frenchman by the name of Baptiste Louis Roy. The fort was assailed by a large party of Indians when only two men besides Captain Roy, with many women and children, were in it. The women cast bullets, cut patches, loaded rifles, and furnished refreshments, while Roy and his two soldiers defended the post, until fourteen braves were numbered as slain. The Indians attempted to set the house on fire by shooting arrows armed with combustible materials, but the resolute women put out the fire. The defence proved succesful, and M. Roy, at a period subsequent to the war, received a costly rifle from the young men at St. Louis for his gallant behavior.*

* Wetmore's Gazetteer, pp. 47, 50. Also 125, 126.

CHAPTER IV.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT.

SECTION FIRST.

Sketches of Missouri Territory.

We shall commence these sketches by gleaning such incidents as have been omitted. One of these is the location and settlement of New Madrid. This town was projected as a large commercial city, in 1787, by Col. G. Morgan, from New Jersey. A little French village was commenced at an earlier

period, and called *L'anse a la Gresse.* Stoddard says: "In consequence of some obstacles to his designs, created by the Spanish Government, he abandoned his project, and retired from the country."*

In 1779, it is said to have contained 800 inhabitants, and to have been in a flourishing condition. We think this estimate included the village and settlement of Little Prairie, some thirty miles below, which at that period, contained about 400 inhabitants.

The act of Congress, passed October 31st, 1803, authorized the President to take possession of the Territories ceded by France to the United States, and establish a temporary government therein. [Annals, 537.]

An act passed March 26, 1804, organizing the Territory of Orleans, and making "the residue of the country, the district of Louisiana," and placing it under the jurisdiction of the Governor and Judges of Indiana. It so continued until March 3d, 1805, when an act was passed, organizing the "Territory of Louisiana," under the jurisdiction of a Governor, Judges and Secretary. General James Wilkinson was appointed Governor, and Frederick Bates, Esq., Secretary, who frequently officiated as acting Governor. He continued in the office by reappointments until the territorial government was suspended by that of the State.

The expedition of Messrs. Lewis and Clark, is noticed already. [Annals, 552.] It was not long after their return that Captain Meriwether Lewis received the appointment of Governor of the Territory of Louisiana; and Captain Wm. Clark (a little later, we think,) the appointment of Superintendent of Indian Affairs. The territorial records having been consumed with the State House at Jefferson City, in 1837, we cannot be certain of accuracy in dates.

On the 20th of August, 1808, we find in the "Gazette," the proclamation of Governor Lewis, organizing the "District of Arkansas." At that period, counties were denominated districts.

It was no minor event in the annals of Missouri, that the printing press and weekly paper west of the Mississippi river, was introduced and established in St. Louis, in 1808, by the late Joseph Charless. Its earliest issues were on cap pa-

* Stoddard's Sketches, p. 209.

per; the first number is dated in July, 1808. Mr. Charless was a native of Ireland. For a time, he was in an office in Philadelphia, then in Lexington, Ky., where he published a paper. The name of the paper at St. Louis, was changed with that of the territory. It was first called the "Louisiana Gazette," then the "Missouri Gazette," and finally, in 1822, in other hands, it took the name of the "Missouri Republican." The files of this paper, in size and typographical appearance, would furnish an illustration of the growth and progress of the city and the territory.

During the spring or summer of 1809, Governor Lewis departed for New Orleans, and thence to Washington City.—While passing through the Chickasaw country, he discovered great aberration of mind, and shot himself with a brace of pistols in the night, at the house where he tarried. We give the following sketch from Howe's Virginia, Albermarle county, page 171.

"Meriwether Lewis, the son of a wealthy planter, was born near Charlottesville, in 1774. At 18 years of age, he relinquished his academic studies and engaged in agriculture. Two years after, he acted as a volunteer, to suppress the whisky insurrection, from which situation he was removed to the regular service. From about 1801 to 1803, he was the private secretary of Mr. Jefferson, when he, with Wm. Clark, went on their celebrated exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Jefferson, in recommending him to this duty, gave him a high character, as possessing courage, inflexible perseverance, intimate knowledge of the Indian character, and fidelity, intelligence, and all those peculiar combinations of qualities that eminently fitted him for so arduous an undertaking. They were absent three years, and were highly successful in the accomplishment of their duties. Shortly after his return, he was appointed Governor of the territory of Louisiana, and, finding it the seat of internal dissentions, he, by his moderation, firmness and impartiality, brought matters into a systematic train. He was subject to constitutional hypochondria, and while under the influence of a severe attack, shot himself on the borders of Tennessee, in 1809, at the age of thirty-five. The event was ascribed to the protest of some bills, which he drew on the public account."

The Commissioners to examine into and confirm claims to land by virtue of concessions and grants under the Spanish Government, were John B. C. Lucas, Clement B. Penrose, and

James L. Donaldson. From the American State Papers, Public Lands, volume ii., we learn they commenced the duties of the office in 1806. In 1807, we find the name of Frederick Bates in place of J. L. Donaldson. Lucas, Penrose and Bates, continued to officiate until 1812, and probably a longer period. The doubtful and conflicting titles, made the office both laborious and unpleasant.

An act of Congress, approved June 4th, 1812, changed the name of the Territory of Louisiana to that of Missouri, and advanced it to the second grade of government.

The "Council" consisted of nine members, elected in the same mode as was then customary in territorial organizations. The Representatives, when elected by the people, were required to convene on the proclamation of the Governor, and nominate eighteen persons, residents of said territory one year preceding their nomination; each possessing, in his own right, two hundred acres of land therein; and return their names to the President of the United States, who, with the advice and consent of the Senate, selected nine for the Legislative Council. The term of appointment was five years.

The House of Representatives were apportioned at the ratio of one, for every five hundred free, white male inhabitants. Qualifications for this office, were one year's residence in the territory, twenty-one years of age, and a free-holder in the county. The term was two years, and the Legislature to sit annually, in the town of St. Louis. Thirteen Representatives were provided at the first election.

Qualifications for suffrage were free, white male citizens of the United States, one year's residence in the territory, and the payment of a territorial, or county tax. A D...gate to Congress, to be chosen biennially.

In 1816, the organic law was so modified, as to permit biennial sessions of the Legislature.

On the 1st day of October, Governor Howard, by proclamation, reorganized the districts, as heretofore called, into five counties; St. Charles, St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid. The district of Arkansas formed a portion of the county of New Madrid. The territorial government passed into the second grade the first Monday in December. The election for representatives to the legislature

and a delegate to congress, was ordered to be held on the second Monday in November.

On the 18th of October, the names of Edward Hempstead, Rufus Easton, Samuel Hammond, and Matthew Lyon, were announced as candidates for the office of Delegate to congress. Edward Hempstead was the successful candidate, but we find no records of the polls to show how the other candidates stood.

The House of Representatives commenced their first session on the 7th December, 1812. The following persons, as representatives of their respective counties, were present:

St. Charles.—John Pitman, Robert Spencer.

St. Louis.—David Musick, Bernard G. Farrar, William C. Carr, and Richard Caulk.

Ste. Genevieve.—George Bullett, Richard S. Thomas, Isaac McGready.

Cape Girardeau.—George F. Bollinger, Stephen Byrd.

New Madrid.—John Shrader, Samuel Phillips.

The oath was administered by John B. C. Lucas, one of the Judges. William C. Carr was elected Speaker, and Thomas F. Riddick, Clerk, pro. tem. Andrew Scott was elected Clerk before the close of the session.

The House of Representatives then proceeded to nominate eighteen persons, from which the President of the United States, with the Senate, was to select nine for the Council.

James Flaugherty, and Benjamin Emmons, of St. Charles county;—Auguste Chouteau, sen., and Samuel Hammond, of St. Louis county;—John Scott, James Maxwell, Nathaniel Cook, John M'Arthur, Moses Austin, John Smith, T., of Ste. Genevieve county;—William Neely, George Cavener, Abraham Boyd, John Davis, of Cape Girardeau county;—Joseph Hunter, Elisha Winson, William Gray, William Winchester, of New Madrid county, were nominated.

The President nominated, and the Senate confirmed, as members of the Territorial Council, James Flaugherty, Benjamin Emmons, Auguste Chouteau, sen., Samuel Hammond, John Scott, James Maxwell, William Neely, George Cavener, and Joseph Hunter. The acting Governor, Mr. Bates, made proclamation to that effect, on the 3d day of June, 1813, and appointed the first Monday in July following, for the meeting of the General Assembly.

The Journal of the House of Representatives was published only in the Missouri Gazette. Before the called session appointed to be held in July, William Clark entered upon the office of Governor.

We find no journal of legislative proceedings in the Gazette for that session, except a friendly interchange between the Assembly and the new Governor.

The Assembly passed laws regulating and establishing weights and measures;—the office of Sheriff;—mode of taking the census;—fixing permanently seats of justice in the counties;—compensation to members of the Assembly;—crimes and punishments;—forcible entry and detainer;—establishing courts of common pleas;—Incorporating the Bank of St. Louis;—and erecting the county of Washington from a part of Ste. Genevieve county.*

The second session of the General Assembly began in St. Louis, on the 6th of December, 1813. The Speaker elect of the House, was George Bullett, of Ste. Genevieve county; the Clerk, Andrew Scott; Door-keeper, William Sullivan. Vacations having occurred, several new members had been elected. Israel McGready appeared from the new county of Washington. Samuel Hammond was President of the Legislative Council.

The Journal of the House, but not of the Council, is to be found in the Gazette. After passnig various laws, the Assembly adjourned, *sine die*, on the 19th of January, 1814. The boundaries of the counties of St. Charles, Washington, Cape Girardeau, and New Madrid, were defined, and the county of Arkansas created.†

The enumeration of the free, white male inhabitants, taken under the Act of the Legislature, early in 1814, is as follows:

Arkansas, 827; New Madrid, 1548; Cape Girardeau, 2062; Ste. Genevieve, 1701; Washington, 1010; St. Louis, 3149; St. Charles, 1,096; making an aggregate of free, white male persons 11,393. Allowing an equal number of white females, and 1,000 slaves and free blacks, and the population of the territory was 25,000. The census of 1810, by the United States, gives 20,845 of all classes.

Edward Hempstead, Esq., who had discharged his duty

* Territorial Laws, vol. i. pp. 225, 290.

† Territorial Laws, vol. i. pp. 191–338.

faithfully as a Delegate to Congress, declined a re-election.—The candidates were Rufus Easton, Samuel Hammond, Alexander McNair and Thomas F. Riddick. The aggregate votes from all the counties (excepting Arkansas) was 2,599, of which Mr. Easton had 965; Mr. Hammond, 746; Mr. McNair, 853; and Mr. Riddick (who had withdrawn his name previous to the election) 35.

The apportionment under the census, increased the number of Representatives in the Territorial Legislature, to twenty-two.

The first session of the second General Assembly, commenced in St. Louis, on the 5th of December, 1814. Twenty Representatives were present the first day. James Caldwell, of Ste. Genevieve county, was elected Speaker, and Andrew Scott, clerk. The Council chose William Neely, of Cape Girardeau county, President. The county of Lawrence was organized from the western part of New Madrid, and the corporate powers of St. Louis, as a borough, enlarged.

It appears from the journal of the House, in the *Gazette*, that James Maxwell, a member of the Council from the county of Ste. Genevieve, and Seth Emmons, member elect of the House of Representatives from the county of St. Louis, had died, and measures were adopted to fill the vacancies.

The laws passed this session, may be found in the Territorial Laws, volume first, pages 339 to 421.

Another weekly paper, called the "Western Journal," was started in St. Louis, in the spring of 1815.

The Territorial Legislature commenced its annual session in November, 1815. Only a partial report can be found in the Gazette. The customary business was transacted. The county of Howard was organized from the western portion of St. Louis and St. Charles counties.

The acts passed may be found in the first volume of the Territorial Laws, pages 422 to 489. The session continued until January 26th, 1816.

The war with Great Britain having closed, and the treaties held with the various nations of Indians at Portage des Sioux, in 1815, gave peace to the frontier settlements of Missouri and Illinois—[Annals, pp. 648 to 651.] Immigrants now began to flock to these territories. Old settlements increased in numbers, and new settlements were formed.

The Territorial Legislature of Missouri, commenced again in December, 1816, and continued till February 1st, 1817.—Amongst the acts passed, was one "killing of wolves, panthers and wild-cats;" two or three lotteries were chartered; —a charter granted for an academy at Potosi; and a Board of Trustees incorporated for superintending schools in the town of St. Louis. This was the starting point in the school system in this city.

The old "Bank of Missouri" was chartered and soon went into operation, and by autumn, 1817, the two banks, "St. Louis" and "Missouri," were issuing bills. The one called St. Louis, went into operation in 1814. [See Territorial Laws, vol. i. pp. 489—553.]

The Territorial Legislature held a session in December, 1818. During this session the counties of Jefferson, Franklin, Wayne, Lincoln, Madison, Montgomery, Pike, Cooper, and three counties in the southern part of Arkansas, were organized. The next year (1819) the territory of Arkansas was formed into a separate Territorial Government.

The Territorial Legislature of Missouri, made application to Congress for authority to organize a State Government.

The organization of so many new counties, and the application to organize a State Government, indicate the rapid increase of population by immigrants, from 1816 to 1818. During the latter year, St. Louis commenced its onward progress in buildings, enterprize and commerce. At the commencement of that year, the writer counted seven houses and stores of brick, that were finished and occupied, a few more unfinished and occupied, and some eight or ten with the foundations laid, or walls up. During 1818, more than three millions of brick were manufactured, and about one hundred buildings erected. Of these, two were church edifices, but never finished. The first brick dwelling-house erected in St. Louis, in 1813-'14, was by Wm. C. Carr.

The first steamboat that ascended the Mississippi, above the mouth of the Ohio, was the *General Pike*, that reached St. Louis the 2nd of August, 1817. It was commanded by Capt. Jacob Reed, who subsequently became a citizen of the place, and died here. The second steamboat was the *Constitution*, Capt. R. P. Guyard, which arrived on the 2nd of October, in the same year. During 1818, there were several arrivals.

The population of St. Louis in 1815, as taken by the Sheriff, John W. Thompson, was 2,000. Throughout the county, including the town, 7,395.

In 1816, the late Colonel Daniel M. Boone, son of the old pioneer, and Mr. Lamme, penetrated the Gasconade pine forests, and erected the first saw-mill on Little Piney. Subsequently, A. Pattie purchased Boone's interest and became a partner of Lamme. John McDonald, of St. Louis county, with his family connections, erected another mill on the same stream in 1817, and removed his family there the same season.

SECTION SECOND.

Territorial Government of Illinois.

On the 14th of February, 1812, Governor Edwards issued his proclamation, ordering an election to be held in each county, on the second Monday in April, for three successive days, that the people might decide whether they would enter on the second grade of government. The territorial charter gave ample power to the Governor, to advance the territory to the second degree, but it was his rule through life, to ascertain and be guided by the popular will, and govern accordingly. The vote at the election decided the question in the affirmative by a very large majority.

It came to the knowledge of the Governor, that some persons at Peoria, (a mere hamlet, with a few French cabins, after the war,) were selling liquor to the Indians. On the 25th of May, 1812, he issued the following proclamation:—

"Whereas, it is deemed improper to furnish the Indians with spirituous liquors at Peoria;—

"I do hereby forbid all persons whatsoever, to sell, exchange, or in any manner give, or deliver to any Indians or Indian, any spirituous liquors, or any ardent spirits, within twenty miles of Peoria; and I do hereby enjoin it upon Thos. Forsythe, and any other Justice of the Peace for St. Clair county, to enforce this proclamation."

On the 16th of September, the Governor, by proclamation, organized the counties of Madison, Gallatin, Pope, and Johnson; and the same day issued another proclamation, authorizing an election to be held in each county, on the 8th, 9th

and 10th days of October, to elect members of the Council and House of Representatives.

Another proclamation dated November 10th, authorized the members elect to convene at Kaskaskia, on the 25th of the same month.

The members of the Council were Pierre Menard, of Randolph county, who was elected to preside;—William Biggs, of St. Clair county;—Samuel Judy, of Madison county;—Thomas Ferguson, of Johnson county;—and Benjamin Talbot, of Gallatin county. John Thomas, Esq., was chosen Secretary.

The House of Representatives consisted of William Jones, from Madison county;—Joshua Oglesby and Jacob Short, from St. Clair; George Fisher, from Randolph;—Phillip Trammel and Alexander Wilson, from Gallatin;—and John Grammar, from Johnson county. Their Clerk was Wm. C. Greenup.—Both bodies occupied separate rooms in a house in that ancient town—had a door-keeper in common, and all boarded in one family. They did their work like men devoted to business matters. Not a lawyer or an attorney is found in the roll of names. They deliberated like sensible men, passed such laws as they deemed the country needed, made no speeches, had no contention, and after a brief session of some ten or twelve days, adjourned.

The following brief sketch, so far as we have had information, of the members of the first Legislative Assembly of Illinois, may be interesting to some of our readers.

Doct. George Fisher, came to Kaskaskia as a merchant in 1800, from Hardy county, Va. At the period of his election, he resided on his farm five miles north of Kaskaskia, at the point of the bluffs. His education was medium, but he possessed considerable original talent, and great firmness. He was a member of the Convention to organize a State Government in 1818, and died in 1820.

Phillip Trammel, was a lessee of the U. S. Saline, in Gallatin county; possessed a good discriminating mind, had a strong inclination to military affairs, and died in a few years after.

Alexander Wilson, kept a public house in Shawneetown, was a man of moderate abilities, and died soon after the war.

John Grammar, was a plain frontier man from Tennessee, with very little education in youth; but a man of good com-

mon sense, and subsequently represented Union county repeatedly in each House of the State Legislature.

Joshua Oglesby was a respectable farmer, and a local Methodist preacher in St. Clair county, a man of decent education, and respected by his neighbors. He died in 1828.

Jacob Short was a citizen and farmer of St. Clair county, and distinguished himself as a ranger during the war. He came with his father, Moses Short, to Illinois in 1796.

Wm. Jones, was born in North Carolina, removed in early life to East Tennessee, and from thence to came to Illinois in 1806, and settled in Rattan's prairie, a few miles east of Alton. He was a Baptist preacher, of moderate abilities, grave in his deportment, and respected by his acquaintance. He represented the county of Madison, in the State Legislature in 1828, and died in January, 1845.

Pierre Menard, was a French gentleman and a native of Canada. He came to Kaskaskia about the close of the last century, and was engaged in the Indian trade with success. He was a man of intelligence, popular among all classes, upright and strictly honorable. He was elected the first Lieutenant Governor of the State, and presided with dignity and propriety over the Senate. He died a few years since, respected and lamented.

William Biggs, whose name appears in the Appendix, (p. 701,) was an intelligent and respectable man, and for some years a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, in St. Clair county. He died about 1828 or 1829.

Samuel Judy was the commander of a company of spies in the war, a man of much energy, fortitude and enterprise, and died in Madison county a few years since.

Of Thomas Ferguson and Benjamin Talbot, we have no certain information.

The members of the House of Representatives in the Territorial Legislature in 1814, were, Wm. Rabb, of Madison county;—Risdon Moore, Sen., and James Lemen, Jr., of St. Clair county;—James Gilbreath, of Randolph county;—Phillip Trammel and Thomas C. Brown, of Gallatin county;—and Owen Evans, of Johnson county. Risdon Moore was elected Speaker, and Wm. Mears, Clerk, and Moses Stewart, joint Door-keeper between the two bodies. The Council were the same persons as in the preceding session.

The committee on Revenue made a report, that from January 1st, 1811, to November 8th, 1814, the revenue from taxes received, was $4,875 45; of which there had been paid into the Treasury $2,516 89, and remained in the hands of delinquent Sheriffs $2,378 47.

This Legislature took action on the subject of Common Schools.

"On motion of Mr. Trammel, a committee was appointed to draft a bill to incorporate the inhabitants of the respective townships, to enable them to choose trustees to lease and appropriate the profits of the sixteenth section in each township, for the benefit of Public Schools, in conformity to the act of Congress."

Messrs. Evans and Trammel were that committee. (See Legislative Journal, November 28, 1814.)

A bill was reported on the 30th, and passed by the House December 2nd. Edwards county was organized this session. Benjamin Stephenson was the first Delegate elected to Congress in 1812.

At the session of the General Assembly, of 1815–'16, Pierre Menard again presided in the Council, and Risdon Moore in the House of Representatives. The counties of White, Monroe, Jackson and Johnson, were organized this session. Immigration came into the territory rapidly at this period. A settlement was formed in 1815, by a few families south of the Macoupin [Ma-qua-pin, it should have been written] in the south part of the present county of Greene, and the next year, Thomas Rattan, and one or two more families, made their pitch on the border of a fertile prairie, above Apple Creek.—Through Morgan, Sangamon, and all the counties west of the Illinois river, the Indians, (now peaceable,) roamed and hunted.

The counties south, towards the Ohio and Wabash rivers, received a large accession to their population, and many persons advanced into the wilderness, and built their cabins and made their locations along the Saline, Muddy, Beaucoup, and Little Wabash rivers. The settlements were generally made on the borders of the prairies; too many inconveniences then existed in settling out in the prairies.

The session of the Territorial Legislature of 1816–'17, caught the banking mania, and chartered the "Illinois Bank,"

at Shawneetown, and the "Edwardsville Bank." Both these banks became deposit banks for government funds, received the money from the Land Offices, and used it for their own purposes. The Illinois Bank eventually accounted for the whole, after considerable delay; but against the Bank of Edwardsville, the United States obtained a judgment for fifty-four thousand dollars, which has never been collected.*

At the session of the Legislature, of 1817–'18, the "Bank of Cairo" was incorporated; connected with the project of building a city at the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Some of the persons afterward having died, the project was suspended. In the period of the "Internal Improvement" mania, in 1836, this bank was galvanized into existence, flourished for a short time, and expired.

In 1815, Nathaniel Pope, Secretary of the Territory, was elected to Congress, and remained in that office till the State Government was formed. In that capacity he rendered the State very important service. He obtained the extension of the line of the new State north, from the southern bend of Lake Michigan, to latitude 42 degrees 30 minutes, which now constitutes the limit of that State, and he was mainly instrumental in obtaining the act to form the State Government, when scarcely forty thousand souls existed in the State.

* Brown's Illinois, p. 420.

CHAPTER V.

STATE GOVERNMENTS.

SECTION FIRST.

Organization of the State of Illinois.

Representatives to the Convention to form a State Constitution were chosen. We record their names and the counties they represented. The counties of Crawford, Bond, Union,

Washington and Franklin, had been organized the preceding Legislature.

St. Clair.—Jesse B. Thomas, John Messinger, James Lemen, Jr.

Randolph.—George Fisher, Elias Kent Kane.

Madison.—Benjamin Stephenson, Joseph Borough, Abraham Pickett.

Gallatin.—Michael Jones, Leonard White, Adolphus Frederick Hubbard.

Johnson.—Hezekiah West and Wm. McFatridge.

Edwards.—Seth Gard, Levi Compton.

White.—Willis Hargrave, Wm. McHenry.

Monroe.—Caldwell Carnes, Enoch Moore.

Pope.—Samuel Omelvany, Hamlet Furguson.

Jackson.—Conrad Will, James Hall, Jr.

Crawford.—Joseph Kitchell, Edward N. Cullom.

Bond.—Thomas Kirkpatrick, Samuel G. Morse.

Union.—Wm. Echols, John Whitaker.

Washington.—Andrew Bankson.

Franklin.—Joshua Harrison, Thomas Roberts.

Jesse B. Thomas, was chosen President, and Wm. C. Greenup, Secretary of the Convention.

This body assembled at Kaskaskia in July, and closed their labors by signing the Constitution they had framed on the twenty-sixth day of August.

The election for the first Legislature, was appointed to be held on the third Thursday, and the two following days in September, and all white male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years, who were actual residents of the State at the time of signing the Constitution, had the right of suffrage. The first session of the General Assembly was to commence at Kaskaskia, on the first Monday in October following, but all subsequent sessions on the first Monday in December, thereafter. The Constitution was not referred to the people for adoption. In general, they were satisfied with the labors of their servants.

Members to the General Assembly were elected, met at the time appointed, and set in operation the new machinery of government. Shadrach Bond, of Kaskaskia, had been duly elected Governor, and Pierre Menard, of the same place, Lieutenant Governor. Their terms of service were from 1818 to

1822. Governor Bond in his brief Inaugural address, called the early attention of the General Assembly to a survey, preparatory to opening a canal between the Illinois river and Lake Michigan.

Ninian Edwards, whose administration over the territory had gained a strong position in the confidence of the people, was elected Senator of the United States' Congress. Jesse B. Thomas, who had presided in the Convention with dignity and impartiality, was elected to the same office. The treasury of the State was impoverished at the commencement, as the expenses of the Convention, and then of the Legislature, had to be incurred before a revenue system could be adopted and carried into effect. After a short session the Legislature adjourned.

The second session commenced about the first of February, 1819, and continued until the 20th. During this period they revised and re-enacted the Territorial Laws, so far as applicable to the State, with such additional laws as the public exigencies seemed to require.

SECTION SECOND.

Organization of the State of Missouri.

It has been stated already that the Territorial Legislature of 1818–'19, made application to Congress for a law to be passed, authorizing the people of Missouri to organize a State Government. John Scott, Esq., was the Delegate in Congress at that period; having been elected by a majority of votes over Rufus Easton, in 1817.

A bill was prepared in Congress during the session of 1818–'19, in the accustomed form, authorizing the people to elect Delegates in the several counties, to constitute a Convention for the purpose of forming a Constitution. While under progress, an amendment in the form of a *proviso*, was introduced by Mr. Talmadge, of New York, in the following words:

"*And, provided*, That the further introduction of slavery, or involuntary servitude, be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been fully convicted; and that all children born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free at the age of twenty-years."

This proviso, after a brief discussion, passed the House of Representatives, on the 15th of February, 1819, by a vote of 79 to 67. This unexpected movement brought up what has since been called the "Missouri Question;" caused a protracted discussion, and raised one of those political storms, which threatened to endanger, if not dissolve the national Union.—It not only agitated Congress, but the Union from one extreme to the other, for eighteen months. Amongst the people in this territory, the excitement was intense; the absorbing idea that prevailed was, that the Congress of the United States, a body limited in constitutional power, was about to deprive the people of Missouri of their just rights, in forming a Constitution in accordance with the treaty of cession, and as they might judge the best calculated to promote their interests. The writer at that period was a citizen of the territory, and in his professional calling, had occasion to travel into every county. Taking no direct part in an exciting political question, and mixing with all classes of people, hearing their conversations in private and their discussions in public, he claims to know the views by which they were actuated. At that period not one-fourth of the population owned or held slaves; many were opposed to slavery as a measure of State policy, but, (with a very few exceptions,) all were determined to resist what they regarded an arbitrary stretch of congressional power.

Louisiana, from its earliest colonization, had sustained and tolerated negro slavery on both sides of the Mississippi. Under the government of both France and Spain, African negroes had been recognized as property by the laws. The treaty of cession secured to the inhabitants of this province the protection and full enjoyment of their property. Hence the people of Missouri, and their friends in Congress, maintained that Congress possessed no just right to disturb the existing relation of master and slave. With the people of Missouri, it became an absorbing question of political rights.

The discussions in Congress continued during the session, and the bill was lost, with other unfinished business.

During the following summer the discussions continued in Missouri, chiefly on one side, though the "Gazette" opened its columns to all parties.

On the opening of Congress, Mr. Scott, Delegate from Missouri, and chairman of the committee on the "Memorial from

Missouri," reported a bill "to authorize the people of that territory to form a Constitution and State Government, on an equal footing with the original States." The bill was twice read and referred to the committee of the whole House. This was on the 9th of December, 1819. On the 14th, Mr. Taylor of New York, offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee "to enquire into the expediency of prohibiting by law, the introduction of slaves into the territories of the United States, west of the Mississippi." After some discussion, in which the Delegate from Missouri took part, the Missouri bill was postponed and made the order of the day for the second Monday in January. The discussion opened at that period, and continued during the winter. Various amendments were proposed, in both Houses, and lost.

Application had been made by the people of Maine, with the consent of Massachusetts, to form a State Government and be admitted into the Union. This proposition, for a period, became coupled with the Missouri Question.

In the Senate, on the 3d of February, Mr. Thomas from Illinois, offered an amendment to the Missouri branch of the bill, in the following words:—

"*And be it further enacted*, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, [excepting only such part thereof as is] not included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be, and is hereby forever prohibited: *Provided, always*, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid."

This amendment was adopted in the Senate on the 17th of February, by a vote of 34 to 10, and subsequently became the basis of the "Missouri Compromise," modified by striking out the words enclosed in brackets. On ordering the bill to a third reading in the Senate, the vote was in the affirmative, 24 to 20.

On the 3rd of March, the bill as amended from the Senate and passed, was sent to the House. Though the Journal be-

fore us is silent on that subject, it is understood as a historical fact, that at this crisis, when despair sat on the countenances of the friends of Missouri, Mr. Clay, who was Speaker of the House, exercised the office of peace-maker, and by his popularity and influence with both parties, not in an official capacity, but as an individual, healed the waters of strife, and induced a majority of the members to accept the compromise of the Senate. The clause restricting slavery within the State of Missouri, was stricken out by the majority of 90 to 87. On the final vote, for inserting the substitute from the Senate, it was decided under the previous question, in favor, 134;—against it, 42. So the House concurred in the amendments of the Senate to the bill, on the evening of the 3rd of March.

The "Compromise" may be found in the 8th section of the Act to authorize the people of Missouri to form a Constitution and State Government. [Territorial Laws, volume 1, pp. 628, 631.]

The Act provided for the representation of each county in the Convention; in the aggregate, forty-one members.

The boundaries prescribed, are here given:

"Beginning in the middle of the Mississippi river, on the parallel of thirty-six degrees of north latitude; thence west along that parallel of latitude, to the St. Francois river; thence up, and following the course of that river, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the parallel of latitude of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes; thence west along the same, to a point where said parallel is intersected by a meridian line passing through the middle of the mouth of the Kansas river, where the same empties into the Missouri river; thence, from the point aforesaid, north, along the said meridian line to the intersection to the parallel of latitude which passes through the *rapids of the river Des Moines, making the said line to correspond with the Indian boundary line;* thence east, from the point of intersection last aforesaid, along the said parallel of latitude, to the middle of the channel of the main fork of the said river Des Moines, to the mouth of the same, where it empties into the Mississippi river; thence, due east, to the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi river; thence down and following the course of the Mississippi river, in the middle of the main channel thereof, to the place of beginning."

We have given the boundary in full, to explain the ground of a dispute, which at one period threatened serious collision

between the territory, and subsequently the State of Iowa and the State of Missouri, relative to boundaries and jurisdiction. The words in italics gave rise to the difference, and involved the questions: First, what was meant by the "rapids of the river Des Moines;" Secondly, what Indian boundary line was intended?

Missouri contended for certain rapids, or ripples in the river Des Moines, some distance up, which threw the line some twenty or thirty miles farther north. Iowa contended the rapids in the Mississippi, called by the French explorers, *La rapides la riviere Des Moines*, was the point meant. After several years of contested jurisdiction, during which a sheriff of Missouri was imprisoned in Iowa, and military force was appealed to, both States consented to refer the question of boundary and jurisdiction to the Supreme Court of the United States. After a labored investigation, the court decided in favor of the old boundary line, as it was called, and the rapids of the Desmoines in the French sense of the term.

The election for members of the Convention was held on the first Monday, and two succeeding days of May, 1820.—The only discussion on slavery, was, whether the emancipation of slaves should be left open for legislative action at any future time, or restricted in the Constitution. We do not recollect that any candidate was elected who advocated leaving the question open. The objection urged against this policy was, that slaves were, in a legal sense, property; that property could not be taken from its owner by statute law, except for public purposes, and then only for compensation paid; that were the Legislature at any time to pass a law to emancipate slaves, the courts could nullify the act; and that when the people desired to change the policy of the State, they could reorganizé the government by a new constitution.

We here give the members of the Convention, and the counties they represented:

Cape Girardeau.—Stephen Byrd, James Evans, Richard S. Thomas, Alexander Buckner, Joseph McFerron.

Cooper.—Robert P. Clark, Robert Wallace, William Lillard.

Franklin.—John G. Heath.

Howard.—Nicholas S. Burckhartt, Duff Green, John Ray, Jonathan S. Findlay, Benjamin H. Reeves.

Jefferson.—Samuel Hammond.
Lincoln.—Malcolm Henry.
Montgomery.—Jonathan Ramsey, James Talbott.
Madison.—Nathaniel Cook.
New Madrid.—Robert D. Dawson, Christopher G. Houts.
Pike.—Stephen Cleaver.
St. Charles.—Benjamin Emmons, Nathan Boone, Hiram H. Baber.
Ste. Genevieve.—John D. Cook, Henry Dodge, John Scott, R. T. Brown.
St. Louis.—David Barton, Edward Bates, Alexander McNair, Wm. Rector, John C. Sullivan, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., Bernard Pratte, Thomas F. Riddick.
Washington.—John Rice Jones, Samuel Perry, John Hutchings.
Wayne.—Elijah Bettis.

The Convention met at St. Louis, on the 12th day of June. David Barton was elected President, and William G. Pettus, Secretary.

Their labors were finished by signing the constitution on 19th day of July, 1820. The first General Assembly were required to meet on the third Monday in September, at St. Louis. An election for a Governor, Lieutenant Governor; a representative in Congress for the residue of the sixteenth Congress; a representative for the seventeenth Congress; senators and representatives to the General Assembly, sheriffs and coroners, was held on the fourth Monday in August. The apportionment in the constitution for the first General Assembly, provided fourteen senators, and forty-three representatives.

Alexander McNair was elected Governor, and William H. Ashley, Lieutenant Governor, and John Scott representative to Congress. No provision was made to refer the adoption of the constitution to the people, and it took effect from the authority of the Convention.

There were several features in the constitution quite objectionable to the people. These were the office of Chancellor, with a salary of $2,000 per annum; and the salaries of the Governor and the Judges of the Supreme and Circuit Courts, being fixed at not less than $2,000 per annum for each officer.

The mode provided for amending the constitution, was by

a vote of two-thirds of each House of the General Assembly proposing amendments; these to be published in all the newspapers in the State three times, at least twelve months before the next general election; and if, at the first session of the next General Assembly after such general election, two-thirds of each House, by yeas and nays, ratify such proposed amendments, after three separate readings, on three several days, the amendments become parts of the constitution.

At a special session of the General Assembly, in 1821, amendments were proposed to remove the objectionable features, and passed by the constitutional majority. The next General Assembly at its first session ratified them.

At the first session of the General Assembly in 1820, Thos. H. Benton and David Barton were elected Senators to represent the new State in the Congress of the United States. The Senators and Representative were at Washington City at the opening of the session, when, on presenting the constitution and claiming admittance as a State into the Union, they met a repulse. In article third, defining the legislative power of the General Assembly, was the following injunction:—

"It shall be their duty, as soon as may be, to pass such laws as may be necessary

"To prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to, and settling in this State, under any pretext whatsoever."

To this clause objections were made in Congress, the State was refused admittance into the Union, and another discussion followed. The objection was, that "free negroes and mulattoes" were citizens of some of the States, and the clause infringed on the rights of such as were guaranteed in the constitution of the U. States. The words of the constitution are: "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." The difficulty was increased by remonstrances from the legislatures of Vermont and New York, against the "Missouri Compromise" of the preceding session, and the reception of the new State without the restriction of slavery.

In the House of Representatives, the resolution previously introduced to admit that State, was rejected by the vote of 79 to 93.

The Select Committee, to whom the constitution was referred, made an elaborate report and recommended the recep-

tion of the State. This was also disagreed to, 83 to 36.*— This was February 10th. On a subsequent occasion the question came up somewhat modified, and was lost in the House, 80 to 83. This vote was afterwards reconsidered, by a vote of 101 to 66.

During the session the whole subject was discussed; the rights of the south; the balance of power; the rights of the people of Missouri, and the mooted question, whether "free negroes" were, constitutionally citizens in all the States, were agitated questions at various periods of the session. A resolution with various restrictions, to admit Missouri, finally passed the House by a vote of 91 to 67, but in such a form as it would not be likely to receive the support of the Senate.

At this crisis, (February 22,) Mr. Clay, (who had declined being a candidate for the speakership,) proposed a Joint Committee of the House and Senate, which was carried by a vote of 101 to 55. Mr. Clay reported from the Joint Committee on the subject, (February 26,) the formula that became incorporated in the public Act, to be found in the Laws of Congress for that session, and in the "Territorial Laws of Missouri," volume i. pp. 758, 759.

The substance is as follows: On condition that the Legislature of Missouri, by a solemn act, shall declare the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution, shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law by which any citizen of either of the States of the Union, shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges to which such citizen is entitled under the constitution of the United States; and shall transmit to the President of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November, 1821, an authentic copy of said act; — upon the receipt thereof the President, by proclamation, shall announce the fact, whereupon, without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of that State into the Union shall be considered as complete.

To carry this proviso out, it became necessary for the Governor to convene the Legislature in a special session, which was held in the town of St. Charles, in the month of June, and the Solemn Public Act was passed; guarded by explanations, so as not to appear to affect constitutional rights. The

* Niles' Register, xix. 409, 410.

mooted question whether "free negroes and mulattoes" are "citizens," in the sense of the constitution of the U. States, remains as it was before the action of Congress and the Legislature of Missouri.

In the month of August, the President having received an authentic copy of the "Solemn Public Act," made proclamation that the reception of Missouri was complete. During the preceding session of Congress, the Senators and Representatives of this State had no seat in Congress, and the votes for President were not counted.

We have been thus particular in this protracted sketch, that our readers may understand the whole subject. They may now learn there were two "Missouri Questions," and two "Compromises," on different and disconnected subjects. We hope the sketch given will prevent all readers of these Annals from confounding both the subjects and the dates, as many have heretofore done.

In 1820, the population of Missouri, by the United States census, was 66,586. The Legislature of that and of the following year, organized the counties of Lillard (now Lafayette,) Ralls, Boone, Chariton, Ray, Perry, Cole, Saline, Gasconade, Callaway, St. Francois, Scott and Clay. From the number of new counties created, the reader may infer the rapid increase of population, and the extension of settlements in Missouri.

SECTION THIRD.

Commercial and Military Enterprise.

The first *Steamboat* that made a trip from New Orleans to Louisville, Ky., was the *Enterprise*, commanded by Captain Henry M. Shreve. The boat left New Orleans on the 6th of May, 1815, and arrived at Louisville on the 31st of the same month; making the passage *twenty-five days*. This was then regarded as quite an achievement in the navigation of the Mississippi and Ohio with steam. For many years Captain Shreve was in the employ of the national government, in removing snags from the Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, and Red Rivers. That singular obstruction, made by fallen and imbedded timber in Red River, termed the "Raft," has been removed by his skill and agency, and navigation opened into the vast and rich country above.

The *Independence*, Captain Nelson, from Louisville, Ky., was the pioneer boat in the navigation of the more difficult channel of the Missouri river. This was in the same month of May, 1819. She left St. Louis on the 13th, was at St. Charles on the 15th, and reached the town of Franklin, opposite Booneville, on the 26th of that month. The banks of the river were visited by crowds of people, as the boat came in sight of the town. It was the first boat that ever attempted to overcome the strong current of the Missouri, and find its way amidst the shifting sand-bars. Besides a large number of passengers, this boat carried up a cargo of flour, whisky, sugar, coffee, iron, castings, and other goods. The question, long agitated, and much doubted, "can the Missouri be navigated by steamboats?" was fully solved. A new era in Missouri annals had opened. Boats now ascend this river daily, and to the remotest settlements; and repeatedly have boats gone up to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, about 1,800 miles above St. Louis. Even before 1844, the Assineboine went several hundred miles above the mouth of the Yellow Stone, into a gorge of the Rocky mountains.

The Independence returned to St. Louis, on the 5th of June, and took freight for Louisville, Ky.

On the 8th of June, 1819, the United States steamboat, *Western Engineer*, under command of Maj. S. H. Long, went on an exploring expedition up the Missouri, having on board several gentlemen attached to the department of Topographical Engineers. This corps were on a tour of observation to the Yellow Stone, or at least the Mandan villages. They left St. Louis on the 21st of June. The boat was a small one, with a stern wheel, and an escape pipe so contrived as to emit a torrent of smoke and steam through the head of a serpent, with a red, forked tongue, projecting from the bow.

It was understood that this contrivance was intended to make an impression on the Indians, as the boat had the appearance of being carried by a monstrous serpent, vomiting fire and smoke, and lashing the water into foam with his tail. Tradition says the aborigines were panic struck, and fled; imagining that the "pale-faces" had sent a "maniteau," into their country to destroy them.

A military expedition left Bellefontaine and St. Louis early in June, under the command of Colonel Atkinson, to establish

a military post at Council Bluffs, then far in advance of the American settlements. The expedition consisted of three steamboats, of heavy construction, the *Expedition*, the *Jefferson*, and the *Johnson*, and nine keel-boats. Several of these last description of boats were prepared to be propelled with sails and wheels. In this expedition were General Jessup, Quarter-master General of the United States Army; Colonel Henry Atkinson, Commander; Brevet Major Humphrys; Brevet Major Ketchum; Captains Hamilton, Boardman, Livingston, Reed, Haile, Shaler and Bliss. Colonel Chambers and Captain Smith, of the rifle regiment; and Lieutenants Bedell, Wilcox, Talcott, Durand, Givens, Wetmore, (who was Paymaster;) Brown, (Quarter-master;) McIlvain, Keeler and Palmer, were in the expedition. The steamboats were commanded by Captain Colfax, of the "Johnson," Captain Craig, of the "Expedition," and Captain Orfort, of the "Jefferson."—Colonel James Johnson, who, it was understood, had the contract from the War Department, to transport supplies and munitions for the new post, was on the expedition. Another boat called the "Calhoun," was connected with the enterprise.

Residing then at St. Charles, the writer was witness to the astonishment of the people, to see these boats stem the rapid current of the Missouri. It was understood at the time that liberal encouragement had been given by the War Department to aid these boats, that, incidentally, the great question might be solved, whether the Missouri river could be navigated by steam.

The scientific corps under Major Long, returned from their tour of exploration up the Missouri to the Yellow Stone, to St. Louis, the latter part of October.

According to a report made to the House of Representatives by the committee on Military Affairs, the following winter, it was contemplated by the administration to establish a post at the Mandan villages; that the expense of the Yellow Stone expedition, "over and above what the troops would have cost had they remained in their former positions," was estimated at $64,226. We suppose this included the steamboat effort to the Council Bluffs, which proved a failure. One boat reached the vicinity of Cote Sans Dessein; another lay by at Old Franklin; and a third ascended to the mouth of

Grand River. In the end, the military stores were transported on keel-boats. These boats returned to St. Louis in the spring of 1820.

The expenses were heavy. A member of the committee on Military Affairs, at the session of 1819–'20, stated that the claims for detention of the boats, and the losses, exceeded a million of dollars. The Secretary of the War Department had projected the establishment of a military post at or below the mouth of the Yellow Stone, and a series of military roads to connect that post by St. Peters and the northern lakes, which Congress refused to sanction, by withholding the necessary appropriations.

CHAPTER VI.

MISCELLANEOUS AFFAIRS.

SECTION FIRST.

Banks and Banking.

We have given, in connection with Territorial Legislation, a sufficient sketch of some banks in Missouri and Illinois.—The Annals, [pp. 653, 654, and 657 to 658,] gives an outline of the early banking institutions in Ohio. A communication from John B. Dillon, of Indiana, since this work was put in press, states, that the "Bank of Vincennes" was chartered in 1814, to continue until 1835; capital stock not to exceed $500,000. The "Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Indiana," was chartered the same year; capital stock not to exceed $750,000; to expire January, 1835. These, with a multitude of other banks, in this valley, expired for lack of means to pay their debts, long before the charters terminated.

At the close of the war of 1812–'15, there were two banks in Kentucky; the "Insurance Company," and the "State Bank" and branches.

A "State Bank" in those days, was understood to mean a chartered bank, owned chiefly by stockholders, in which the State had an interest, appointed a portion of the directorship,

and had some supervision over its affairs. Such were the State Banks of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and many others. From 1815 to 1818, not only chartered banks in Ohio, Indiana, and probably in other States, but uncharter-ed companies, sent out a large amount of bills as a circula-ting medium. Even individuals issued their tickets of "prom-ise to pay." The country was flooded with worthless paper.

So much apprehension was excited in the minds of the peo-ple, and so much spurious currency was imposed on them, that as early as 1816, the Convention of Indiana restricted the banking system in the new State, to the charter of a single *State Bank*, with branches.

Illinois adopted the same feature in its constitution in 1818, and in 1820, Missouri adopted a similar restriction.

This, though it checked, did not cure the evil. The Legis-lature of Kentucky, in 1816 or 1817, chartered forty-seven "Independent Banks," as they were named, which soon sent forth a spurious currency into the remotest settlements.

In 1818, a reaction commenced; the bills of such banks as the Treasury Department had selected as depositories of the government funds, were current in the Land Offices. The rapid influx of immigration, and the demands for land, absorb-ed a large proportion of this class of bills, while the floating paper of the other banks depreciated, until it was no longer current.

By 1820, the reaction was complete; the "Deposit Banks" failed, with heavy defalcations to the public treasury. The people were in debt; creditors were clamorous for their dues; the circulating medium, that could be turned into specie, had vanished; and legislation was sought for relief.

A bank was incorporated by the Legislature of Illinois, on the 22nd of March, 1819, by the style of the "President, Di-rectors and Company of the State Bank of Illinois," to con-tinue for twenty-five years, with a capital not exceeding four millions of dollars, one half of which was to be subscribed by individuals, and the other half by the State, when "the Le-gislature thereof should deem proper." Books were to be opened in divers towns, and if stock was ever subscribed, not a dollar was paid. The mountain was not even a mole-hill, but it gives an illustration of the extravagant folly in legisla-tion at that period.

The next General Assembly, at the session of 1820–'21, repealed this mammoth charter; a way had been discovered to create money without capital. Another bank was chartered, in which specie had no concern, with a capital of $500,000, *on State credit;* the stock to be raised and managed by State Directors, under the supervision of the Legislature. Three hundred thousand dollars, in paper currency, were to be emitted, loaned on real estate at two-thirds the appraised value, or on personal security, not exceeding one hundred dollars to individuals. No individual could obtain over one thousand dollars on landed security. The interest was six per cent.; the bills drew a credit of two per cent. per annum, and the institution was to run ten years; and, if its projectors were to be credited in their fancies, it would produce an increase in that period sufficient to redeem all the bills issued, pay all contingent expenses, and yield a net profit to the State of one hundred thousand dollars, at the expiration of its charter. All turned out as "the baseless fabric of a vision."

The bills went down — down — down, to thirty-three cents on the dollar; the real estate of borrowers, previously inflated by a spurious currency, went down in a greater ratio;— lands that had sold for ten dollars per acre, fell to two and three dollars; town lots in villages, actually sunk one thousand per cent.; and "fancy towns," on paper, became wholly valueless. At the expiration of the charter in 1831, when the bills had to be redeemed, there was no alternative to save the sinking credit of the State, but to contract a cash loan to redeem the out-standing bills of *one hundred thousand dollars.*— This was the commencement of the debt of that State, and has been designated as the "Wiggins' Loan," from the gentleman who negotiated the stock.

This was not the worst feature in the concern. Provision was made for the creditor to receive the paper for his dues, else the debtor could replevy for three years. Such laws, with "stay-laws," and "valuation laws," prevailed throughout the western States.

The Legislature of Missouri, in June, 1821, established a "*Loan Office,*" and branches — the same thing as the Illinois Bank, under another name. The bills were called "certificates," of which two hundred thousand dollars were issued, with the same appendages of "replevy" and "valuation"

laws, and nearly the same results; except at an early period, the judiciary of that State decided the concern to be unconstitutional.

We have no space to appropriate to a sketch of the "Wild Cat" banks of Wisconsin and Michigan, nor are we as well versed in the history of their institutions, as in those more directly under our observation.

One general feature existed in most of the earlier banks in the west, that pretended to be instituted on a specie basis. The term used in this country at the time, expresses the idea. They were *shingled* over the country. One bank was made the basis of another, and that of a third, and that of a fourth; consequently, when the foundation gave way, the whole went with a crash. The modern policy of hauling boxes or kegs of specie, from one bank to another, was not then invented; or, more correctly, they had not specie enough to bear transportation. Two or three shrewd agents and directors, would gather up a few thousand dollars in specie, for stock honestly paid in, while the "knowing ones" would bring their "shingles," from a neighboring bank; the bills, or stock of which was counted as so much capital paid in.

In the session following, 1835, another "State Bank" was chartered by the Legislature of Illinois, supposed to be well guarded, and on a specie basis. Had it not been made the fiscal agent of the State, and crushed to death by the "monster Internal Improvement system," it might have survived the tremendous crash of credit and values. But it died in 1842, in a hopeless struggle to sustain the credit of the State. Since that period, Illinois has had no banking institution.

The Bank of the State of Missouri went into operation, under stringent regulations, in 1837, and continues in good credit in 1850.

SECTION SECOND.

Illinois and Michigan Canal.

In Niles' Register, volume sixth, page 394, may be found the earliest suggestion of a canal from Lake Michigan to the navigable waters of the Illinois river, that we have found in print. The date is August 6th, 1814, in time of the war, and is a paragraph from a series of editorial articles, on the great importance, in a national point of view, of the States and Ter-

ritories of this now great central valley. We give the extract.

"By the Illinois river, it is probable that *Buffalo*, in New York, may be united with *New Orleans*, by inland navigation, through lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, and down that river to the Mississippi. What a route! How stupendous the idea! How dwindles the importance of the artificial canals of *Europe*, compared with *this* water communication! If it should ever take place (and it is said the opening may be easily made,) the territory [of Illinois] will become the seat of an immense commerce, and a market for the commodities of all regions."

We have already noticed that Governor Bond, at the first session of the General Assembly, in 1818, brought this subject before that body, in his Inaugural message.

He suggested an early application to Congress for a certain per centage from the sales of the public lands, to be appropriated to that object. In his valedictory message, in December, 1822, he again refers to this subject and to his first address, and states:—

"It is believed that the public sentiment has been ascertained in relation to the subject, and that our fellow-citizens are prepared to sustain their representatives in the adoption of measures subservient to its commencement."

His successor, Governor Coles, in his Inaugural, (December 5th, 1822,) devotes four pages to this subject, refers to an act of the preceding Congress, which "gave permission to the State to cut a canal through the public lands, connecting the Illinois river with Lake Michigan, and granting to it the breadth of the canal, and ninety feet on each side of it."

With this was coupled the onerous conditions "that the State should permit all articles belonging to the United States, or to any person in their employ, to pass toll free for ever."—The Governor, who was a zealous and liberal advocate for an economical and judicious system of Internal Improvements, proposed to create a fund from the revenues received for taxes on the military bounty lands; from fines and forfeitures; and from such other sources, as the Legislature in its wisdom, might think proper to set apart for that purpose. He also urged the importance of an opening through Indiana and Ohio, with Lake Erie, by improving the navigation of the Wabash and Maumee rivers, and connecting them by a canal, to which

objects he proposed the Illinois Legislature should invite the special attention of those States, and co-operate so far as jurisdiction extended. He further proposed the examination and surveys of the rivers and the canal route in Illinois; and to memorialize Congress for a liberal donation of land, in opening the projected lines of communication.

An act for the improvement of the internal navigation of the State, and a memorial to Congress on the subject, were passed by the Legislature during the session. This act, (which was approved February 14th, 1823,) provided for a Board of Commissioners, whose duties were to devise and adopt measures to open a communication, by canal and locks, between the navigable waters of the Illinois river and Lake Michigan; to cause the route to be explored, surveys and levels to be taken, maps and field books to be constructed, and estimates of the costs to be made; and to invite the attention of the Governors of the States of Indiana and Ohio, and through them the Legislatures of those States, to the importance of a canal communication between the Wabash and Maumee rivers.

Thomas Sloo, Jr., Theophilus W. Smith, Emanuel J. West, and Erastus Brown, were elected Commissioners. Mr. Sloo was from Hamilton county, and Messrs. Smith, West and Brown, from Madison county.

At that period Sangamon river, and Fulton county, were the boundaries of settlements. A military and trading post existed at Chicago; a dozen families, chiefly French, were at Peoria. The northern half of Illinois was a continuous wilderness; or, as the universal impression was, an interminable prairie, and uninhabitable for an age. Morgan county, then including Scott and Cass counties, had about seventy-five families; and Springfield was a frontier village, of a dozen log cabins.

A portion of the Commissioners, with the late Colonel Justus Post, of Missouri, as their engineer, made an exploratory tour in the autumn of 1823. In the autumn of 1824, Colonel Rene Paul, of St. Louis, was also employed as engineer, with the necessary men to assist in executing the levels, and making the surveys complete. The party was accompanied by one Commissioner. Two companies were organized, and five different routes examined, and the expense estimated on

each. The locks and excavations were calculated on the supposition that the construction was on the same scale of the grand canal of New York, then in process of making. The probable cost of each route, was reported by the engineers; the highest being $716,110; the lowest, 639,946.

At the next session of the Legislature, an act was passed (January 17th, 1825,) to "incorporate the Illinois and Michigan Canal Company." The capital stock was one million of dollars, in ten thousand shares at one hundred dollars each.*

The stock not being taken, at a subsequent session the Legislature repealed the charter. During these movements within the State, the late Daniel P. Cook, as the Representative in Congress, and the Senators of Illinois, were unceasing in their efforts to obtain lands from the national government, to construct this work, which all regarded as of pre-eminent national advantage. As the result of these efforts, on the 2nd of March, 1827, Congress granted to the State of Illinois, in aid of this work, each alternate section of land, five miles in width, on each side of the projected canal.

The embarrassments of the State in finance, growing out of the ruinous policy of the State Bank, noticed in the preceding section, prevented any thing being done until January, 1829, when the Legislature passed an act to organize a Board of Commissioners, with power to employ agents, engineers, surveyors, draftsmen, and other persons, to explore, examine, and determine the route of the canal. They were authorized to lay off town sites, and sell lots and apply the funds.

They laid off Chicago, near the lake, and Ottowa, at the junction of Fox river; and the Illinois surveys and estimates were again made, but the project of obtaining a full supply of water on the surface level, was doubtful, and the rock approached so near the surface on the summit level between the Chicago and Des Plaines, as to increase the estimates of cost, and cast doubt on the project.

The subsequent Legislature authorized a re-examination to ascertain the cost of a railway, and whether a supply of water could be obtained from the Calumet for a feeder.

The estimated cost for a railway, with a single track, for ninety-six miles, about one million and fifty thousand dollars.

*Report of the Canal Commissioners, Vandalia, 1825.

It was a great mistake in the State, not constructing a railway.

At a special session of the Legislature, in 1835–'36, an act was passed authorizing a loan of half a million of dollars for the construction of the canal, and the Board of Commissioners was re-organized, and on the fourth of July, 1836, the first ground was broken.

At the regular session of 1836–'37, the "Internal Improvement" system became the absorbing topic, the canal was brought under the same influence; loans, to a vast extent, were created for both objects: and the most extravagant expectations were raised, but never realized.

The sole reliance of the State was on loans, without any finances of its own, or any means to pay annual interest and liquidate the principal. As a financial measure, the canal loans were distinguished from the Internal Improvement and other loans, but all failed with the credit of the State, before 1842.

Contracts were made, and the work on the scale projected, made progress until over five millions of dollars had been expended, and the work remained unfinished. The credit of the State having sunk so, that no further loans could be obtained, the contractors were obliged to abandon their contracts, with heavy claims against the State; and in 1843, a law was passed to liquidate and settle the damages, at a sum not exceeding two hundred and thirty thousand dollars. The Board of Commissioners was dissolved, and the works remained in the same state for two years.

The session of 1843–'44, adopted a plan to complete the canal, by making the "shallow cut," or relying on the streams for water, without excavating six feet below the lake level, as had been projected and partially worked, and drawing supplies from that source. About sixteen hundred thousand dollars would complete the work on this plan. The resources were about 230,000 acres of land; several hundred city and village lots; the water power along the whole line; a balance due the canal fund for lands and lots sold; and the canal tolls. All these resources were considered ample to complete the work, pay interest on the loans, and eventually redeem the stock, provided additional funds could be obtained. A proposition was made and accepted by the stockholders, a

Board of Joint Trustees were appointed, and one million six hundred thousand dollars advanced. The whole work was completed in 1848; regular business was commenced, and has increased in a larger ratio than any of the estimates.

We have given only some of the prominent facts in the history of this great enterprize. Were we to enter into details, it would be a volume by itself.

Of the monster "Internal Improvement" system, which brought one of the heaviest calamities on the State, but from which its recuperative energies are slowly recovering, we have no space for particulars. From 1835 to 1840, the popular mind through the United States, passed through a species of mania. Men, who were shrewd, clear-headed, and safe calculators, became incapable of reasoning correctly in financial matters. The Legislature of Illinois, as did other Legislative bodies, labored and acted under a singular hallucination. A minority resisted; a prominent leader of which, the late General J. J. Hardin, was among the number that opposed the "splendid project." The law passed; ten millions of dollars were to be loaned and applied to various lines of railroads, and river improvements, and appropriations made for the same. The railroads extended like checker-work over the State; every one of which was planned, and estimates made by the committee on the copy of a sectional map of the State, just published, and which had reached the seat of government. The whole length of the railroads to be made, was one thousand three hundred and forty-one miles. Extravagant as was this scheme, loans were negotiated to an amount exceeding five millions of dollars, and the money thrown away. The whole system went down about 1841, increasing the demands against the State, (including accumulations of interest due,) to an amount exceeding fifteen millions of dollars. Great as this burden may appear to others, Illinois has resources, and has made provision to liquidate this heavy debt. The canal stock includes a moiety of this debt, and its resources and income will absorb that portion. The State has other resources. But in making a new constitution in 1847, which was adopted by a vote of the people, in March, 1848, a section providing a special tax of two mills on the dollar of the civil list, was adopted by a separate vote of the people, by more than ten thousand majority. This income is applied

to the extinguishment of the principal of this debt; and we think it is the first instance in which the people, by a direct vote, have solemnly declared they will tax themselves to pay an old debt.

SECTION THIRD.

Slavery in Illinois.

We have already mentioned, [Appendix, 673,] that Renault brought five hundred slaves to Illinois, from St. Domingo.—These became the progenitors of that class of the African race, which, in the statute books and census of Illinois, were called "French slaves." Before Renault returned to France, in 1744, he sold the interest he, or the company with which he had been connected, had in slaves to the French colonists.—A portion of this class were taken across the Mississippi to Upper Louisiana, and some to the lower province, on the cession of the country to the British Government. [Appendix, 693.] Those who remained in the Illinois country, held their slaves by virtue of the treaty of cession, which secured to the inhabitants the possession of their entire *property*, and a guarantee of all their *rights*. Slavery, then, existed by law in all the British colonies.

The edict of Louis XIII., of France, dated the 23d of April, 1815, and re-enacted by Louis XV., 1724, contained the laws and regulations concerning slavery in Louisiana.* To this document we refer our readers.

The conquest of the country by Clark, in 1778, brought the subject under the jurisdiction of Virginia, and in its transfer to the Continental Congress, in 1784, the same relationship of property was secured.

The ordinance of 1787, was prospective, and has been so decided by the courts. The question whether the descendents of those who were slaves in 1787, could be held in servitude, on the ground of a "vested right," remained open, until 1845, when, by a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois, it was decided they were free. The new constitution adopted by the people in March, 1848, put an end to involuntary servitude in every form in Illinois.

The operation of the ordinance of 1787, prohibiting slavery in the North-Western territory, was a subject of complaint

* See Dillon's Indiana, i. pp. 46, 55.

by a very few interested persons, who, by memorials to Congress, made efforts to obtain a removal of the restriction for a limited period. The first petition was from four persons in Kaskaskia, in 1796, asking that slavery might be tolerated there. In 1804, a Convention was held on the subject at Vincennes, to deliberate on "territorial interests," of which Governor Harrison was President. One object was to obtain a modification of the organic law. A memorial was sent to Congress, which was referred to a committee in the House; the Chairman was the late Mr. Rodney; the Report recommended that the sixth article of the ordinance of 1787, "be suspended, in a qualified manner, for ten years, so as to permit the introduction of slaves born in the United States," etc.

It was not passed.

At the session of the Territorial Legislature of 1806–'7, a series of resolutions were adopted and reported to Congress, by the late Judge Parke, then Delegate. At that time, Jesse B Thomas was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Pierre Menard President *pro. tem.* of the Council; both citizens of that part of the territory, now included in the State of Illinois. There were seven resolutions, of which six were reported to Congress as if passed *unanimously*. We have the best authority for saying this was a clerical error; the late John Messinger, of Illinois, and the recent correspondence of John B. Dillon, Esq. A resolution was reported by the committee to which they were referred, in favor of a suspension of the sixth article of the ordinance for ten years, and lost in the House.*

This movement produced a political re-action in the territory. The opponents of the measure brought out as a candidate for Congress, Jonathan Jennings, and elected him over the opposite candidate, and continued him by successive re-elections until the State Government was formed, when he was elected Governor, and continued in that office until 1822. The number of slaves reported by the census of 1800, in Indiana, (including Illinois,) was 133; in 1810, 237; in 1820, 190; in 1830, *none*. In 1810, Illinois had 168 slaves; in 1820, 917; in 1830, 746.†

* American State Papers, xx. 478. Speech of Mr. Burt, Congressional Globe. Appendix, January, 1847, p. 117.

† American Almanac, 1832, p. 258, 261.

To avoid the restriction in the organic law, the territory of Indiana passed an act (September 17, 1807,) entitled "*An Act concerning the Introduction of negroes and mulattoes into this Territory.*" It legalized the introduction of that class of persons, (who were slaves in the States or Territories,) into that territory, by requiring the owner, or possessor, to enter into indentures with his slave, to serve for a stipulated period as an indentured servant, and then become free. A record of this must be made in the Court of Common Pleas, within thirty days after the introduction of the slave or slaves. Children under fifteen years of age, were required to serve their former owner or possessor — males, until thirty-five years of age, and females until thirty-two years of age. This class were termed "Indentured servants." Many slave-holders from Virginia, Kentucky and other States, who desired to relieve themselves from the ownership of slaves, migrated and availed themselves of this law. This form of servitude has been removed by judicial decisions in Indiana, and by the new constitution in Illinois.

For several years after the war, persons migrated to Illinois, with the view of emancipating their slaves. Of these instances, the one most deserving of note, is that of Edward Coles, afterwards Governor of the State. Mr. Coles was born in Albemarle county, Va., December 15th, 1786.— His father was a rich planter, with a large number of slaves, but having ten children, the amount of property received by each child was not large. Edward received for his share a plantation and about twenty slaves;—the slaves constituting about one-third of his estate. It was in William and Mary college, under the tuition of the late Bishop Madison, he received the conviction of the wrong and impolicy of negro slavery—and he then formed the resolution, that should he come into possession of this species of property, he would emancipate them. Mr. Coles became Private Secretary for President Madison, and remained six years an inmate of his family. He was then sent on a special mission to Russia, as the bearer of dispatches to the American Minister, the late J. Q. Adams, during which he made the tour of Europe. On his return, he effected a sale of his plantation, and removed his slaves to Illinois, in 1819, purchased 160 acres of land for each family, and superintended their settlement in the vicini-

ty of Edwardsville. Soon after, he was appointed by President Monroe, Register of the Land Office in Edwardsville, where, in 1821, we had the pleasure of forming his acquaintance, which ripened into intimacy. He was elected Governor of the State in 1822; and, as it turned out, at a most important crisis.

In the election of that year, in some of the extreme southern counties, the question of opening the State for the introduction of slavery was discussed. But in the Legislature the succeeding winter, it assumed an alarming attitude in politics.

The old constitution provided for alterations only in one mode. A vote of two-thirds of the General Assembly could authorize the people to vote for or against a Convention, at the next election. If a majority of votes was in favor, the subsequent Legislature was required to order an election for members to the Convention, and appoint the time of meeting, the apportionment to be in ratio to the members in both houses of the General Assembly.

At that period, the progress of the population northward, had rendered this apportionment peculiarly unequal, and the strong hold of the advocates of slavery was in the counties near the Ohio river; and in the old French settlements. It was demonstrated, that on a contingency, one-fourth of the votes of the people could elect a majority in a Convention, and that majority might probably be in favor of opening the State for slavery. Hence it became a paramount object of the opponents of the measure, to defeat the Convention.

After several efforts, it was found the constitutional majority in the Legislature was lacking by one vote. A contested election, of a perplexing and complicated character, had come from Pike county, then including all the territory north and west of the Illinois river, and, at the early part of the session, was decided in favor of Mr. Hanson; but some members who were opposed to a Convention, conscientiously gave their votes for the contestant, Mr. Shaw. After a stormy session of about ten weeks, the Convention party adopted the desperate alternative of a reconsideration, and turned out Hanson, and put in Shaw. This turned the scale, and the vote recommending the people to vote for or against a Convention, was carried. A number of the members of both

Houses entered their solemn protest against both the object, and the measures to obtain it.

The resolution passed both Houses but a short time before the adjournment, February, 1823. But one of the four papers in the State—the "Edwardsville Spectator," by Hooper Warren—at that time took a stand decided against slavery and a Convention.

Elections were biennial, and, the question had to be decided on the first Monday in August, 1824; the contest was spirited. The people, who were opposed to the introduction of slavery, became aroused; public meetings were held; and societies organized for "the prevention of slavery in Illinois." The first move was made in the county of St. Clair, where the Convention party were strong, and led by some of the strongest political men in the State. A county society was organized, officers appointed, an address to the people of Illinois was published, and an invitation made to form societies in other counties. Fourteen similar societies were organized in as many counties, and a correspondence established in them through persons who could be trusted, in every county and election precinct. This system was in full operation before August, and a year remained to gather strength. The opposite party relied on quiet and concealed operations. Many denied, and doubtless honestly thought, the introduction of slavery was not the object; that there were objectionable features in the constitution, that should be removed. In the counties north of the road from St. Louis to Vincennes, very little was said by this party in favor of slavery, except to ward off the charges made by their opponents. The members of the preceding Legislature, who had protested against the Convention question, contributed each fifty dollars from their wages, to meet expenses in printing and circulating papers. The Governor was in the opposition, and at once resolved to expend his four years' salary in the contest, and nobly did he redeem the pledge.

The summer and autumn wore away, and the Convention party had no regular organization. The time appointed for rallying the leaders and acting in concert, was in December, at the session of the Supreme Court in Vandalia. The paper at that place, that performed the public printing, was their strong garrison, so far as newspaper armor was concerned.—

On the morning of their meeting, this citadel surrendered to their opponents, hoisted the anti-Convention flag, and prepared to pour grape shot into their ranks, in the form of newspaper bullets. Governor Coles had purchased an interest in the press; David Blackwell, Esq., of Belleville, had been appointed Secretary of State, to fill a vacancy, and conducted the paper as editor. From that time until August, the contest was carried on vigorously by both parties, and finally decided against a Convention, by about 1800 majority. The number of votes given in the State, was nearly 12,000.

During the contest it was anticipated that an indirect influence out of the State, would be exerted to gain the question. All such extraneous influence the opponents resisted. Of the members of Congress, Governor Edwards and Daniel P. Cook were strong in the opposition, and each wielded a vigorous pen in the cause.

In six months after, the question was settled; a politician who was in favor of the introduction of slavery in the State, WAS A RARA AVIS.

SECTION FOUR.

The Monks of La Trappe.

We refer to this Order, not for any religious purposes, but because they had a residence in the United States, from 1804 to 1813, and in the American bottom, in Illinois, from 1810. The Monastery of this Order, was anciently situated in the Province of Perche, in France, in one of the most solitary spots that could be chosen. It was founded in 1140, under the patronage of Rotrou, Count of Perche. They were a branch of the Order of Cistercian monks. Their Monastery had fallen into decay, and their rigid discipline much relaxed, when the Order was reformed by the Abbe Rance, in 1664.—Rance was a gay man of the world, but meeting with a sudden misfortune—some authors say the infidelity of his wife,—others assert the sudden death of Madame Montbazon, whose favorite lover he had been;—he renounced the world, entered this Monastery, and took the lead in a system of most severe austerity. Perpetual silence was the vow; every comfort of life was rejected, and a stone was his bed; bread and water his only food; and every day a handful of earth was removed from his grave.

The furious storm of the French revolution, scattered the Trappists. A branch of the Order came to the United States, in 1804, first established themselves near Conewango, in Pennsylvania; then in Kentucky; next at Florisant, in St. Louis county;—and finally, in 1810, on a farm and a high mound in the American bottom, near the boundary line of St. Clair and Madison counties. Colonel N. Jarrot, of Cahokia, gave them the use of a farm and other accommodations in Illinois.

Here they lost two priests and five lay-brothers of the Order. The climate and situation were not congenial to the rigid austerities enjoined by the Order.

They cultivated a garden, repaired watches, and traded with the people, but were generally filthy in their habits, and extremely severe in their penances and discipline. In 1813, they sold off their personal property, and left the country for France.*

We add to this section an item overlooked in its proper connection. "Father Meurain died at Prairie du Rocher, in the year 1778. He was the last of the Jesuits in this country. He was ordered home; but at the request of the Indians he returned, and was their Father-confessor. He was a very learned man, and has left a valuable library, and a manuscript dictionary of the Indian and French languages, in twenty-four volumes. He was a Missionary to the Illinois Indians, and was respected and beloved by them, as a very pious and faithful Missionary."†

The two last Jesuit Missionaries at Mackinaw and L'Abre Croche, were Fathers Le Franc and Du Jauny, who were sixty years in the country.

* Breckenridge's Louisiana,—Spalding's History of Catholic Missions in Kentucky;—Beck's Gazetteer, p. 439.

† Morse's Indian Report, Appendix, p. 244.

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CHAPTER VII.

SECTION FIRST.

The Black Hawk War.

As this portion of Illinois history has been much misunderstood, and consequently misrepresented in several publications, we shall give the facts of the case, but in a very condensed form:

1st. The Sauks and Foxes had no original right, in the Indian sense even, to any portion of Illinois. They were intruders on the country of the Santeaurs and Ioways. [Appendix, 713.]

2nd. The head chiefs sold their claim to their lands in Illinois and southern Wisconsin, to the United States, in 1804.* [Annals, 546.]

3rd. This treaty was violated by all that portion of the united tribes, which committed hostilities against the United States, and joined the British during the war. The portions of the tribes that remained peaceable, re-confirmed the treaty of 1804, at Portage des Sioux, September 13th, 1815. The hostile part of the nation, in 1816, professed repentance for their misdeeds, obtained forgiveness, and the treaty of 1804 was again renewed and re-enacted. [Annals, 648, 651.]

4th. Black Hawk never was a chief; never recognized as such by Indian authority, or by the United States. He was a *brave*, in Indian parlance, gathered around him a small party of disaffected spirits, refused to attend the negotiations of 1816; went to Canada, proclaimed himself and his party British subjects, and received presents from that quarter.

5th. Another treaty was made in full council, "with the chiefs, warriors, and head men of the Sac and Fox tribes," at Fort Armstrong, [Rock Island,] September 3rd, 1822, by the agent of the United States, in which the treaty of 1804, is referred to and ratified. And still another treaty was made by ten regularly delegated chiefs and head men, and Governor Clark on the part of the United States, in Washington City,

* Indian Treaties.

the 4th of August, 1824. In this treaty they sell, for a valuable consideration, all their title to the northern portion of the State of Missouri, from the Mississippi to the western boundary of that State. At this treaty the United States granted the strip of country between the Mississippi and Desmoines river, to certain half-breeds of that nation. And on all the lands they had claimed *south and east* of this line, they are not to be permitted to settle or hunt, after the first day of January, 1826.

6th. In the treaty of 1804, the Sauks and Foxes were permitted to reside and hunt on the land sold, while it remained the property of the United States.

Writers, and especially Brown, [History of Illinois, *note*, p. 380,] have retained the story of Black Hawk, and by this means misrepresented this whole business. Brown has given Indian speeches, in place of authentic public documents and treaties. Drake, in his "*Book of the Indians*," in many respects a valuable antiquarian work, has made great mistakes.* This work abounds with errors, concerning the causes and the management of the Black Hawk affair.

7th. Another treaty was held at Prairie du Chien, in 1825, with the Sauks, Foxes, Winnebagoes, Chippeways, Sioux, and other North-western Indians. The object was to settle the long existing hostilities among these tribes, in which the United States Government exercised the office of mediator. In 1827, a party of twenty-four Chippeways, on a visit to Fort Snelling, was attacked by a band of Sioux, and eight of their number killed and wounded. The commander at Fort Snelling caused four of the Sioux, who had committed this murder, to be delivered to the Chippeways, by whom they were shot. Red Bird, a Sioux chief, determined to retaliate, and got defeated. Being derided by his own nation, he resolved to attack the white people, whom he regarded as allies of the Chippeways; and on the 27th of July, two men in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien, were killed and a third wounded. At the same period hostile demonstrations were made by some Winnebagoes, and Black Hawk's party of the Sauks, in the vicinity of the lead mines, which caused much alarm. About the 28th of July, two keel-boats, conveying military stores to Fort Snelling, were attacked by hostile Sioux, Winnebagoes

* Book v. chapter viii. pp. 141 to 165.

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and Sauks, two of their crew were killed and four wounded. The party was commanded by Red Bird, but Black Hawk was of the party. General Atkinson marched a detachment of troops into the Winnebago country, captured Red Bird and six other Indians, and committed them to prison in Prairie du Chien, for trial. Red Bird died in prison. A part of the others were convicted and executed in December, 1828.

About this year, the President issued a proclamation, according to law, and the country about the mouth of Rock River, which had been previously surveyed, was sold, and the year following, was taken possession of by American families. Some time previous to this, after the death of old Quashquame, Keokuk was appointed chief of the Sauk nation.—The United States gave due notice to the Indians to leave the country, east of the Mississippi, and Keokuk made the same proclamation to the Sauks, and a portion of the nation, with their regular chiefs, with Keokuk at their head, peaceably retired across the Mississippi. Up to this period, Black Hawk continued his annual visits to Malden, and received his annuity for allegiance to the British government. He would not recognize Keokuk as chief, but gathered about him all the restless spirits of his tribe, many of whom were young, and fired with the ambition of becoming "braves," and set up himself for a chief.

Black Hawk was not a Pontiac, or a Tecumthe. He had neither the talent or the influence to form any comprehensive scheme of action, yet he made an abortive attempt to unite all the Indians of the west, from Rock River to Mexico, in a war against the United States.

In the memoir he dictated, and Leclair wrote, he states, [p. 97,] "runners were sent to the Arkansas, Red River and Texas,—not on the subject of our lands, but on a secret mission, which I am not, at present, permitted to explain." The mission was no secret when the memoir was written. It was to arouse up the Indians to attack the white settlements, through the long line of frontier, at the same time.

Still another treaty, and the seventh in succession, was made with the Sauks and Foxes, on the 15th of July, 1830, in which they again confirmed the preceding treaties, and promised to remove from Illinois to the territory west of the Mississippi. This was no new cession, but a recognition of

the former treaties by the proper authorities of the nation, and a renewed pledge of fidelity to the United States.

During all this time Black Hawk was gaining accessions to his party. Like Tecumthe, he, too, had his Prophet—whose influence over the superstitious savages, was not without effect.

In 1830, an arrangement was made by the Americans, who had purchased the land above the mouth of Rock River, and the Indians that remained, to live as neighbors; the latter cultivating their old fields. Their enclosures consisted of stakes stuck in the ground, and small poles tied with strips of bark transversely. The Indians left for their summer's hunt, and returned when their corn was in the milk—gathered it, and turned their horses into the fields, cultivated by the Americans, to gather their crop. Some depredations were committed on their hogs and other property. The Indians departed on their winter's hunt, but returned early in the spring of 1831, under the guidance of Black Hawk, and committed depredations on the frontier settlements. Their leader was a cunning, shrewd Indian, and trained his party to commit various depredations on the property of the frontier inhabitants, but not to attack, or kill any person. His policy was to provoke the Americans to make war on him, and thus seem to fight in defense of Indian rights, and the "graves of their fathers."—Numerous affidavits, from persons of unquestionable integrity sworn to before the proper officers, were made out and sent to Governor Reynolds, attesting to these and many other facts. We have examined these documents, knew, personally some who subscribed to them, and others from good testimony. Black Hawk had about five hundred Indians in training, with horses, well provided with arms, and invaded the State of Illinois with hostile designs. These facts were known to the Governor and other officers of the State. Consequently, Governor Reynolds, on the 28th of May, 1831, made a call for volunteers, and communicated the facts to General Gaines of this military district, and made a call for regular troops.—The State was invaded by a hostile band of savages, under an avowed enemy of the United States. The military turned out to the number of twelve hundred or more, on horseback, and under command of the late General Joseph Duncan, marched to Rock River.

The regular troops went up the Mississippi in June. Black Hawk and his men, alarmed at this formidable appearance, recrossed the Mississippi, sent a white flag, and made a treaty, in which the United States agreed to furnish them a large amount of corn and other necessaries, if they would observe the treaty.

In the spring of 1832, Black Hawk with his party again crossed the Mississippi to the valley of Rock River, notwithstanding he was warned against doing so by General Atkinson, who commanded at Fort Armstrong, in Rock Island.—Troops, both regular and militia, were at once mustered and marched in the pursuit of the native band. Among the troops was a party of volunteers under Major Stillman, who, on the 14th of May, was out upon a tour of observation, and close in the neighborhood of the savages. On that evening, having discovered a party of Indians, the whites galloped forward to attack the savage band, but were met with so much energy and determination, that they took to their heels in utter consternation. The whites were 175 in number; the Indians from five to six hundred. Of this party, twenty-five followed the retreating battalion, after night, for several miles. Eleven whites were killed and shockingly mangled, and several wounded. Some four or five Indians were known to be killed. This action was at Stillman's run, in the eastern part of Ogle county, about twenty-five miles above Dixon.

Peace was now hopeless, and although Keokuk, the legitimate chief of the nation, controlled a majority, the temptation of war and plunder was too strong for those who followed Black Hawk.

We now quote from the first edition of the Annals, with some emendations:—

On the 21st of May, a party of warriors, about seventy in number, attacked the Indian Creek settlement in La Salle county, Illinois, killed fifteen persons, and took two young women prisoners; these were afterwards returned to their friends, late in July, through the efforts of the Winnebagoes. On the following day, a party of spies was attacked and four of them slain, and other massacres followed. Meanwhile 3000 Illinois militia had been ordered out, who rendezvoued upon the 20th of June, near Peru; these marched forward to the Rock River, where they were joined by the U. States troops, the whole being under command of General Atkinson. Six

hundred mounted men were also ordered out, while General Scott, with nine companies of artillery, hastened from the seaboard by the way of the lakes to Chicago, moving with such celerity, that some of his troops, we are told, actually went 1800 miles in eighteen days; passing in that time from Fort Monroe, on the Chesapeake, to Chicago. Long before the artillerists *could* reach the scene of action, however, the western troops had commenced the conflict in earnest, and before they *did* reach the field, had closed it. On the 24th of June, Black Hawk and his two hundred warriors were repulsed by Major Demint, with but one hundred and fifty militia: this skirmish took place between Rock River and Galena. The army then continued to move up Rock River, near the heads of which it was understood that the main party of the hostile Indians was collected; and as provisions were scarce, and hard to convey in such a country, a detachment was sent forward to Fort Winnebago, at the portage between the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, to procure supplies. This detachment, hearing of Black Hawk's army, pursued and overtook them on the 21st of July, near the Wisconsin river, and in the neighborhood of the Blue Mounds. General Henry, who commanded the party, formed with his troops three sides of a hollow square, and in that order received the attack of the Indians; two attempts to break the ranks, were made by the natives in vain; and then a general charge was made by the whole body of Americans, and with such success that, it is said, fifty-two of the red men were left dead upon the field, while but one American was killed and eight wounded.

Before this action, Henry had sent word of his motions to the main army, by whom he was immediately rejoined, and on the 28th of July, the whole crossed the Wisconsin in pursuit of Black Hawk, who was retiring toward the Mississippi.—Upon the bank of that river, nearly opposite the Upper Ioway, the Indians were overtaken and again defeated, on the 2nd of August, with a loss of one hundred and fifty men, while of the whites but eighteen fell. This battle entirely broke the power of Black Hawk; he fled, but was seized by the Winnebagoes, and upon the 27th, was delivered to the officers of the United States, at Prairie du Chien.

General Scott, during the months of July and August, was contending with a worse than Indian foe. The Asiatic cholera had just reached Canada; passing up the St. Lawrence o Detroit, it overtook the western-bound armament, and thence forth the camp became a hospital. On the 8th of July, his thinned ranks landed at Fort Dearborn or Chicago, but it was late in August before they reached the Mississippi. The number of that band who died from the cholera, must have been at least seven times as great as that of all who fell in battle. There were several other skirmishes of the troops

with the Indians and a number of individuals murdered; making in all, about seventy-five persons killed in these actions, or murdered on the frontiers.

In September, the Indian troubles were closed by a treaty, which relinquished to the white men thirty millions of acres of land, for which stipulated annuities were to be paid; constituting now the eastern portion of the State of Iowa, to which the only real claim of the Sauks and Foxes, was their depredations on the unoffending Ioways, about 130 years since. To Keokuk and his party, a reservation of forty miles square was given, in consideration of his fidelity; while Black Hawk and his family, were sent as hostages to Fort Monroe in the Chesapeake, where they remained till June, 1833. The chief afterwards returned to his native wilds, where he died.

Black Hawk cannot rank with Pontiac or Tecumthe; he fought only for revenge, and showed no intellectual power; but he was a fearless man.

The same disease which decimated General Scott's troops, during the autumn of this year, and the summers of 1833 and 1834, spread terror through the whole west, though during last year it was comparatively mild. We have room to notice only three facts in relation to it; the first is, that other diseases diminished while it prevailed;—the second, that many points which were spared in 1832, (as Lexington, Ky.) were devastated in 1833;—the third, that its appearance and progress presented none of the evidences of infection or contagion.

A visitation less fatal than the cholera, but for the time most disastrous, had come upon the valley of the Ohio in the preceding February. A winter of excessive cold was suddenly closed, by long continued and very heavy rains, which, unable to penetrate the frozen ground, soon raised every stream emptying into the Ohio to an unusual heighth. The main trunk, unable to discharge the water which poured into it, overflowed its banks, and laid the whole valley, in many places several miles in width, under water. The towns and villages along the river banks, were flooded in some instances so deeply, as to force the inhabitants to take refuge on the neighboring hills;—and the value of the property injured and destroyed must have been very great, though its amount could not, of course, be ascertained. The water continued to rise from the 7th to the 19th of February, when it had attained the height of 63 feet above low water mark at Cincinnati.

SECTION SECOND.

Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Dubuque is the oldest settlement in the State of Iowa, being coeval with Galena, as a village. As a trading post, it is

identified with the Frenchman whose name it perpetuates.—Bellevue and Fort Madison, have already been noticed as military posts.

The subjection of Black Hawk and his hostile party, and the treaty that followed in 1832, opened the extensive tract of country along the Mississippi, to American settlements; and the following spring, companies from Illinois crossed the river, built their cabins, and made improvements for farming early in 1833. The first settlement was in the vicinity of Burlington. Coeval with it, was the settlement near Fort Madison. From this period, the progress and extension of settlements were rapid, and the population increased with far greater rapidity, than in the history of previous territories. For more than eighteen months the people were "a law unto themselves," being without the jurisdiction of any organized territory. In 1834, Congress attached this territory to that of Michigan, for temporary jurisdiction, and two large counties, Dubuque and Desmoines, were organized. Their aggregate population in 1836, was 10,531 persons, and the same year Wisconsin was organized as a separate territory, and exercised jurisdiction over the "District of Iowa."

In 1838, we were at Burlington during the session of the Wisconsin Legislature. The official intelligence of the organization of the Territory of Iowa, was received the last of June, and the Legislature finding itself beyond its own jurisdiction, adjourned. The Territorial Government took effect on the 4th of July, 1838. Robert Lucas, a former Governor of Ohio, was the Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and James Clark, Secretary of the new Territory.

During that year the territory, which had been subdivided into sixteen counties, had a population of 22,860 persons.

In 1839, the General Assembly located the seat of government, on the river that gives name to the State, and called it the "City of Iowa." Immigration continued to increase; in 1840 the population was 43,017; while that of the Wisconsin Territory, was 30,945 persons. In 1843, the Territorial Legislature petitioned Congress for authority to adopt a State Constitution, which was granted at the next session, and on the 7th of October, 1844, the Convention assembled and adopted a Constitution, which was not approved by Congress. Another Convention was held 1846, the limits restricted, an

amended Constitution adopted, which was submitted to Congress in June, and the State received into the Union simultaneously with Florida.

Since that period, this State has made rapid progress; several chartered cities exist, containing a population of from 2000 to 5000 inhabitants; the Indian title has been extinguished, and civilization has extended over a large part of its territory.

The population in the autumn of 1849, was estimated at 180,000.

Wisconsin has made slower progress, and been longer in the race, but has become a large, thriving and prosperous State. Its oldest settlement is Green Bay. Farming settlements were made contiguous to Galena, during the lead operations already noticed. The Black Hawk war brought the extensive region along the "Four Lakes" and the Wisconsin river, to the knowledge of the pioneers of Illinois, and opened the way for the settlement of that fine country. Soon after, immigration began to flow in from Michigan, Ohio and New York, and the wilderness soon became a fruitful field. As early as 1835, some enterprising persons planted themselves on choice town sites: along the borders of Lake Michigan and Racine, Southport, Milwaukee, Sheboygan, and many other towns have sprung into existence. Milwaukee is a large commercial city, with some 18,000 or 20,000 inhabitants, and commands the trade of an extensive back country.

This territory formed a Constitution in 1846, which was not approved by a large majority of the people. Another Convention was held, and a Constitution framed and adopted, February 1st, 1848, on which the State was received into the Union. The population, taken December 1st, 1847, was 220,867. General Henry Dodge, now a Senator in Congress, was the first Governor of the territory, and, with the exception of four years, held that office during the existence of the Territorial Government. Each of these new States has adopted a system of common schools, which promise a bountiful harvest to future generations.

Minnesota, is the new territory lying north of Iowa, and north-west of Wisconsin; was organized in pursuance of a law passed by Congress, March 3rd, 1849, on the first of June the same year. Alexander Ramsey, of Harrisburg, Pa., was

appointed Governor, and issued his proclamation on that day. A census taken in June, showed the white population to be 4,780. An election was held on the first day of August for a Legislative Assembly, and nine members of the Council, and eighteen members of the House of Representatives were elected. The session commenced in the town of St. Paul, on the first Monday in September. H. H. Sibley, is the Delegate in Congress. The message of the Governor is an able document. The town of St. Paul, the present seat of government, commenced as a commercial town in the spring of 1849, and now has a population of 1000, and is a place of much business.

A steamboat is being constructed to run the Mississippi *above* the Falls of St. Anthony, to Crow Wing river, in the year 1850. The hitherto remote military post, called Fort Snelling, established in 1819, will soon be surrounded with civilization and the arts of peace.

The territory has been divided into nine counties, in place of the old counties of La Pointe and St. Croix, that were organized under the territory of Wisconsin. The names are Itasca, Washington, Ramsey, Benton, Pembina, (accent on the last syllable) Mah-kah-to, Wah-nah-tah, Dahkotah, and Waubashaw. The counties of Ramsey, Washington and Benton, only had judicial districts in 1849.

The village and settlement of Pembina, was commenced by Lord Selkirk, a Scotch nobleman, about 1812. He obtained a grant of land on Red river, from the Hudson Bay Company. Two settlements were formed; one at Fort Douglass, the other higher up, and which proved to be below the 49th degree of latitude, and within the boundary of the United States.—This last settlement was called Pembina, a corruption of an Indian word, that signified a small red berry that grew in that region.*

In 1823, the settlement consisted of about 350 persons, residing in sixty log houses, or cabins. The fathers were chiefly Swiss and Scotch emigrants, who married Indian wives.† At that period (1822–'23,) droves of cattle were taken from Missouri and Illinois to this colony, and sold at a high price. The colony at Pembina, as it was in 1849, originated from a mixture of nations, as Scotch, English, French, Italians, Germans, and Swiss, amalgamated with Chippeways, Crees, Sioux and other Indian tribes. By the census of 1849, there were in this

* The Viburnam Oxycoccos.

† Long's Expedition, ii. 41, 45.

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settlement, of males 295; females, 342; total, 637. A colony, chiefly French, is situated on the Missouri river.

One of the most important incidents, in both Wisconsin and Minnesota, is the lumber business. Extensive forests of white pine are on the waters of the Wisconsin, St. Croix, and other tributaries of the Mississippi, and mills are in extensive operation on the streams. The lumber manufactured on the St. Croix alone, in 1849, amounted to ten millions of feet, board measure. This business will be a vast source of wealth to the district.

SECTION THIRD.

Growth of Towns and Cities.

Chicago is one of the important commercial centres of the great central valley, that illustrate the rapidity of progress in population, business, enterprise and wealth. In 1832, it contained five small stores, and 250 inhabitants. The preceding year there were four arrivals, two brigs and two schooners, from the lower lakes, which were sufficient for all the trade and business for North-Eastern Illinois and North-Western Indiana.

In 1835, there were 267 arrivals of brigs, ships and schooners, including nine steamboats. The merchandize imported amounted to 5015 tons, besides 9,400 barrels of salt. The exports of 1843, exceeded one million of dollars; the imports $1,433, 886. It sustained great depression during the suspension of the canal operations, from 1841 to 1846, and yet its growth continued. A railroad across the State to connect Chicago with Galena, has been put in operation to Fox river, and the work is progressing. The population of Chicago is estimated at 25,000.

There are several important towns along the line, and at the termination of the canal, which we have now no room to particularize. The old village of *Peoria*, was situated one and a half miles above the outlet of the lake. As a French village, it commenced about 1779. and was called La Ville de Maillet. The people removed to the "new village" on the present site of Peoria, in 1797. After the war, Fort Clark, already noticed, was burnt. The situation of Peoria is beautiful beyond description, and is a place of business and commerce.

Springfield, the seat of government of Illinois, dates back to February, 1822. It is a handsome inland city, of 4000 inhabitants, surrounded with a rich agricultural district. It is connected with the Illinois river, by Jacksonville, at Naples, by a railroad, and will soon be with Alton with one to that place.

Alton, after a long period of depression, is now in progress, and bids fair soon to be a place of much commerce.

In Missouri, the progress of settlements, the building up of towns, and the accumulation of agricultural wealth, have been fully equal to any other State in the Union for the last ten years. Jefferson City, the seat of government, was not designed for a commercial depot, but for the capitol and public offices of the State. St. Charles, Booneville, Fayette and Lexington, are incorporated cities. Of late, the rich mines of lead, copper and iron, have attracted the attention of capitalists, and awakened a spirit of enterprise which gives promise of success.

Governors of the State of Missouri.—Alexander McNair, from 1820 to 1824; Frederick Bates, from 1824 to 1828; John Miller, from 1828 to 1832; Daniel Dunklin, from 1832 to 1836; Lilburn W. Boggs, from 1836 to 1840; Thomas Reynolds, from 1840 to 1844; John C. Edwards, from 1844 to 1848; Austin A. King, (the present incumbent) from 1848 to 1852.

Governors of Illinois.—Shadrach Bond, from 1818 to 1822; Edward Coles, from 1822 to 1826; Ninian Edwards (formerly Governor of the Territory,) from 1826 to 1830; John Reynolds, from 1830 to 1834; Joseph Duncan, from 1834 to 1838; Thomas Carlin, from 1838 to 1842; Thomas Ford, from 1842 to 1846; Augustus C. French, from 1846 to 1848, the office having expired by the adoption of the new Constitution. He was again elected under the new Constitution, and goes out of office in January, 1853.

Governor Edwards of Illinois, died at his residence in Belleville, of the cholera, July 20th, 1833, in the 59th year of his age. The prominent traits of his character were great decision, determined resistless perseverance, quickness in despatch of business, sagacity to the public interest, and a liberal, generous and philanthropic disposition.

Governor Clark of Missouri, died at his residence in St. Louis, on the first day of September, 1838. He was Governor of the Territory from 1813 to 1820, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs to the close of his life. Previously, he had been the companion of Merriwether Lewis, in their tour of exploration to the Pacific ocean. His intimate knowledge of Indian character, and his intercourse with them, won their esteem and confidence. Through a long public life, he maintained a character for striet integrity and unsullied honor.

SECTION FOURTH.

Growth of St. Louis.

St. Louis, for steady progress and successful enterprise, since 1830, has excelled all other cities with which we have been acquainted. There have been periods of pecuniary pressure, but none of prostration. Business, population and wealth, have increased with each revolving year.

In addition to the position of a great seat of commerce and

trade, for an extensive and rapidly improving territory, there are several branches of business that concentrate here. These are the mining business—the Indian fur trade and trapping enterprise;—the Mexican trade;—the frontier military posts and Indian agency;—and lately, the outfit of many thousands of California gold-hunters. In some of these branches, the people in the interior of Missouri have participated. We intended to have amplified each of these items in a series of sketches, but our limits are nearly exhausted.

The fur trade, to a limited extent, was extended high up the Missouri river, before the cession of Louisiana. The average annual value of the furs collected in St. Louis, for fifteen successive years, ending in 1804, is stated to have been $203,750. James Pursley, in 1802, was the first hunter and trapper, and probably the first American, who traversed the great plains between the United States and New Mexico. The Missouri Fur Company, with a capital of $40,000, was organized in this city in 1808, and the hunters in its employ, were the first who pitched their camps on the waters of Oregon. That company was dissolved in 1812; the fur trade of the Missouri was prosecuted by Messrs. Chouteau, Berthold, Pratte, Lisa, Cabanne, and others. Messrs. Pilcher, Lisa, Thos. Hempstead, Perkins and others, revived the Missouri Company soon after the war, and carried their enterprise into the defiles of the Rocky mountains.

In 1823, the late General William H. Ashley fitted out his first trapping expedition to the mountains and upon the western waters. He had a severe engagement with the Aricara Indians, in which he lost fourteen men. General Ashley and his men, ascended the Sweet water, *discovered the South Pass*, and thus opened a highway to Oregon and California. In 1824, he extended his exploration and line of trade to the Utah Lake. Between the years of 1824 and 1827, General Ashley and his men sent to St. Louis furs to the value of $180,000. The annual value of the fur trade alone, for 40 years, has averaged from two to three hundred thousand dollars, and hence an important item in the growth of St. Louis.*

The Santa Fe trade from Missouri, originated in Franklin, Howard county, where the first enterprise was planned, and an outfit procured in 1822.† This has been since prosecuted with great enterprise and various success from this city.

The United States census of 1840, owing to the very limited bounds of the corporation, and the extension of the streets and blocks of the city beyond, misrepresented the population. The report exhibited only 16,469, whereas the population within the town of St. Louis, was not less than 28,000.

A similar discrepancy will appear in the census of 1850; for although

* Address of Thomas Allen, at the "Celebration" of St. Louis, February 15, 1847, pp. 16, 18.

† Wetmore's Gazetteer, p. 86.

the corporate boundaries were much extended after 1840, several thousand persons are now living without the city bounds, and will be enumerated with those of the county. On January 1st, 1849, the census, not taken closely, gave 64,000; while in the city and suburbs, there were not less than 73,000 persons. With all the diminution by cholera, the increase in twelve months has been large; and our lowest estimate is 85,000.

Two incidents of the last year, will close the volume.

1. THE CHOLERA.—Cases of this fearful disease appeared on boats navigating the lower Mississippi, during the last months of 1848; and an unusual predisposition to diarrhœas, and affections of the bowels, was manifested in St. Louis at the same time. Two cases of cholera, and one death, occurred the first week in January, 1849. According to Dr. McPheeters,† there were 38 deaths from cholera in January, (two thirds of the cases being imported from New Orleans,) 30 deaths in March, 18 in April. In the first week in May, there was a fearful increase in the progress of the disease, and of deaths. Deaths from all diseases, per week, from 118 to 193. Total deaths in May, 786; cholera 517. For two weeks following the great fire, there was a perceptible decrease in the mortality and number of cases. During the first week in June, there were 144 deaths; 74 of cholera. Second week, 283 deaths; 139 of cholera. Third week, 522 deaths; 426 from cholera. Fourth week, 798 deaths; 636 from cholera. From June 26th to July 2nd, 951 deaths; 739 from cholera;—from July 3rd to 9th, 851 deaths; 654 from cholera. From July 10th to the 16th, 888 deaths; 669 from cholera. From July 17th to the 23rd, 440 deaths, 269 from cholera. Last week in July, 231 deaths; 131 from cholera. During the entire year of 1849, the mortality of the city was 8,603; cholera, (according to Dr. McPheters) 4,557. Other reports increase the cholera cases to 4,800. The cholera disappeared (except occasional cases) after the 10th of August. From the first of November, 1849, to the first of April, 1850, unusual health has prevailed for a city population.

2. THE GREAT FIRE, broke out on the steamboat White Cloud, near the foot of Cherry street, at the hour of 10 o'clock at night, on the 17th of May, 1849. The wind was from a North-Eastern direction, and blew with great force all the night. In a short time 23 steamboats were on fire, and consumed; some with valuable cargoes on board. The fire first caught the stores at the foot of Locust street; then, by another burning boat at the foot of Elm street, and simultaneously two fires were sweeping over several squares; driven by the wind with resistless fury. Massive buildings of brick or stone, three and four stories in height, offered no resistance. The fires from the buildings and the boats, cut off all communication with the river, and by 2 o'clock, A. M., on the 18th, the city reservoir was exhausted. Up to this time, the firemen did all that men and machinery could do, to stop the devouring element. Buildings were blown up, several valuable li[illegible] were lost; but about 8 o'clock, A. M., after ten hours devastation, it[illegible]ry was spent. About 400 buildings were burnt; many of them large wh[illegible]sale stores. The steamboats, their cargoes, and produce on the lard[illegible]g, were valued at 518,500; buildings, $602,748; merchandize, $654,[illegible] Add to furniture, provisions, clothing, etc., and the loss was estimated at [illegible]3,750,000. About two-thirds the value were covered by insurance. The cholera during the summer, was more fatal than the fire, to the business of the city.

And now, as we look over the "burnt district," much the largest proportion is covered with buildings of a superior character; streets are widened, and even naked lots sell higher per linear foot, than they did before the GREAT FIRE.

*History of the Epidemic Cholera in St. Louis, in 1849; Medical and Surgical Journal for March, 1850.

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